
The Development of Western Civilization

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SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY



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TO

HELEN WOLF HAINES
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AND IN MEMORY OF

LUCY BARTLETT WALSH
WILLIAM LORISON WALSH

Preface

The Development of Western Civilization assumes as its fundamental premise that, since the present has grown out of the past, a knowledge of that growth is essential to a proper understanding of our day. We therefore have sought to present the material of European history not merely as an end in itself but also as an illustration of what seem to us to be the major truths and trends of social development. At the same time we have tried to provide sufficient detailed information so that our generalizations do not hang in a sort of vacuum. This has involved both careful selection and rigid compression and we are aware that he will be a rare expert who does not feel that we have slighted his field in the process.

Our treatment is a combination of the topical and chronological methods which, although it creates certain problems of its own, we hope avoids the individual weaknesses of either a strictly topical or a strictly chronological approach. By trial and error in actual use of the material in class we have learned to avoid some of the pitfalls. Critics undoubtedly will call our attention to others which we have not escaped. Wherever the material has permitted we have devoted part *A* of the chapter to a discussion of the major theme of that chapter, its background, its development, and its place in the story as a whole.

It is obvious—perhaps especially to us—that so ambitious a work as this owes much to many scholars. We regret that we cannot make individual acknowledgments to all those to whom we are indebted. Where our obligation is especially heavy, we have mentioned the fact in a footnote, and many of our sources are suggested in the bibliographies. It may be that now and again we have borrowed not only the thought but also the *ipsissima verba* of the original. If that has happened, it is because those phrases seemed so good to us that we have unconsciously made them part of our own speech.

We are pleased to be able, hereby, to make public acknowledgment of other obligations incurred in writing this book. We wish to

To Frances Elizabeth Marble Haines who designed the maps, searched diligently for apt and artistic illustrations, and made the sketches; and to Elizabeth Cantril Walsh who typed and re-typed the manuscript and aided greatly in reading the proofs and making the index.

To Dr. Dwight E. Lee, Professor of History and International Relations at Clark University, for valuable advice in the early stages of the manuscript; and to Dr. Francis A. Arlinghaus, Professor of History at the University of Detroit, who carefully read the chapters dealing with religion and whose guidance enabled us to avoid some errors of fact and interpretation. Neither Dr. Lee nor Dr. Arlinghaus is responsible for any of the mistakes we have made, nor were they necessarily in agreement with our interpretations.

To Dr. Nelson M. Blake, Dr. D. Vernon McKay, and Mr. Walter L. Wakefield, all of the History Department of Syracuse University, who co-operated in our use of this material in History 1 and who gave helpful criticisms on some parts of the manuscript.

To Miss Edith Helen Graves; Mrs. Emilie D. Benedict and Miss Mary C. Kenna of the Art Department of the Syracuse University Library; Miss Fern L. Allen of the Architecture Library of Syracuse University; and Professors Perley O. Place, George B. Cressey, and L. C. Dillenback, all of Syracuse University.

To the staffs of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the New York Public Library, the Syracuse University Library, and the Syracuse Public Library.

Finally, to our students in History 1 from 1936 to date who listened to portions of the manuscript and were the subjects of our experiments in organization and presentation of the material.

C. G. H.
W. B. W.

21 December, 1940
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Chapter I

Man and His Environment

A. IN THE BEGINNING

When man's knowledge was limited by the range of the human eye he thought of this world as the center of the universe. Much later he learned that the earth is only one of the nine known planets which surround the sun. More recently still he has discovered that the solar system is but one part of a universe so vast that it staggers the imagination. Contemporary astronomers know that some portions of this cosmos are removed a distance of 200,000 light years¹ from the earth, and they have reason to believe that they have not yet reached its limits. Such enormous distances are incomprehensible to the layman who must reduce the solar system to human size to understand it. In such a reduction to scale, if the earth were about the size of a tennis ball, the sun would be a globe approximately eighteen feet in diameter, and our moon would appear the size of a small marble. On that scale the earth would be about 600 yards from the sun and five feet from the moon.

Our earth is not only tiny; it is also comparatively young. The age of the cosmos is reckoned in trillions of years; that of the earth at a billion or two. When or how life appeared upon the earth we do not know since life itself remains shrouded in mystery. Scientists believe that the first living organisms made their homes in the water. Later there developed organisms which could live on the land as well as in the water and from these amphibians, there evolved a type of land animal, called reptiles, of which the most popularly known specimen is the dinosaur. Vertebrates and mammals, the next stage in animal development, appeared very much later. Man, who belongs to this last group, apparently evolved only about a million years ago.

¹ A light year is an astronomical measure of distance computed on the basis of the fact that light travels approximately 186,000 miles per second. One light year equals approximately six trillion miles.

The story of the subsequent evolution of the human race from this primitive ancestor is full of mystery, but that such evolution took place is clear.

These early men left us no written record of their lives and habits, and hence it is customary to speak of this era, which goes back more than 100,000 years, as the period of pre-literary history. Our scant and imperfect knowledge of it has come from a study of geological and archeological remains. Anthropologists and sociologists, working largely by inference, have been able, by use of such sources, to present a broad picture of primitive humanity. Details are lacking, and the accuracy of their delineation cannot be guaranteed.

The transition from the pre-literary to the literary period of history was very gradual. One era merged into the other as the various peoples learned to write. The most ancient written records yet discovered are about six thousand years old and they are few in number. In other areas, recorded history began very much later. For the early years of the period, therefore, the scanty literary sources must be supplemented by non-literary remains. Historians may depend upon written records only for comparatively recent times. Generally speaking, written sources have steadily increased until scholars who would tell the story of modern times are almost literally buried by an embarrassment of riches.

Broadly, history is no less than the whole story of human development from the dawn man to the present day. The invention of a stone hatchet and the development of television both fall within its scope, as do the lives of eminent statesmen and obscure slaves. The stories of wars are a part of history, but so, also, is the record of the growth of music. There is no field of human endeavor which must not turn to history for the story of its past. Obviously, a subject which, in truth, takes all knowledge for its province, is too vast to be mastered by one man or by any single group of men. Allied fields like archeology, anthropology, and sociology, to mention only three of many, have sprung from the very complexity and richness of the subject.

B. SUN, SOIL, AND SEA

The great American humorist, Mark Twain, was half right when he jocosely remarked that, "Everybody talks about the weather but nobody does anything about it." Men have always talked about the weather and about their surroundings. Geography which, broadly

speaking, is the study of man's environment and which includes such things as climate, topography, and resources, has always been in men's minds and on their tongues because life itself depends upon the bounties of nature. Centuries ago this dependence was more direct, but it remains and must remain of vital importance. Deprive man of air and he suffocates; deprive him of water and he literally burns himself up; deprive him of food and he starves. Our preoccupation with the weather and with nature is no mere conversational ice-breaker. On the contrary, it is rooted in that most fundamental urge, the will to live.

Geography, however, despite its vital importance, is by no means the sole arbiter of human destiny. It is one of many determining factors and its influence is variable and relative. Steadily, throughout the course of human development man has applied himself to the gargantuan task of modifying and controlling the forces of nature. The vital dependence upon food, air, and water is inescapable, but beyond these essentials man has made great progress in mastering his environment. The invention of machinery and the extension of its use has enormously magnified available man power. The development of railroads, steamships, automobiles, and airplanes has contracted distance just as the telegraph, the telephone, and the radio have given us a new command over time. Men have become so skillful in building shelters from storms that today they are able to control the temperature within their buildings. Through the application of science to the production of food, man has succeeded in increasing the available supply of food and, thanks to medicine and surgery, he has measurably lengthened the average life span. In all these many ways, man has by sustained and conscious effort modified but not eliminated his dependence upon nature. Airplanes, smothered by fog, crash on mountain ridges, and dirigibles explode with catastrophic losses. Trains and ships suffer wreck and disaster, and automobiles take a greater toll of life than does a major war. Radios unaccountably fail, and storms tear down telegraph and telephone wires. Earthquakes destroy whole cities, and floods wipe out whole areas. Men starve with food rotting in the granaries, and dust storms return the land to wilderness. Men fall before the sweep of pestilence, and bow down before the common cold. Thus the struggle with nature still goes on.

It is possible to group the long list of the geographic factors which affect human life under four major headings: climate, land masses, waterways, and resources. Climate affects man primarily

through rainfall and temperature. An arid region can support only a small, nomadic population for agriculture is impossible and the sparse vegetation is suitable only for grazing. Moreover, very dry areas form barriers to travel and transport. Extremes of temperature also limit the life and use of an area. Tropic heat and polar cold both render large sections of the earth unfit for human use, and in habitable regions temperature vitally affects human activity. Civilization began in the warmer areas where life is easier and spread slowly into the colder ones where life is more rigorous and man must be more energetic. The optimum temperature for human life and progress is found in the middle zone where extremes of heat and cold are unusual. Two general types of climate are distinguishable in these temperate zones: oceanic and continental. The former is moist and equable, due to the moderating effects of large bodies of water. The latter, conversely, is subject to wide changes in temperature and in moisture.

Variations in land masses may be catalogued in many ways but two distinctions will suffice. The first, height above sea level, divides land into three major classifications: mountains, high plains or plateaux, and lowlands. Mountains, because of their altitude and their rugged character, have acted as barriers to mass movements, and to the unification of social groups. The Alps, for example, have frequently deflected the course of invasions, and the mountains of Greece long retarded the formation of a Greek nation. From another point of view, mountain barriers tend to isolate communities and so to render them noticeably conservative and backward. Plateau regions likewise inhibit both mass movement and mass settlement because they are likely to be inaccessible and sterile. The steppes of Russia illustrate both these characteristics. Lowlands, which include valleys and coastal areas, are easy of access and generally fertile. They are, in other words, the sections most fitted for human habitation and in consequence have been the most productive and the most densely inhabited. Across them has moved wave after wave of migration and in them have developed great cities and rich commerce. Most of the Mediterranean Basin and Northwestern Europe fall into this class. The second distinction hinges on the question of whether the land is arable or non-arable. Arable land can be cultivated profitably; non-arable land cannot. All arable land is fertile, but for a variety of reasons the two terms are not synonymous. Arable lands are generally but not exclusively found in the lowlands. Non-arable lands, found everywhere, include: waste lands, like deserts, marshes,

and swamps; fertile lands, such as forests; cities or towns. The dividing line between the two is not fixed since the forces of nature and the works of man constantly change them from one category to the other. Shifting social, economic, and political forces result in transforming whole areas. The growth of a city, a prolonged drought, or a war may reduce arable to non-arable land. Conversely, irrigation, the drainage of swamps, and the cutting of a forest may convert non-arable into arable. Much of the story of man's past may be told in the terms of this constant interchange.

Waterways, like all environmental factors, have exercised a varying influence upon human development. A decisive factor, before men conquered time and space, they are today of less vital importance. Great seas long hindered travel and transport but smaller seas and rivers facilitated them. New lands were always opened up first along water routes and these roadways continued to carry men and their burdens. Control of these channels of travel has been an outstanding bone of contention among peoples, and more wars have been fought over that issue than over any other. The presence or absence of waterways has also profoundly affected the life and habits of men. The ancient Phoenicians and the modern British have been thrust into the position of maritime powers by their very proximity to the sea, and much of the history of Russia centers about her use of and need for water roads.

In the broadest sense, all resources available to humans are natural resources, but that term has usually conveyed special meanings. Fertile soils and their buried treasure of ores, oils, and gases; plant life, including trees; fish, animals, and birds, and the power of wind and water are among the most important of them. The story of the changes in men's use of and need for these various gifts embraces the whole history of human development and cannot even be hinted at here. The last two centuries have seen an amazing extension of the list of resources most prized by men. The mechanization of life, which began in the eighteenth century, produced a veritable revolution in this relationship as the needs of an industrial civilization began to be felt. Prior to that great development men were concerned only with what we may call surface resources. The presence or absence of ores was not vital, but the fertility of the soil was since life was predominantly agricultural. Surface resources were one of the determining factors in the migrations, settlements, and occupations of man. Desert dwellers were nomadic herdsman from

necessity, while men who lived near the sea naturally became sailors and fishermen.

These geographical influences have been constant only in the sense that men in their physical aspect are creatures of the earth and, hence, dependent upon it. Climate, topography, and resources have partially governed human life and habits but it cannot be overemphasized that these factors have been constantly limited, or vitiated, or enhanced by other equally potent forces.

The European continent, which is really an extension of the great land mass of Asia, has of course been subject to the general influences discussed above. In addition, its own peculiar features have exercised certain influences upon the development of European, and, therefore, of western civilization. Geographers have divided the European area into four main regions, in each of which there are distinctive surface features, climate, and types of inhabitants.¹ The first of these subdivisions, the Africo-Arabian Region, includes the Arabian peninsula and the northern third of Africa. The second, which may be labeled the Mediterranean Region, is composed of the littoral of the Mediterranean and Black Seas and of the land lying south of the Pyrenees, Alps, and Carpathian Mountains. The third, Northeastern Europe, runs roughly from the Ural Mountains on the east to the valleys of the Duna and Dnieper Rivers on the west, and from the Arctic Ocean on the north to the Black and Caspian Seas on the south. Northwestern Europe, the fourth sub-division, includes Scandinavia, the Baltic Area, the British Isles and most of contemporary France and Germany. It is not to be inferred, however, that these regions are separated by sharp, clearly defined lines. Quite the contrary is true for each merges gradually into the others with fairly wide transition zones among them all.

The Africo-Arabian Region is predominantly arid and barren. In it lie such great deserts as the Arabian and the Sahara. Its peoples are few and they have from time immemorial been wandering herds-men. Three great troughs, each with its waterway, cut through this region, offering avenues of migration and trade, and homes for men. Farthest to the east lies the broad valley of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, a rich land which some scholars believe to have been the site of the Biblical Garden of Eden, and which apparently was the cradle of western civilization. Near the center is the Red Sea which has served for centuries as a connecting link between the East and

¹ The following material has been adapted largely from Wright, J. K., *The Geographical Basis of European History*. Henry Holt and Co., N. Y., 1928.

the West. Since before written history continuous civilizations have pursued their endless cycle of rise and fall in this great valley. From out of this first region has come not only the beginnings of our civilization but also three of the great monotheistic religions of the world. Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism all began in the lands just east of the Mediterranean Sea.

The Mediterranean Region is essentially a zone of transition between the Africo-Arabian Region and the north, and therefore partakes of the character of both north and south. Its surface relief is very complicated, ranging from coastal plains to the formidable mountain systems which tend to mark it off from the northern areas. The climate also varies sharply. The northeast, the mountain regions, and much of the Iberian, Balkan, and Asia Minor Peninsulas suffer from the extremes of a continental climate. The coastal areas, in contrast, are subject to a sub-tropic climate with hot, dry summers, moderate, wet winters, and early springs. Olives and citrus fruits, as well as grains, are easily and widely grown in these parts. These topographical and climatic variations have helped to produce marked contrasts between the types of civilization which have developed in the various sections. Semi-pastoral, semi-agricultural civilizations have grown up in the less favored hinterlands where geographical conditions have limited the food supply. The mountain regions have bred sturdy, independent men whose state of culture today ranges from urban Switzerland to the primitive Albanians. The Mediterranean Basin, which includes the sea and its littoral, has been of far greater moment in the expansion and progress of western society. The sea, itself, has been since time unknown the carrier of rich commerce and more lasting cultures. In close proximity to it, there developed numerous cities and towns which served as the nuclei for the great empires of the ancient world. "The glory that was Greece, and the grandeur that was Rome"—both drew their life-blood from the sea and its shores.

The uniform topography and climate of Northeastern Europe contrast sharply with the variations common to the Mediterranean Region. The great plains, cut by rivers in the south and dotted with lakes in the north, vary from fertility in the former area to barrenness in the latter. The climate is continental with blistering, dry summer heat and penetrating winter cold. As might be expected, this region has been and still remains predominantly agricultural, with population density increasing in the fertile belt of the southeast. The infrequent cities have grown up upon the great rivers which until

recent years have offered the best and sometimes the only avenues of communication and transport.

Northwestern Europe differs markedly from the three regions just discussed. Here, the land mass falls into two types, lowlands and massives. The latter are the remnants of very ancient mountain systems which have worn down to mere hills and to small but rugged mountains. The uniformly level lowlands, the main centers of life and activity, are cut by many rivers which, from the viewpoint of commerce and travel, have extended the great oceanic waterway inland. The truly temperate climate is favorable for plant growth. Summers are cool and the air is likely to be moist. Winters are mild with much rain and fog, but usually little frost or snow. Beneath the surface of the fertile soil lie immense deposits of iron and coal, the *sine qua non* of an industrial society. In olden times, much of this region was forest, but the amount of arable land has been steadily increased and agriculture has until very recently occupied most of the people. The level plains and numerous waterways of Northwestern Europe have rendered individual and mass travel relatively easy. In consequence, many invaders, both warlike and peaceful, have mingled their blood and customs with those of the natives. Trade, too, has flourished in this environment and a lively commerce has steadily grown since the twelfth century A.D. It is this region which has been the chief source of the culture we call western or European.

C. FAMILY, TRIBE, AND NATION

Once it was believed that social groups evolved according to a uniform system from the rugged individualism of primitive men to the complex social organizations of the present day. Modern anthropological and sociological scholarship has proved this belief to have been ill-founded. In the first place, primitive men were never isolated from all their fellows, and, in the second place, the development of social groupings decidedly was not uniform. On the contrary, it varied in every locality and with every people. We do not know much about this early stage of human development. The origin of social groups, their composition, and the manner of their growth and change are all obscure. Modern scholarship, however, has been able to distinguish three types of primitive social groups: the family, the pseudo-family, and the territorial.

The basic social unit from which all others have sprung is the family. The reasons for this are rooted in the nature of men. Man

is born into a family by virtue of biological necessity. He is likely to remain a member of that family because of the inherent human desire to associate with one's kind. The majority of scholars believe that the usual family has always been, as it is today, monogamous. They recognize, however, two main types of families: the bilateral, which includes both parents and their offspring; and the biologically incomplete, unilateral family which traces its relationship through one parent only. If that parent is the mother, the family is termed matrilineal; if the father, patrilineal. Students of these primitive groups are not in agreement as to the relative incidence of the two, but apparently the matrilineal family was the more common.

It would appear that the pseudo-family group was an offshoot of the unilateral family. In this type, actual blood relationship among all members had ceased to exist but the fiction of its presence was maintained. Experts subdivide these groups into two: the clan, if the unilateral family was matrilineal; and the gens, if the family was patrilineal. Both clans and gens formed socially exclusive parts of a tribe, though sometimes they preceded and sometimes followed its formation. The bonds in such a group seem to have been first the accident of proximity, that is, simply, that these people lived closely together; and second, the discovery, which was made quite early, of the advantages of co-operation.

It sometimes happened that tribes were composed not of clans or gens but of the third type of group, the territorial. This ranged from a very loosely organized group living within a certain area, to a fairly compact village. In any case, the beginning was the family and many of the group were bound by ties of blood. To their number were added strangers who settled in the same locality and who were able and willing to co-operate for the common good. It is probable that the fiction of blood relationship was maintained at first but was eventually dropped.

It must be emphasized that these three types of groups were not mutually exclusive and did not follow any uniform order of development. All that can be said of them with any certainty is that primitive men lived in such units. The primary bond was that of kinship; the secondary, that of gregariousness; and the tertiary, that of proximity. Many experts are of the opinion that these remain the most important bonds of society and that men continue to live in one or the other of these social groups. Certainly it is true that the average man is likely to think first of his family, then of his immediate associates, and lastly of his city, state, and nation. The partly territorial

and partly cultural bonds of these last groups are not as strong as those inherent in the biological and psychological nature of man.

In addition to these comparatively small social groups, experts have distinguished much larger units which they term *racial*. Contemporary research has destroyed the earlier theories of the origin, composition, and development of these race groups without, as yet, fully replacing such conceptions. Experts, in fact, are not in agreement as to what constitutes a race group and it is not possible, therefore, to speak of them with assurance. It is generally believed, however, that the peoples of Europe were originally divided into three major races: the Mediterranean, the Alpine, and the Teutonic or Nordic. The first group was found in the Mediterranean Basin; the third, in northern Europe, and the Alpine race between the other two. These three groups have intermixed for thousands of years until today there is no pure race of any kind. A very few individuals may exhibit the characteristics which are believed to distinguish one race from another, but most people represent an extremely complex blending of all three.

If not race, what, then, distinguishes an Englishman from an Italian, or a Spaniard from a Norwegian? The problem is baffling but apparently the answer lies in the fact that men have built up still other social groups which have developed their own peculiar language, customs, and traditions. Individuals are educated by purpose and by accident to be members of a given group. In the ancient world the prevalent unit, and the one from which others sprung, was the city-state. The steps by which this unit evolved from the primitive social groups are not known with surety. The basis was the family and the next stages apparently were the pseudo-family and territorial groups discussed above. It would seem that the next step was the uniting of these tribes or villages into a loose confederation for the purposes of mutual protection, trade, and assistance. Later this union became closer and more lasting, as its component members settled within a rather compact area. The basis of this city-state was territorial, not racial, and the bonds were those of mutual interests, common laws and customs, and a common tongue. The ancient empires were usually combinations of these city-states, held together by the power of the leader or by the advantages of co-operation. Such fusions not only extended the political power of the dominant member, but also superimposed its culture upon its satellites. In that way, large areas came to own one law, one lan-

guage, and one allegiance, as in the case of Rome, greatest of the ancient empires.

The gradual disappearance of the Roman Empire resulted in a recurrence of localism, and small groups replaced the cosmopolitan unit. This was not retrogression, but a change from which evolved a new type of social organism, the nation. The various economic, political, and social factors which brought this about must be reserved for later discussion, but the essential characteristics of this new unit may be suggested here. The most important bonds were proximity and a consciousness of regional unity, or similarity in language, law, traditions, customs, and interests. This feeling, which is called nationalism, was of a very gradual growth. In the beginning, it was weak and limited. It became strong only as men began to identify their personal interests with those of the region in which they lived. Nationalism has been both a unifying and a disruptive force because it has broken down local units in the process of building larger ones. It has made possible great states by submerging small ones, and at the same time has threatened to disintegrate empires by dividing their component parts. It has produced disastrous wars, but it has also enormously enlarged the peace areas of the world. Again and again it will appear as this story unfolds, sometimes as an agent of good and sometimes as an agent of evil.

Note on Bibliography

To serve those readers who may want more detailed information two types of bibliographies have been provided. First, there is a "General Bibliography" at the end of the book,¹ listing works which cover relatively long historical periods. Second are the short lists of books appended to each chapter and dealing particularly with the material covered in that chapter. Since the intent is only to point the way for further study the bibliographies are by no means exhaustive. Many of the books listed contain bibliographies which will lead the seeker deeper into the field. For still more intensive study use should be made of the historical journals and of such bibliographical aids as Dutcher, G. M., *et al.*, *A Guide to Historical Literature* (N. Y., 1931).

¹ See pp. 1033-1035.

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The Forerunners of European Civilization

A. THE PIONEERS

Just as children building forts upon the seashore make use of the sand and stones about them, so do successive generations of men rear their civilizations from the materials at hand. Adding a bit here, discarding something there, they use their heritage to build what becomes their legacy. Their handiwork is never wholly new nor wholly original. Rather it is a carrying over, a modification and adaptation of the work of their predecessors. Historians express this fundamental truth by such phrases as "the continuity of social development," or "the stream of history"; and laymen give inaccurate expression to the same thing by the trite half-truth, "History repeats itself." History does not actually repeat itself, although many striking similarities appear, but each people does build its civilization upon the culture of its ancestors. The line of descent from the past to the present is often hard to trace in detail, but it is unbroken. Leadership in the civilization of the world has constantly shifted, but the elements of the civilizations have carried over from one group to another. Many attainments in which the modern world takes pride are only developments of ancient discoveries. The art of writing, to mention only one instance, was invented by men who lived six thousand years ago, and the type which you are reading is an extension and refinement of their work.

The transition from preliterate to literary history was made first in the Africo-Arabian region of Europe, and for approximately three thousand years, advancing civilization centered in and around the three great troughs of this area.¹ In these favored valleys, fertile soil and a sub-tropic climate made agriculture easy and profitable; the

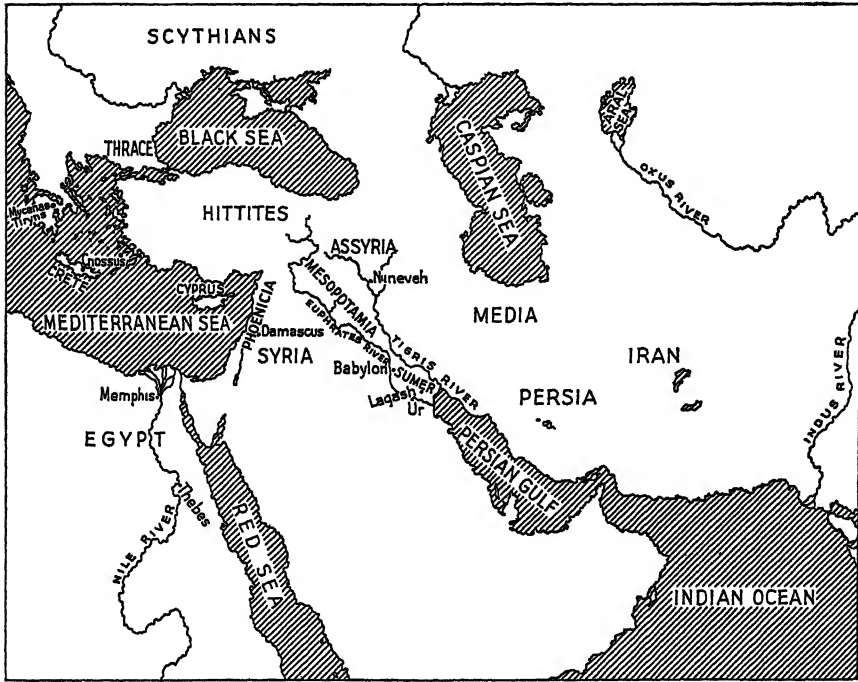
¹ The Tigris and Euphrates Valley, the valley of the Nile, and the Red Sea. See Chapter I.

presence of copper, iron, and gold ores made possible the change from the stone to the metal age; and numerous waterways facilitated commerce and travel. These abundant natural resources enabled some men to accumulate enough wealth to abandon agriculture and so free themselves from direct dependence on tilling the land. This new freedom permitted specialization in trade, in handicrafts, in the service of the state and of the gods, and, finally, in the arts. The standard of living rose and with it there grew an urban society, small but of great importance for it became the leader in the advance of civilization.

A favorable environment was not, however, sufficient in itself to produce such progress. There had to be men of courage, adaptability, and initiative to take advantage of the bounties of nature. The peoples of the Near East, even at this early period, represented complex and indivisible race mixtures. To credit these early advances to any one race is therefore incorrect, since no pure race existed. From the north had come a motley people whose original stock, already mixed with other races, was called Nordic or Teutonic. Their various languages, from which most important European languages developed, are known as Indo-European. From the Near East itself had sprung another group, commonly called Semitic, whose stock was already so mixed as to defy further classification. In addition, there were in the Africo-Arabian region other groups, including the Sumerians in the Tigris and Euphrates Valley and the Badarians in the lands along the Nile.

From these various groups there developed in the course of years numerous civilizations, each owing much to its predecessors and to its contemporaries, but each also adding its peculiar contribution to the development of society as a whole. It is impossible in a survey even to mention all these cultures, let alone describe them, and we are therefore reduced to selecting a few from the many. The ones chosen must serve as the prototypes of all and the picture must, perforce, be a general one. It is not possible even to say which group first effected the transition to the literary period. Some scholars believe that the Nile Valley was the site of the earliest recorded civilization; others place it in the country which lies between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. The question is largely of academic interest, however, for in both places written records have been found which carry the story back about six thousand years.

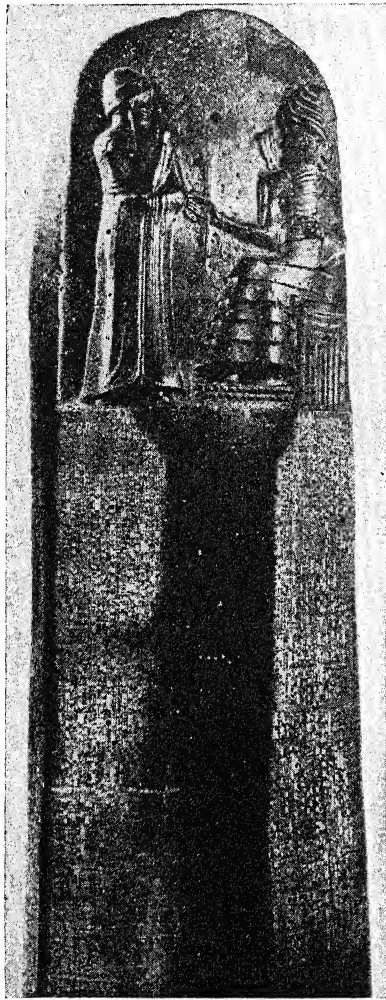
The first inhabitants of the Tigris and Euphrates Valley to leave



MAP 1. THE CRADLE OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

a written record of their life were the Sumerians (circa ¹ 5000-2180). Apparently a mountain people with a high culture, they conquered the natives and upon that foundation built a new civilization. Sometime prior to 4000 they developed a system of writing, now called cuneiform, which remained in use for almost four thousand years. Another lasting achievement was their invention of a calendar and a system of chronology. They were now prepared to record their experiences and, hence, to build their present upon their past. They also developed wheeled vehicles and boats, thereby making trade on a larger scale possible. After a very disastrous flood, which is probably the one referred to in the story of Noah and the Ark, the Sumerians became city dwellers. Managed by officials who were both kings and high priests, their cities prospered and grew. Great advances were made in agriculture, handicrafts, and trade. Eventually the Sumerians were submerged by one group of the peoples known as Semites. These early conquerors insinuated themselves into the existent civilization and the mixed Sumerian and Semitic folk carried

¹ Hereafter, *circa*, meaning approximately, will be abbreviated as *c.* All dates in this chapter are B.C. unless otherwise indicated.



Courtesy of the Syracuse University Library

HAMMURABI'S CODE. C. 2000 B.C.

This stele is of black basalt about eight feet high, with a bas-relief and Hammurabi's Code of Laws, the oldest to come down to us, inscribed in cuneiform writing around the shaft, in over 3,600 lines. King Hammurabi is shown receiving the Code of Laws from the seated Sun God of Babylon, Marduk, recognized by the rays arising from his shoulders. An Elamite conqueror removed this from the city of Sippar to Susa where it was discovered.

Louvre, Paris.

on much as before, until they, in their turn, were overrun by another group to whom has been attached the name of Babylonians.

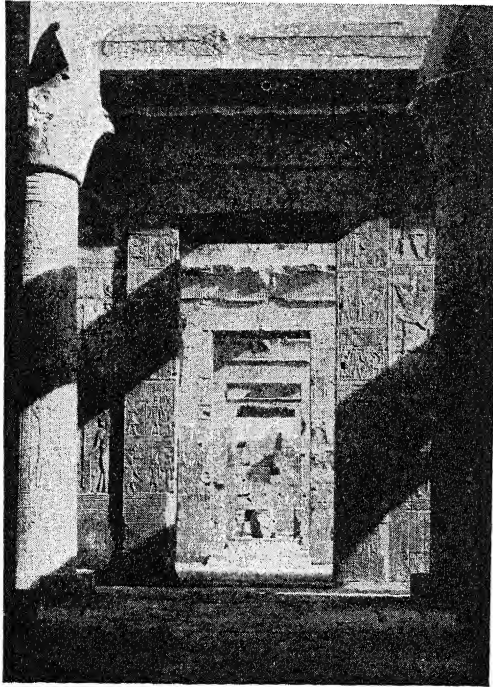
These Babylonians remained in power from approximately 2180 to 1780, but their greatest achievements came in the reign of Hammurabi (1947-1905). The country remained prosperous and powerful long after that, but its civilization had become essentially static. Hammurabi and his times are known to us largely through a code of law which he compiled from Sumerian and Semitic records and customs and caused to be engraved upon a stone. The discovery of this stone in 1901 A.D. and of other written records later has given us a remarkably full picture of the civilization of early Babylonia. A highly developed agriculture was the mainstay of the economic system, but handicrafts and commerce were both important. Society was on a class basis with legal distinctions drawn among nobles, commoners, and slaves. The form of government, adapted from that of the Sumerians, remained monarchical, but the expansion of the kingdom into an empire necessitated the development of a bureaucracy. This expansion also made necessary a division of the royal function, and a very powerful, very highly organized priesthood which eventually overshadowed the civil ruler grew up. Like its Sumerian predecessor, the Babylonian religion was pantheistic. Since its chief aim

was the winning of prosperity and long life, great emphasis was placed upon divination and prophecy. These functions became the exclusive right of the priesthood and help to explain the steady growth of priestly power. Education was also largely in the hands of the priests who taught reading, writing, and mathematics in their temple schools. The purpose of education, like that of religion, was largely utilitarian. The ancient Babylonians produced an extensive literature which ranged from epic stories of creation and the flood through religious liturgies to histories of their by-gone kings. In the arts, Babylonian talent was largely limited to engraving and to metal work, although some advance was made in sculpture.

Meanwhile, a people in the valley of the Nile were likewise advancing along the high road of progress. Modern scholars read this story from their still extant temples and tombs with their contents, and from the rolls of papyri¹ which have been preserved by the dryness of the soil and of the climate. Ancient Egypt, like its modern successor, drew its sustenance from the Nile and from the sun. Life was possible only in the sections where the annually recurring inundations of the great river fertilized and watered the soil. Beyond those favored places the land was, and is, a desert. The long stretch of Egyptian history from the appearance of primitive man to the first union of the peoples under one rule about 3400 is known as the predynastic era. During this period the greatest advance was made by the peoples resident on the delta of the Nile. They developed a style of picture writing to which the Greeks, who mistakenly thought it was a priestly code, gave the name of hieroglyphic, or sacred carving. They also invented a calendar based upon Sothis, the Dog Star,² and known as the Sothic calendar. Experts have calculated that this way of measuring time was begun in 4241. The political unit of these people was the village or a group of villages whose ruler combined the functions of chieftain and priest. A series of wars united these first into two kingdoms and later into one. During the next two thousand years, six dynasties ruled in Egypt. Called by scholars "The Old Kingdom," this was the era of the building of the great pyramids whose very shape seems to symbolize the government and society. At the apex was the king, owner and absolute ruler of Egypt, chief priest and demigod. Beneath him were the great nobles who composed the upper strata of the highly centralized bureaucracy,

¹ A sort of paper made from the stalks of the papyrus reeds which grow along the Nile.

² Now called Sirius.



Courtesy of Lindsley F. Hall

DOUBLE TEMPLE AT KOM OMBO, INTERIOR. PTOL-EMAIC PERIOD.

Begun by Ptolemy V and his son Ptolemy VI, the Temple at Kôm Ombo was dedicated to Haroeris, one of the many forms of the hawk-headed Horus, the sun god, and to Sobk, crocodile god. It is said to be the best of the very late period, though quite inferior to the products of the Old Kingdom. This view shows the series of doorways leading from one small room to another in the interior of the temple.

An inscription in Greek reads: "In honor of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, his sister, the god-like Philometores and their children, the infantry, cavalry, and their troops stationed in the Ombite district (erected) this temple to Haroeris, the great god Apollo, and the gods worshiped with him in the same temple, in consequence (?) of the good will of these gods to them."

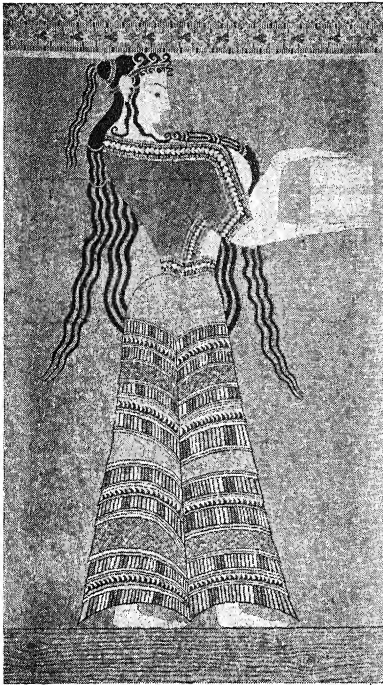
and under them the scribes and professional administrators. The foundation of this great structure was the peasantry who tilled the land, bore the burdens, and in literal truth supported their masters. The achievements of the men of the Old Kingdom were as great as or greater than those made in contemporary Babylonia. Agriculture, trade, and industry were developed; the fundamentals of mathematics and science were mastered; art and architecture were materially advanced; and in religion the ancient Egyptians had surpassed the Babylonians by developing an interest in the great problem of immortality.

The second great period of Egyptian history, known as the age of the Middle Kingdom, began about 2000 with the reuniting of the country under the rule of the Pharaohs of Thebes. This short-lived revival owed much of its prosperity to the extension of arable land by means of irrigation and drainage. The great nobles, whose revolt had ended the previous epoch, retained supreme local power, but recognized the suzerainty of the Pharaoh. This political unity had a religious counterpart in the fusion of many local gods into one great god, as, for example, Osiris who became the national god of the dead. Little progress was made in any of the arts except in the

working of jewels and metals. Literature reached its classic age with fables and stories, some of which are familiar to us in modified form.

An invasion of a people from Asia Minor, called Hyksos by the Egyptians, ended the Middle Kingdom and prefaced the formation of the Egyptian Empire (1580-1150). This new empire was essentially a military state, ruled by the Pharaoh who became a sort of king-general. The period was one of prosperity with agriculture remaining the backbone of the economic system but with a marked expansion of trade which brought Crete and Syria within the orbit of Egyptian culture. The greatness of the empire gradually declined before the steady advance in power of the priestly class. Eventually, the high priest of the chief god, Amon, became king, and the conservative priestly rule brought stagnation to the civilization of Egypt. Its influence has lingered even to our own day, for Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Roman civilizations borrowed heavily from the achievements of the land of the Nile.

While this cycle of rise and fall was going on in Egypt, new peoples and new cultures, possibly European in origin, were making their way from the north and east into Asia Minor and the area of the Ægean Sea. Ancient legends, partially confirmed by archeological research within recent years, tell of wave after wave of invaders who appeared, conquered, and merged their stock and their customs with those of the conquered, and then were themselves submerged. Sometime about 3000 there began what scholars call the Early Minoan Age. Melos was the center of a culture which stretched from the Cyclades to Cyprus, and from the site of ancient Troy to the coast of Greece. Copper was widely used along with the stone implements of the preceding Neolithic period. This was followed by the Middle Minoan Age (c. 2200-c. 1600) when bronze largely supplanted copper as the metal of civilization. Cnossus and Phæstus in Crete were the foci of this culture. During its six centuries of existence, linear script was developed from the earlier pictographs. Approximately in the middle of the second millennium, Cnossus emerged as the ruler of most of the Ægean basin and the Middle Minoan faded into the Late Minoan Age. The imperial palace at Cnossus has revealed to its modern excavators that its builders were sufficiently advanced to construct a four-storied structure equipped with bathrooms and plumbing, and beautifully adorned and decorated. Government was by a priest-king who was assisted by a bureaucracy, and the society was apparently divided into a nobility,



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

MINOAN WOMAN WITH CASKET

This fresco shows a lady in the elaborate costume of the late Minoan civilization, painted in a conventionalized style. Athens National Museum.

a middle class, and a peasantry. Agriculture was of course important, but the Minoans also had many skilled handicrafts and a well-developed trade which went as far north as the Black Sea. Religion was pantheistic, but probably the chief deity was a mother-goddess.

Minoan civilization began to level off about 1500, and a century later it faded before the brilliance of the Mycenaean culture. This latter was a blending of the Minoan with that imported by invaders from the north who appeared in the Ægean region (c. 2000). These newcomers slowly developed their own centers of civilization on the mainland, notably at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Troy. They conquered the reigning Minoan emperor (c. 1400) and entered upon a brief span of glory. Many of their northern customs were retained, such as the building of gabled houses, the wearing of a loose garment held together by a primitive safety pin (the fibula),

and the worship of an Indo-European god called Zeus; but they adopted the Minoan social and political system, some of the religion, and many of the luxuries. A far-flung trade increased their wealth and spread their accomplishments from Spain to the Black Sea. The high mark of their power was the Trojan War of the twelfth century, long fabled in the Homeric poems. That there was such a war is clear, but its causes are conjectural and its story long since overlaid with myth and legend. Finally, in their turn, the Mycenæans were overwhelmed by the Dorian migrations, a confused and mysterious population movement which apparently began in the northwestern part of what is now called the Balkans.

The same centuries which witnessed the events of the Late Minoan and Mycenaean periods saw also the rise and fall of another people in Asia Minor. The Hittites, an Indo-European group, swept

into the peninsula from the north about 2000 and established themselves as masters of the native populations. Within six hundred years they created a great empire which encompassed all of Asia Minor. Primarily herdsman, their great gift to the world, surprisingly, was the discovery of how to mine and use iron. The collapse of their empire, which roughly coincided with the decay of Egypt and the submergence of the Ægean civilization, made way for another cycle of conquerors and cultures.

The first of these were the Phœnicians who evolved their way of life from a blending of Egyptian and Babylonian elements. Remembered chiefly because they developed the alphabet from which our own is descended, they were also important as the disseminators of their culture which they carried throughout the Mediterranean area in their trading operations. While the Phœnicians were monopolizing the sea trade, a branch of the Semitic peoples, the Arameans, were dominating the inland trade from their capital in Damascus. They lost their empire to the Assyrians in 732, but their language, which is called Aramaic, became and remained the universal tongue of the Levant until well after the beginning of the Christian era.¹ During these same years another Semitic people, the Hebrews, after an adventure in Egypt which is familiar to most westerners, succeeded in establishing a short-lived kingdom in the lands around Jerusalem. The most valuable gift of the Hebrews to the western world was the development of the great monotheistic religion we call Judaism. Evolving from the worship of a tribal god, Jahweh (Jehovah), Judaism after much travail and many changes became a national religion. The concept of Jahweh broadened in the age of the prophets until it was maintained that He was omnipotent and omnipresent, a God of Righteousness, supreme over all the world. Out of that Hebraic belief and the code of morals which accompanied it grew both Christianity and Mohammedanism.

These three groups, Phœnician, Aramean, and Hebrew, were overshadowed in the ninth century by the rise of the Assyrian Empire which, before its fall in the seventh century, included nearly all of the Near and Middle East. The great legacy of the Assyrians was their organization both of armies and of empires. Persian, Macedonian, and Roman conquerors borrowed much from the Assyrian military tactics and imperial administration. Their empire, despite their active militarism, became a great peace area where trade and industry flourished, and cities grew and prospered.

¹ It is highly probable that Jesus and his disciples spoke Aramaic.

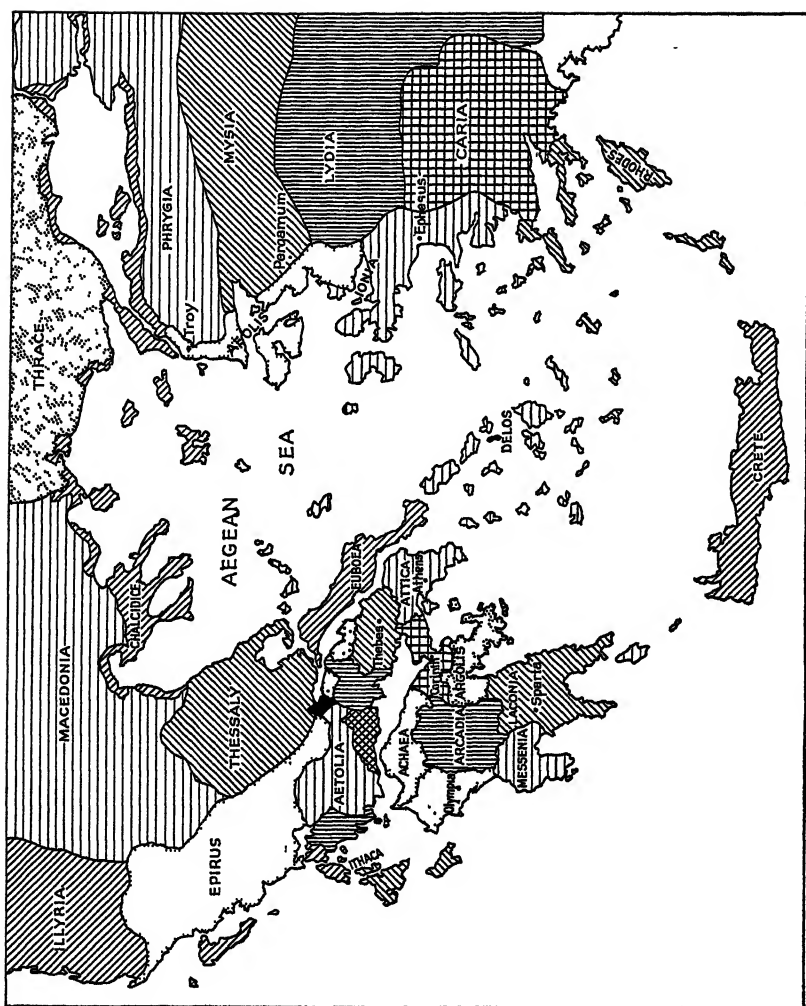
Assyria fell before the onslaught of a Semitic tribe called Chaldeans, whose culture was distinctly Babylonian. In their turn, the Chaldeans were forced to bow to yet other groups of conquerors, the Medes and Persians. The Persian Empire bulked large in the history of Greece but its contribution to western development was slight. Other great gifts, notably Christianity and Mohammedanism, were to come from the East but not until the center of civilization had shifted first to Greece and later to Rome.

B. HELLENIC POLITICS AND CULTURE

Borrowing heavily from past and contemporary cultures, and adding much of their own, the mixed peoples who dwelt in the Greek Peninsula developed a rich civilization during the first millennium. Heirs of the *Ægean* civilization, and in close touch with the Orient by reason of geography and trade, the Greeks built upon an Oriental foundation, but the culture they evolved differed from that of the ancient East.

An important but not a decisive factor in Greek life was the geography of the peninsula. Small, mountainous, and poor in natural resources and arable soil, the land tended to drive the people to the sea. This tendency was accentuated by the deeply indented southern and eastern coasts, the steady winds and fair weather of the eastern Mediterranean, and the numerous islands dotting the *Ægean* which served as way stations on the sea road to Asia Minor. The mountains, which make up four-fifths of the land area of the peninsula, effectively divided the people into small groups which were not united until recent times. Indeed, properly speaking, there is no history of ancient Greece in the political sense, but only a history of the ancient Greeks. They never overcame the handicaps of isolation imposed upon them by the mountain barriers. On the foothills of the mountains were grazing lands; in the tiny valleys and on the small plains was the very limited arable land. The ancient Greeks were never self-sufficient in the matter of food, though they raised some grains, vegetables, fruit, and many olives.

We know very little of the events of the Greek Middle Age (c. 1200-c. 750) when the transition from the Mycenaean to the Hellenic (Greek) civilization took place. During those years, peoples of unknown but probably mixed origins invaded and conquered the lands of the *Ægean* area. Very slowly they assimilated some of the native culture, which was higher than their own, and built



MAP 2. GREECE AND ASIA MINOR

a new civilization. The incomplete but interesting picture which we have of their society is derived mainly from archeological remains and from the two great epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.¹ The government was probably monarchical with the kings claiming to rule by divine favor but actually enjoying power because of personal superiority. Absolute in war, the king was limited in times of peace by a council and an assembly. Society was divided into classes ranging from noble to slave. Agriculture seems to have been the mainstay of life with industry and trade slowly recovering from the shock of the invasions. The Homeric gods were a sort of supermen, and the relations between man and his gods were simple and direct. Family life was strong, and the position of women, high. At some undetermined stage of this period there emerged a new political unit, the city-state, or *polis*, which became the center of Greek life.²

The origins of the *polis* are obscure. It seems probable that it was the natural outgrowth of proximity and the recognition of the value of co-operation in trade, defense, and life in general. In some instances, this co-operation was voluntarily engaged in by small ethnic units or by villages; in others, it was enjoined by the superior force of one group. Whatever the motives and the processes, the city-state was the nub of Greek and, later, Roman life.

The typical *polis* was small with an area ranging from fifty to five hundred square miles and a citizen population of considerably less than five thousand.³ Citizenship was strictly limited, usually on a basis of birth and landownership. Slaves were not citizens and aliens could become so only by a special dispensation of the citizenry. To an extent approached only in contemporary totalitarian states, the *polis* was the center of the life of its citizens, all of whom shared in its political activities to a degree varying with the type of government. The *polis*, to use our modern terms, was both church and state, for it was held that the gods were best worshiped by serving the state. The economic life of the *polis* revolved about its market place and its social life was enriched by the public performance of the

¹ Controversy is still rife about these poems, but many experts believe that they are a compound of ancient folk-songs and legend and the writings of a poet named Homer who lived in the middle of the ninth century. The heroic events which they describe belong to the Mycenaean rather than the Hellenic period, but Homer apparently wove into the story a picture of society in his own time.

² The *polis* was not universal in Greece, but the greatest advances in culture were made where it appeared. Originally the word meant a fortified hilltop, but later it came to mean a small sovereign state composed of a city and its environs.

³ Athens, exceptionally large at the height of her glory, controlled an area (Attica) of about 3,500 square miles. The male citizen population of Athens itself was approximately 40,000 and the total population about 155,000.

drama and other forms of entertainment. The administration of the *polis* varied from democracy to tyranny but in all cases each little state demanded, and customarily enjoyed, absolute independence. This principle of freedom became basic in Greek thought and colored the whole civilization. To the Greeks, the *polis* was the literal limit of political development and for its glory they produced their works of art, architecture and letters.

During the two and a half centuries following the Middle Age, the Ægean area slowly recovered from the dislocation of its economic life caused by the Dorian invasions. An increase in population caused all available lands to be brought under cultivation and supplied labor, both free and slave, for the growing industry and trade. During the eighth century the coining of money was revived in Ionia, which led in the revival of industry and commerce, and the practice was soon adopted in Corinth and Ægina, both of which were also active in this economic revival. The pressure of the growing population for more land and more food, the desire for markets and raw materials, and political unrest combined to produce an expansion movement (c. 750-c. 550). The various city-states planted colonies throughout the Mediterranean world from Gaul to the Black Sea region. Nearby colonies were largely dependent upon the mother city, distant ones were independent, but all of them jealously guarded their ties with the parent *polis* and became the foci from which Hellenic civilization was spread to other peoples. Especially important were the settlements in the west which thus early brought Greek influences to bear on the nascent Roman state. Conversely, these colonies enriched Greek life through their contacts with other cultures.

It was also in this period that many of the city-states went through a cycle of changes in government. The early monarchies tended to give way to aristocratic rule (c. 750) which, in turn, usually led to a tyranny (c. 650). Many of the early tyrants were able rulers who put down internecine conflicts and restored domestic peace to the great advantage of their subjects. In the end, they lost power to an oligarchy of wealth which slowly broadened into a timocracy¹ and then, usually, into a democracy.

Sparta, which was not so much a state as a military order, did not follow this whole cycle. During the eighth century, Sparta, which had early gained control of the iron mines of Messena, rose to a position of military supremacy and brought all of Laconia under

¹ A state in which love of honor or glory is the ruling principle.

its control. The government of Sparta evolved into a military aristocracy somewhat checked and limited by a strong magistracy. The two co-kings, an institution which probably dated from the tribal age, gradually became less important than the assembly, which was composed of all men over thirty years old who served in the heavy infantry. The executive power came to be vested in a small group, elected by the assembly. There was also a senate which served as a supreme court. Citizenship was strictly limited to the landowning Spartans who served in the army. Beneath them in power and in society were the freedmen, and the *helots*. The former, probably descendants of conquered natives, lived in autonomous towns of their own. Personally free but having no voice in Spartan affairs, they were the merchants and manufacturers of Laconia. There were several classes of freedmen who, although personally free, had no political rights. The *helots* were state serfs, kept in hand by the secret police, and used to till the land and to assist the army. The whole social system was geared to produce soldiers. Weak infants were allowed to die by exposure, boys and girls alike were harshly trained to become, respectively, soldiers and the mothers of soldiers. Young men lived in barracks under military discipline; only after the age of thirty did life become a little less rigorous. In the end, this rigid militarism weakened the state by making its citizens fit only to fight.

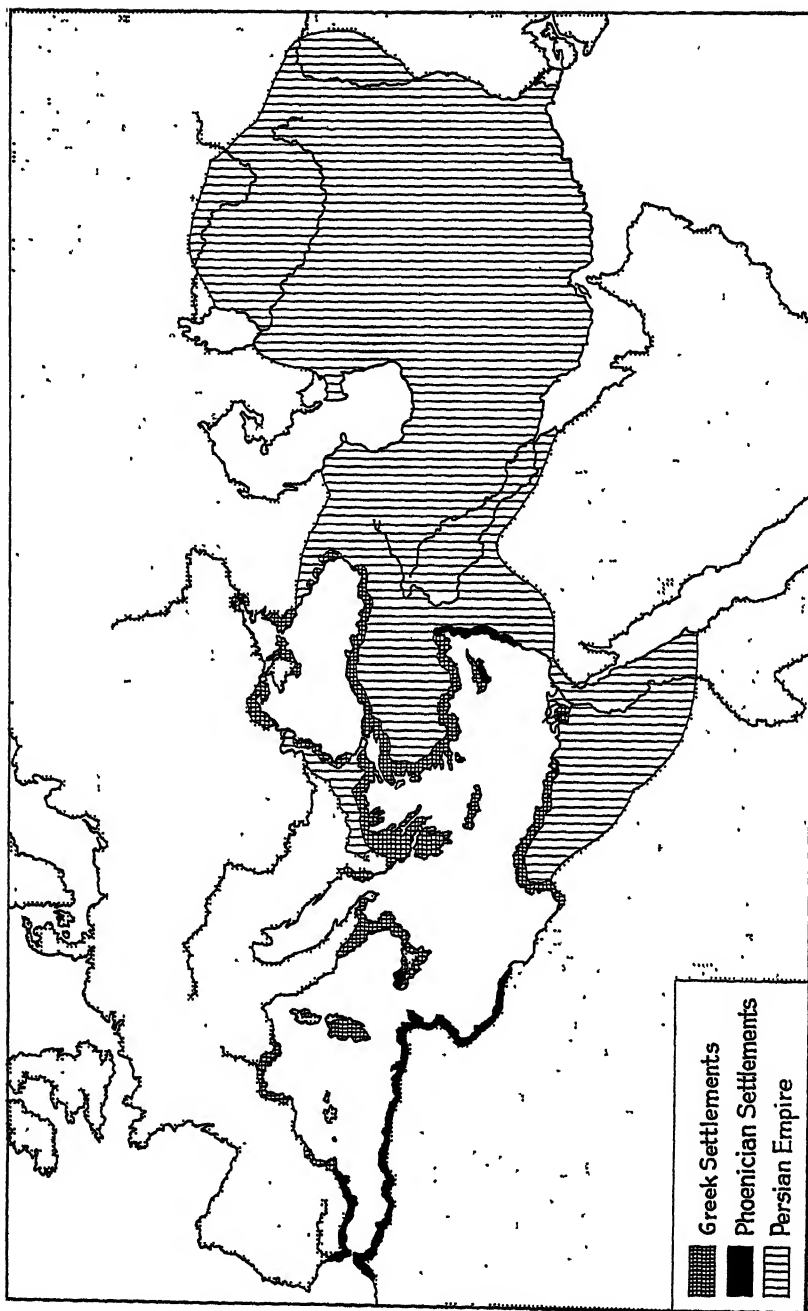
Sparta, during the later seventh and sixth centuries, became the leader of one of the leagues which were so prominent in ancient Greek history. The origin of these unions is obscure but they were very old. Most of these were ostensibly religious in character and aim but actually they served the more secular purposes of trade, protection and power. Sparta headed the Peloponnesian League which by 500 included most of the Peloponnesian states. Each member state was bound to Sparta by treaty to furnish military aid in case of war. The allies were free to govern themselves and a congress, in which all were represented, decided affairs affecting the League as a whole.

Meanwhile in northern Greece, Athens, which sometime prior to the eighth century had united Attica under its control, was going through political changes. During the first half of the seventh century the king had been deprived of his power by the nobles and an aristocratic government with nine administrators at the head had been established. Gradually the aristocracy changed into an oligarchy and then into a timocracy of the heavy infantry. It was in this stage (c. 621) that Draco collected and codified the customary law, per-

haps adding something of his own. The Draconian Code, harsh and severe, strengthened the power of the state by giving it authority to punish homicide and thus enabling it to stamp out the raging feuds.

A quarter of a century later, a revolt of the masses, desperate because of their economic condition, resulted in the bestowal of absolute power on Solon (594). His economic reforms, among other things, canceled all debts and released the debt slaves; limited the amount of land which one man might own; established a coinage system; and permitted the formation of corporations. His political reforms included the extension of citizenship to skilled artisans; the establishment of a citizen assembly, a Council of Four Hundred, and popular law courts on which any citizen might sit; and the fixing of property qualifications for office-holding. Solon's reforms relieved but did not cure the ills of the state, and factional strife continued, resulting in 560 in the rise of a tyrant, Peisistratus, who ruled until his death in 527. His two sons carried on until 510 when Hippias, the sole survivor, was overthrown. The tyrants had served Athens well. The power of the nobility was broken; agriculture was successfully encouraged; trade and industry, fostered; and Athens prospered. Following a brief oligarchical rule (510-508), the reforms of Cleisthenes gave Athens a moderate popular government.

During the sixth century Greek independence was threatened by the imperial expansion of Persia, whose conquest of Lydia (546) brought the Asiatic Greeks under her control. As the fifth century began these Ionian cities revolted against the reigning Persian Emperor, Darius (521-485). Despite Athenian aid, the revolt was crushed by 493 and the Persians, to avoid a repetition of the affair, made ready an attack upon the European Greeks. The epic of the Persian War (492-479) is too long to be told here even in outline. Athens and Sparta took the leadership in temporarily uniting the disparate Greek cities first in the Peloponnesian League and then in the Hellenic Congress. Persia was four times beaten back, and finally in 479 a Greek naval victory at Mycale brought the war to an end. The outstanding leader of the struggle was the Athenian Themistocles, statesman, diplomat, and naval commander. Under him Athens made herself a naval power and laid the foundations for an empire of her own. The Greek victory was a triumph of western over eastern ways, and by maintaining Greek independence, it made possible the continuing development of the unique Greek culture. The war also resulted in a short religious revival in Greece, which was reflected in both art and literature, and in marked progress toward



MAP 3. GREEK AND PHOENICIAN SETTLEMENTS AND THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, ABOUT 525 B.C.

democracy in Athens. It also gave an impulse toward unity and common action, but as the danger disappeared individualism and disunity returned.

Following the Persian War, Sparta made a vain effort to retain the leadership but Athens asserted herself and assumed command of the sea. In 477, Aristides, Athenian leader and rival of Themistocles, united the maritime Greeks by offensive-defensive alliances into the Delian Confederacy. Because of her naval supremacy, Athens enjoyed the hegemony of this league almost from the first. The third great Athenian leader of the period, Cimon, showed the league's power in 468 by defeating the Phœnicians on land and sea and making Athens the ruler of the *Ægean*. Gradually, the allies were transformed into subjects and by the middle of the fifth century, the Delian Confederacy had become the Athenian Empire. While this was going on, the rivalry between Athens and Sparta had developed into an open war which ended finally in 446 and 445 with the "Thirty Years' Peace." In effect, this divided Greece into a northern group under the hegemony of Athens, and a southern group under the hegemony of Sparta.

Less dramatic than the wars were other changes that had taken place in Athens, resulting in the rise of the leaders mentioned above. From an agricultural area, Athens had slowly changed into a center of commerce and industry so that by the end of the Persian War she was importing about two-thirds of her food. This economic transformation had been reflected in the rise of an urban proletariat, to use a currently familiar phrase, which challenged the rule of the landowning aristocracy. Themistocles, for example, was a member of this commercial and industrial class, while his political rivals, Aristides and Cimon, were the leaders of the more conservative landlord and peasant groups. Time and change continued to increase the power of the urban party which successfully demanded the democratization of government. Before peace had been made with Sparta, Athens had become a democracy and so, except for two brief interludes, it remained until 338.

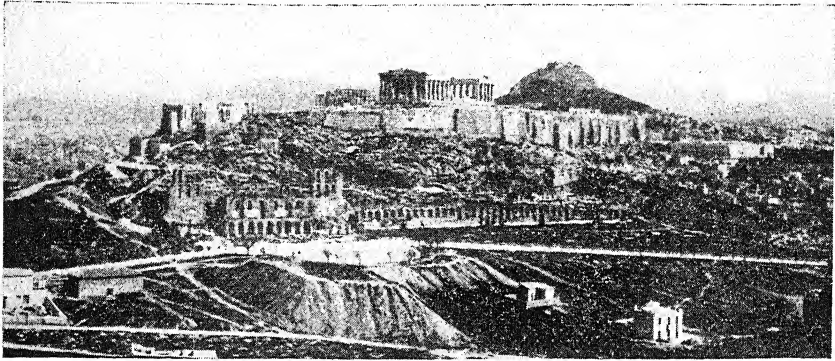
Easily the most outstanding leader of the new class and, indeed, the most famous statesman of Athenian history was Pericles, who dominated Athenian politics from 461 until his death in 429 and gave his name to the most brilliant period the city enjoyed. Austere, reserved, not at all a demagogic figure, Pericles was a great orator, an able administrator, and a very capable statesman. He it was who completed the establishment of the empire, won and held the con-

trol of sea-borne trade in both east and west, and negotiated the peace with Sparta. It was Pericles, too, who completed the work of his ancestor, Cleisthenes, by making Athens a democracy. It was this same man who guided the rebuilding and beautifying of his city, making it the great cultural center of the European world. Finally, Pericles was the first Athenian leader in the generation-long struggle with Sparta which began in 431.

The fundamental cause of this Peloponnesian War was the fact that the Athenian Empire menaced the economic and political independence of the other Greek states, notably Sparta and Corinth. The war (431-404) between the greatest sea power and the greatest land power in Greece resulted finally in the victory of the latter. The cost of conflict was great: cities were captured and destroyed, Persia reasserted her power over Ionia, trade was all but ruined, and civil strife completed the havoc of the intermural war. All Greece was weakened thereby and the days of its independence shortened. Athenian democracy was everywhere replaced by oligarchies on the Spartan model. In Athens itself, "Thirty Tyrants," supported by Sparta, temporarily took over the rule of the city and instituted a reign of terror which lasted until the populace drove them out and restored democracy in 403. Politically, Athens had failed either to unite the Greeks or to preserve her own supremacy. More important by far were the artistic and intellectual conquests which long outlived her empires.

It is customary but not wholly accurate to speak of the cultural attainments of this age as Athenian. Athens was the center and the leader of Greek artistry and intellectualism, but it owed much to other cities, notably those of Asia Minor. At the same time, it must also be borne in mind that the artistic and intellectual accomplishments of ancient Greece were the work of a comparatively small group. The inland city-states and the great majority of the people added little to the sum total of cultural advance. The major share, but not all of the credit, belongs to the intelligentsia of Athens who excelled in art, architecture, literature, and thought.

Simplicity and proportion, which imply moderation and restraint, naturalism, and a zest for life, were the cornerstones of Greek art. Interested almost wholly in the present, humanists in the literal meaning of the word, the cultivated Greeks were possessed of a rare sense of beauty. Art was to them not a thing apart but an integral factor of their daily life, a means of glorifying their anthropomorphic gods and of beautifying their beloved cities. Religion and civic



Courtesy of the Syracuse University Library

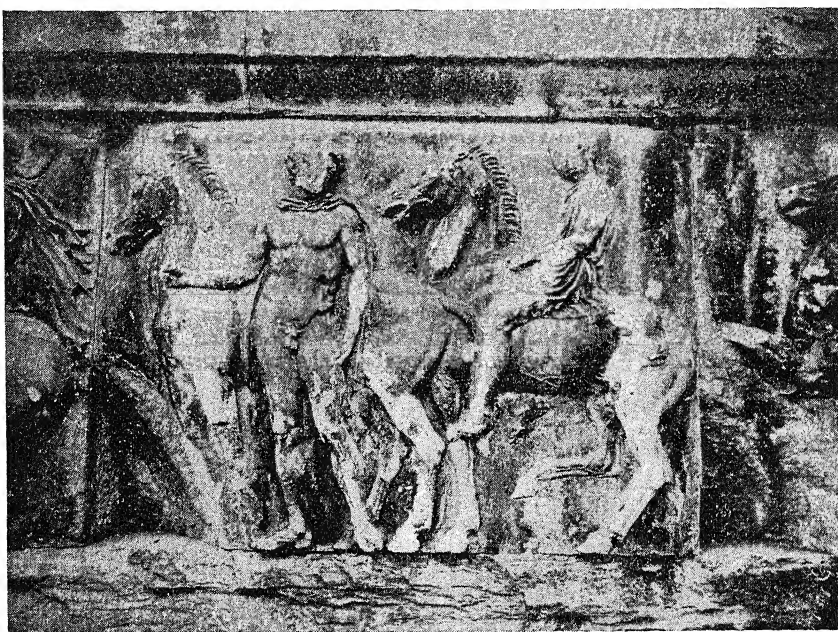
THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS

This view shows the remains of the fine temples that covered the sacred hill of Athens at the time of her greatest glory. At the left above is the Propylæa with the small temple of Athene Nike. The Parthenon stands in the center. The west front is in the shadow, but the triangular pediment can be distinguished in outline. Only two fragments of Phidean sculpture remain there. Just below the pediment are the metopes, sculpture of an earlier period, one of which is still in place; these alternated with the tryglyphs, the three bands in decorating the upper half of the space above the columns. These columns of the Doric type form a colonnade under which marched the annual procession of the people at Athens, bringing the robe (peplos) woven for the goddess by noble Athenian women.

pride were their inspiration and their outlet. The greatest examples of their architecture were their temples and public buildings in which they combined the worship of the gods and the service of the state. Properly told, the story of Hellenic culture would emphasize its gradual growth, but limitations of time and space force concentration upon its culmination.

The public buildings of the classic period were small as judged by later standards, but they were marked by a grace and proportion which their many imitators have never surpassed. The typical temple was rectangular in form with numerous columns supporting the ridged roof. Three types of columns, distinguished by their size and by the style of their capitals, were developed. The earliest, the Doric, essentially 'sturdy and plain, and derived from Egyptian models, was best exemplified in the Athenian Parthenon, a temple to the goddess Athena erected in the Age of Pericles. The later Ionic, best used in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and the Corinthian, of which the finest example was the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates at Athens, were more delicate and more ornate, showing the influence of Asia Minor.

Hellenic sculpture, by reason of its technical excellence and its



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PARTHENON FRIEZE

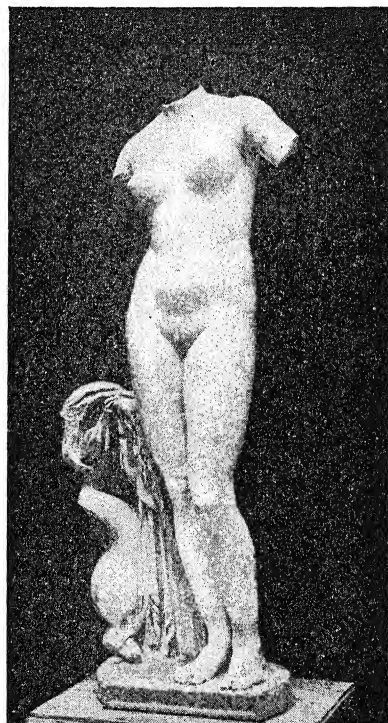
The annual procession is depicted in the frieze which ran around the temple at the top of the outer wall. This work was done in relief, in the Phidean style; some sections of this remain on the building. The figures shown here are from the western end and are in place. Much of the finest sculpture was taken to England; some went to the Louvre in Paris, some to the Museum at Athens.

combination of vitality and dignity, has been an inspiration to later generations. Working primarily in marble and in bronze, the greatest of these ancient sculptors produced works whose beauty has endowed them with an immortal appeal. The fine simplicity of the earlier works is gradually lost after Phídias, adviser to Pericles and director of construction of the Parthenon, who combined the Hellenic interest in naturalism with a noble restraint. Myron and Lysippus produced the greatest statues of athletes. Praxiteles was the master of the most highly-finished figures.

Western literature began with the great Homeric poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which have been the models of epic poetry ever since the ninth century. The ancient Greeks also developed a lyric poetry, whose greatest exponent was Sappho of Lesbos (c. 600). She has given her name both to a style of poetry and to a phase of abnormal psychology. Hellenic drama was an outgrowth of the religious choruses common in ancient Greece. By slow degrees it lost

its religious character and became social and ethical. Three men, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, whose combined works cover the last of the fifth and most of the fourth centuries, stand forth as the greatest of the Greek tragic poets. Æschylus (525-456) was primarily concerned with the problem of justice, and his best-known trilogy of plays, *Agamemnon*, deals with this theme. Sophocles (c. 496-406) was essentially a literary artist whose work was marked by technical symmetry. His greatest plays were drawn from the Theban story of Œdipus. The third of these poets, Euripides (480-406), was less popular in his own time, but his works have had a more enduring appeal. Primarily a realist, Euripides made himself the spokesman of the poor and humble. By all odds the greatest writer of comedy was Aristophanes (c. 450-385), whose rollicking ridicule made mock of the sham he saw about him. The state, the ways of politicians, the new learning of Socrates, and the class consciousness of Euripides all felt the sting of his audacious and often ribald wit. *The Frogs*, his most famous work, was a literary criticism of the tragic poet.

The breadth of Greek literature and thought was further demonstrated by the historians, Herodotus (c. 484-c. 425) and Thucydides (c. 460-395). Prior to the work of the former, history had been treated as a part of genealogy and geography; after his time it was recognized as a separate branch of literature. By modern standards, Herodotus was less an historian than he was an inquiring reporter. Credulous, but fair-minded, he made no effort to evaluate his material, but contented himself with retelling the stories he heard. Thucydides, in contrast, carefully sifted and weighed the evidence which his patient researches revealed, in an effort to arrive at the



CYRENE VENUS.
4TH CENTURY B.C.

Aphrodite Anadyomene, found at Cyrene in Tripoli, Africa. Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme Diocleziane, Rome.

truth. His history of the Peloponnesian War, though it ignores the social and economic elements which loom so large to recent and contemporary historians, and despite his habit of putting his own words into the mouths of his characters, remains a model of historiography. Thucydides' history was carried on by Xenophon (c. 430-c. 350), though with markedly less accuracy. Xenophon, like Herodotus, was more a journalist than an historian, but his *Anabasis*, the record of an invasion of Mesopotamia in 401, is one of the most famous examples of military history.

Oratory and rhetoric were also significant developments of Hellenic literature. Isocrates (436-338) was the greatest teacher of rhetoric, and his methods and rules of style have greatly influenced later writers and orators. Most famous of the professional orators was Demosthenes (384-322), who in his best-known speeches, the *Philippics*, sought to rouse his countrymen against the Macedonian king.

Hellenic philosophy, that is, the attempt to discover the basic truths and general causes of life by observation and contemplation, began long before the rise of Athens to a place of power, but it culminated in the work of later Athenians. Generations before the golden age of Athenian philosophy, Hellenic thinkers had propounded both an atomic theory of matter and a belief that all the world was composed of four elements: earth, air, fire, and water. The latter was the more generally accepted and remained the basic hypothesis of physics and chemistry until the seventeenth century A.D. A notion of evolution, an interest in metaphysics, and a pervading skepticism also appeared in this early period. Skepticism had its greatest exponents among a group of fifth-century philosophers and teachers who were called the Sophists. All that is known of this group has come from its opponents and is, therefore, likely to be colored by hostility. Their philosophy was utilitarian, and their criterion was the success of the individual. The greatest opponent of the Sophists was the skilled dialectician, Socrates (469-399). Primarily a seeker for "the true, the noble, the just, and the pious," Socrates was the founder of western ethics. His long and useful life was abruptly ended by the Athenians who thought him a dangerous radical, but his teachings were carried on and developed by his greatest pupil, Plato (428-347).

Convinced that the world was knowable through the application of human reason, Plato insisted upon the necessity of complete intellectual freedom to inquire into and investigate causes. His goal was

the truth and his demand for freedom to seek it out has been echoed by all succeeding searchers. The central theme of Platonic philosophy was the assumption that existing objects were shadows of a universal truth. A man, for example, was nothing but a shadowy approximation of the universal ideal of man. The ideal we cannot see, but we may know it through its shadow. A concrete and historic illustration of this conception is offered in the tripartite relation of Platonic, Neo-Platonic, and early Christian philosophy. A group of Hellenistic philosophers, who earned themselves the name of Neo-Platonists, twisted the doctrines of Plato into a denial of the physical and a dependence upon faith as the only revealer of the truth. Many later philosophers accepted this distortion as the work of Plato himself and, therefore, derived their conception of Platonism not from its source but from its distorted shadow.

Plato's most important work was his *Republic*, an exposition of moral philosophy illustrated in the familiar terms of the state. The purpose of the book was to set forth the art of living best and most fully. To Plato the state and the individual were identical entities but the state was built on a larger scale and hence more easily investigated. The best individual and the best state lived in accordance with the great principles of justice, and the *Republic* seeks to set forth the criteria which must control an ideal life. Read in this sense, the *Republic* becomes not a narrow treatise on the ideal state but a guidebook to a happy life.

Partly because of the fortunate preservation of many of his works but chiefly because of the merit of his thought, Plato's pupil, Aristotle (384-322), ranks as one of the greatest of the few intellectual supermen of the human past. In the words of a later philosopher,¹ Aristotle took all knowledge for his province, and there was no facet of nature or of man which he did not study. Reversing Plato's hypothesis, Aristotle held that reality or truth existed only in the concrete from which abstract generalities might be inducted. In more specific terms, Aristotle taught that only by studying many individual men might one arrive at an understanding of the general abstraction, man. The method based on this assumption is the direct progenitor of the methodology of modern science. Briefly, it consisted first of a study of as many individual examples as possible, and then of the formulation of a general explanation based upon these observations. To prepare himself to work in political theory, for example, Aristotle first studied the constitutional development of

¹ Francis Bacon.

one hundred and fifty-eight Greek states. Only when that tremendous task was completed did he attempt to explain the nature and purpose of the state. Using such methods, he gathered existing information on fields ranging from astronomy to rhetoric, added to it his own observations and embodied the whole in his conclusions.

Aristotle maintained that everything had four fundamental roots: (1) the material of which it was made; (2) the class of things to which it belonged; (3) the maker; and (4) the purpose for which it was made. By the use of reason it was possible to discover these four fundamentals and, then, by the use of logic, to deduce the individual applications for any particular case. This theory of causation later fitted well into the Christian conception of God and the universe, and the logical method made strong appeal to medieval theologians, facts which go far toward explaining the great popularity and strong influence of Aristotle in the Middle Ages.

Next to his logic, Aristotle's most lasting contributions were his theories of ethics. Moderation was the keynote of his ethical code, a fact which emphasized his debt to the Hellenic civilization in general. Happiness, he taught, came from a neat balance between indulgence and asceticism, the pursuit of wisdom and the cultivation of social graces.

Not all Athenians, as has been suggested, were artistic geniuses or intellectual giants. Their city was cosmopolitan, the achievements of their leaders, great; but it seems probable that the average man was more concerned with his individual problems than with the metaphysics of Aristotle. Beyond the city walls the peasantry lived in direct dependence upon the soil. Despite the primitive methods of agriculture, they enjoyed, during the Periclean Age, moderate prosperity. The average holding was small; the largest estate of which we have record was only sixty-four acres and that was apparently exceptional even among the landed aristocracy. Like peasants in all ages and climes, those of the Athenian plain were conservative, acting as a brake upon the more radical urbanites.

Within the city, the common people earned their living in many ways just as they do today. Some had farms outside the walls, some were engaged in personal service, some were engaged in manufacturing or trade, some lived on public relief, and some just loafed. Industry was on a small scale, with much specialized division of labor. It thrived during the fifth century as did also Athens' commerce which in the days of the empire reached from Italy to the Black Sea. Industry and commerce supported not only many citi-

zens but many aliens who came to Athens in some numbers to work and to trade. Citizenship was denied them save by special grant, but they freely participated in the economic and social life of the city. The lowest social class were the slaves, who numbered about one hundred thousand, and who were employed in domestic service, as skilled and unskilled labor in industry and trade, and to a very limited extent in agriculture.

Religion was polytheistic and cults were numerous. In addition to family gods, there were gods for different occupations and for different classes. Many state festivals were held honoring gods and goddesses, heroes of the past, and noteworthy events. Mysteries, notably that of Eleusis, were popular, but the *polis* itself was the real object of the citizen's devotion. It is noteworthy that Periclean Athens enjoyed a full religious tolerance, and that there was no large class of professional priests.

Among the other features of Greek life, brief mention may be made of the games and competitions. These were largely connected with religious festivals and they ranged all the way from foot races to contests in music and poetry. Athletic meets of various kinds were popular, each city having its own; and four, the Olympic, the Pythian, the Isthmian, and the Nemean, were on a national scale. The Olympic games, most famous of the four, were held every four years at Olympia in Elis. The earliest recorded was in 776 but games were probably held before that. In time they became a quasi-religious, quasi-sporting festival for all Greece. Truce was imposed during them and they soon developed into something like an all-Greek conference where diplomats and statesmen conferred. It seems hardly necessary, in view of our own experience with national and international sports, to add that they also greatly stimulated trade and commerce.

The reader will have noted that this discussion of Greek life and culture has carried the story beyond the fall of Athens. It is time now to return to political changes and tell the story of the transient empires of Sparta, Thebes, and Macedon.

C. THE HELLENISTIC AGE

The brief period of Spartan and, later, Theban hegemony which followed the defeat of Athens (404) was filled with a sorry record of intrigues and wars. Sparta had no qualifications for leadership save her uncertain military supremacy. Persia, which had aided Sparta

in the Peloponnesian War, continued to meddle in Greek affairs, playing one state off against the other to weaken them all and so maintain a balance of power. Inter-city rivalries sprang up, engendered by dislike for Spartan rule, Persian interference, or local ambitions. Mercenary armies of unstable loyalties replaced the citizen levies, further complicating the already confused situation.

Several attempts to unify the Greek peoples under various leaderships failed dismally. Finally, there was an economic depression after the war due to the spoilation of the fields and vineyards, the injury done to trade by the ruin of the Athenian Empire, and the costs of warfare.

The first few years of Spartan domination revealed the pattern of the years to come. Oppression, revolts, intrigues, and sudden death all made their appearance. In every conquered city, Sparta established an oligarchic rule supported by military force. It has already been related that Athens, within a year, rose in revolt and overthrew the Thirty Tyrants. Other cities followed suit. In Sparta itself, the brilliant and ambitious Lysander intrigued to make himself king but was foiled by the magistrates and by his protégé, Agesilaus, who became his rival. Meanwhile a rather curious incident involved Sparta in a war with Persia.

The Persian prince, Cyrus, enlisted some thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries in an effort to dislodge his brother, King Artaxerxes II, from the throne. In 401 Cyrus led his army into Mesopotamia, engaged and defeated the royal forces in battle, but lost his life in the process. Left leaderless by the death of Cyrus and of their own Spartan general, the surviving ten thousand Greeks organized themselves into a *polis* without any city, chose leaders and under them made an epic march from the heart of Persia to the Black Sea.¹ Because Sparta had supported the rebellion Persia made war upon her. Agesilaus led a Spartan army to Asia Minor and had freed most of the Hellenic cities there from Persian control when the formation of an anti-Spartan league, including Athens, Corinth, Thebes, and Argos, called him home. The Corinthian War (395-387) between Sparta and the League gave Artaxerxes an excellent chance to play one group off against the other. Support of the allies strengthened Athens and so weakened Sparta that she was forced to restore to Persia the Asiatic cities. Then, by withholding aid from the League, he brought its collapse and was able to impose upon the Greeks the

¹ The story of this was recorded by the Greek historian Xenophon, who was one of the chosen leaders, in his *Anabasis*.

"King's Peace" (387-386), which ruined the budding leagues of Athens and Thebes and made Sparta a sort of policeman to enforce its terms. For the next decade Sparta used its power more brutally than before to establish its hegemony. Mantinea was destroyed, the Theban citadel taken and held, an Olynthian League defeated, and Sparta, under Agesilaus, had all Greece at her feet.

But the days of Spartan glory were numbered. Thebes in 379-378 threw off the Spartan yoke and joined by Athens went to war with her erstwhile conqueror. Athens, having recovered some of her trade and prosperity, attracted allies to her to form the Second Athenian Confederacy (378-377). The war, broken by a brief peace in 374, lasted until 371 when Athens took the lead in calling a general peace conference. It was proposed that Athens, champion of the democratic cities, and Sparta, champion of the oligarchies, should abstain from all intervention in the affairs of the smaller states. Each state was to be independent and free to go its own way. All states were to disarm and if any one broke the peace, all the others might unite against it. This ingenious scheme came to grief on the rock of Theban ambition. Thebes, recognizing that such a peace would deprive her of control of her allies, refused to sign. Sparta attempted to force her to do so, but the Thebans led by their very able general, Epaminondas, crushed the Spartan army, ended the Spartan hegemony, and blasted the hopes of peace and union (371).

The Theban leadership of Greece lasted less than a decade and its record, like that of Sparta, was an unhappy one of war and intrigue. An invasion of Laconia, the formation of a dependent Arcadian League, and the acceptance of aid from Persia were the high spots of its development. Finally an anti-Theban coalition, which included Athens and Sparta, was formed, and an indecisive battle in which Epaminondas was killed put an end to the Theban hegemony (362). Athens, meanwhile, in again seeking to transform the Confederacy into an empire, had provoked an insurrection which cost her both empire and confederacy. Nor Athens, nor Sparta, nor Thebes had been able to unite the Greeks or to maintain peace. Instead they had so weakened themselves that they fell a comparatively easy prey to a new power which had risen in the north.

The ancient but disunited kingdom of Macedonia had long been within the orbit of Greek power and culture, but internal strife and weakness had prevented its playing any major role until the middle of the fourth century. In 359, Philip, who as a hostage at Thebes in his youth had learned Greek ways and Greek weaknesses, became

king and set himself the task of unifying and organizing the kingdom. Successful in this, he turned to the satisfaction of his life's ambition: the unification of the Greek states under his control. Gold for bribes and men for fighting gave him the wherewithal; intramural jealousies and intrigues, and intermural wars gave him the opportunity to achieve his aim. The greatest obstacle in his path was Athens and against her he opened war in 357.

It was an unequal struggle. The early part of the fourth century had seen a remarkable recovery in the city of Athena. Agriculture revived partially, trade completely, and prosperity returned. A system of banking, developed by the money-changers, greatly furthered commerce and Athenian ships again carried her goods throughout the area. But there were serious weaknesses within the state. Prices rose faster than wages and the government was forced to undertake poor relief on an ever-increasing scale. This, plus the expenses of the constant wars, caused a steady rise in taxes and drained the resources of the state. The disastrous effort to erect another empire also weakened Athens and made it less of a match for Macedonia. Finally, the Athenians, despite the heroic efforts of the orator, Demosthenes, were slow to recognize the gravity of the situation. Not until Philip had subdued the Olynthian League (349) and destroyed Phocis (346) did the Athenians realize how gravely they were menaced. Then they made an hypocritical peace with the Macedonian but shortly thereafter broke it, and formed a league against him. The Greeks fought half-heartedly at best and so matters dragged until, in 338, Philip decisively defeated them. Following the peace, Philip organized an Hellenic League which united the Greeks, but under the lead of an alien. By terms of the agreement, the various states were autonomous and independent but bound to support Philip and his heirs on demand. Before he could turn the League against Persia, as he intended to do, Philip died (337) and his crown passed to his son Alexander, long called the Great (337-323).

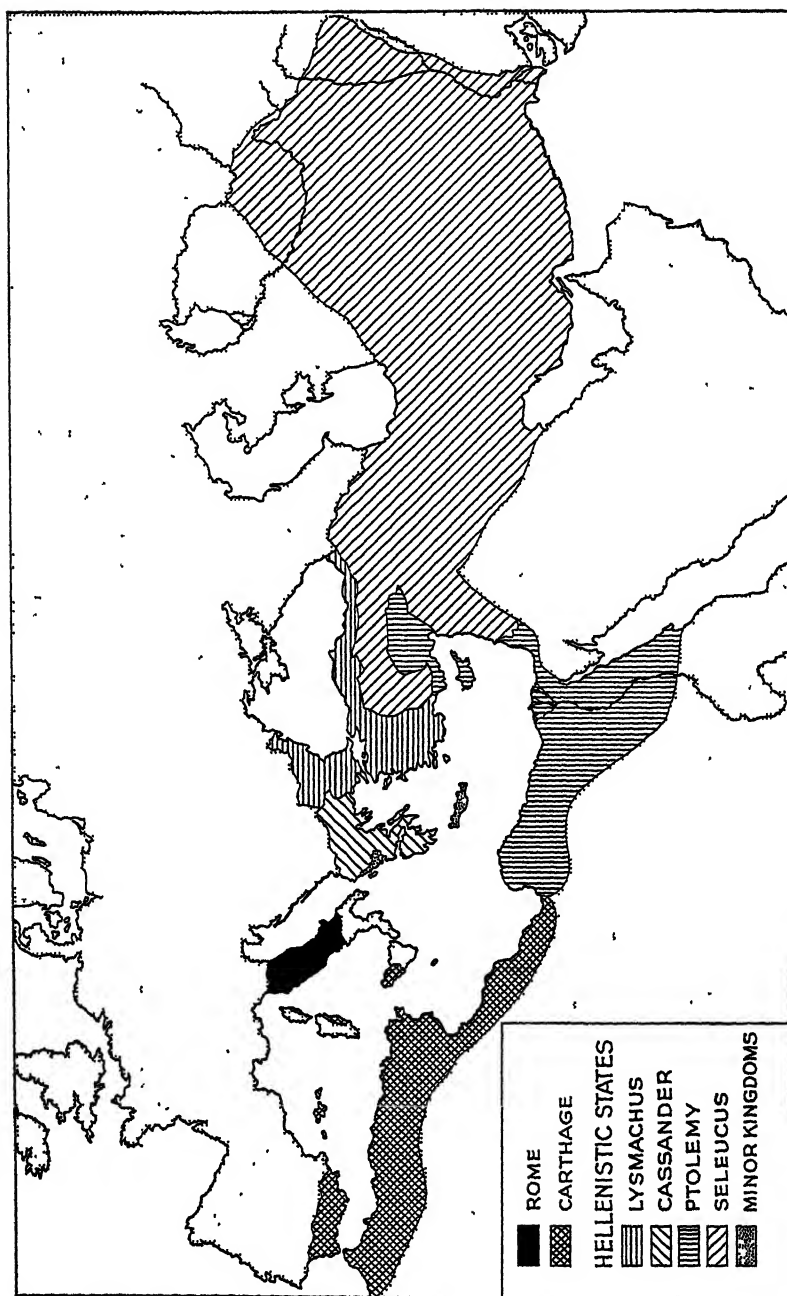
The accession of Alexander is customarily made the dividing line between the Hellenic and the Hellenistic Ages. The name of the latter, Hellenistic, or Greek-like, is a clue to its characteristics. Alexander, as will shortly be told, having put down the rebellions in Greece which greeted his assumption of the crown, led his armies into the Near and Middle East. Many of his soldiers were Greek, and, moreover, in the wake of the troops came Greek traders and camp-followers. These people carried with them the customs, the traditions, in short, the culture of their homes. Slowly this imported

Hellenic culture blended with the civilizations of the Orient to produce a new type. The development of a new language illustrates this process of fusion. The Greek traders settled in the lands opened to them by the Alexandrian conquests, and the pursuit of their business brought them into contact with non-Greek peoples. For commercial reasons, if for no other, the development of a common tongue was necessary. Accordingly a sort of merger gradually took place and a language, predominantly Greek but modified by other tongues, was born. To it and to the mixed culture it symbolized has been attached the descriptive title, Hellenistic.

Alexander's career was as spectacular and as transient as that of a modern American movie star. Only twenty years old when he became king, he conquered the eastern Mediterranean world before his death at the age of thirty-four. His opening campaign in 334 gave him control of Anatolia and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and then in rapid succession he conquered Syria, Egypt, and the Persian Empire. Unsated, he pressed on to the Caspian Sea and then south across the Indus River into India. His troops would go no further so he returned to Babylon and sought to organize his empire. Himself he made the god-king of his conquered peoples, thus definitely introducing into the Greek world the ancient political concept of a divinely ordained king. The task of unification was hardly begun, however, when Alexander died, dreaming of more conquests to be made in the west against the developed power of Carthage and the infant Republic of Rome.

His death was the signal for a mad scramble for power which lasted over fifty years. Fortunately, neither that chaotic struggle nor the details of the history of the many states thereafter concern us. It will suffice our purpose merely to suggest the political developments of the century and a half following Alexander and then to concentrate our attention on the society and culture of the Hellenistic Age which contributed so much to western civilization.

Broadly speaking the Alexandrine Empire finally dissolved itself into three parts: Macedonia, which exercised considerable control over Greece; Egypt, ruled by Ptolemy and his successors; and Seleucid Asia, composed of Syria, Mesopotamia, and, after 281, such other parts of Asia Minor as were not absorbed by Celtic invaders or by independent kingdoms. Among these latter, Pergamum, center of wealth and culture, may be mentioned. In the Greek peninsula, Athens retained considerable liberties until she unsuccessfully attempted to revolt against Macedon in 323. That cost the Athenians



MAP 4. ROMAN, CARTHAGINIAN, AND HELLENISTIC EMPIRES, ABOUT 300 B.C.

both their liberty and their democracy, and the city gradually declined. Sparta likewise suffered a decay which culminated in its utter ruin. More powerful were the Ætolian and Achæan Leagues, both of them well-organized federations of independent city-states. The former, in time, allied with Macedonia to control all of northern Greece; the latter, temporarily, ruled the northern Peloponnesus but surrendered it to Macedonia in the middle of the third century. The island states of Rhodes and Delos were unique among the Greeks both in their independence and their prosperity. Throughout the many wars both remained neutral and profited from the seaborne trade. Delos became a haven for traders and artisans from the whole Ægean area and reaped a rich reward for her hospitality in the commerce and industry they brought her. Finally, to round off the story, both the Greek states and their Macedonian conqueror fell before the power of an expanding Rome which also swallowed up Egypt and Asia Minor. The kingdom of Philip and Alexander was reduced to a province in 146 and in that same year the independence of the Greeks came to an end.

The Hellenistic Age was one of commercial as well as political expansion. New goods were introduced and the quantity of others increased. From the East came spices, silks, gold, and incense; from Africa, ivory, woods, and leather goods; Spain and Macedon, miles apart, produced silver; Cyprus supplied copper; and the Black Sea region and Egypt fed the world with their grains. Athens lost its commercial pre-eminence to Delos and Rhodes, to Antioch, and to Alexandria, city of the conqueror. The Ptolemies traded by canal from the Nile to the Red Sea and, *via* the merchants of Arabia, with India. In the west, Syracuse, lusty descendant of an ancient Greek colony, prospered and contended with the rich and powerful Carthage for trade. New cities appeared, grew, and flourished. Industry, on a larger scale than in the days of Athens, kept pace with trade. Specialization became regional, Pergamum, for example, specializing in parchment, and Egypt in linen textiles. Business and financial methods likewise developed and banking services grew to include such things as checks, letters of credit, loans, and deposits. It was an era of great wealth, but it was also a time of great poverty. Serf and slave coexisted with millionaires. The distribution system was faulty and many starved while a few gorged. Social revolution was a constant threat and an occasional happening. But wealth produced, as it had before and has since, a high type of artistry and an interesting culture.

Architecture, art, letters, and all the forms of intellectual activity

in the Hellenistic period reflect the newer cosmopolitan and secular spirit. City-planning became a skillfully executed art, and buildings devoted to civic as distinct from religious needs made their appearance. Theaters, stadia, basilicæ, libraries, and gymnasia (schools) were built in a style more ornate and lavish than in the Hellenic period. The increasing pantheism was mirrored in the construction of huge altars, decorated with bas-reliefs and other sculptures. Sculpture became more realistic, more dramatic and emotional. The *Laocoon*, the figures of an old man and his sons being crushed by a huge snake; and the *Dying Gaul*, of which we have only a copy, are excellent examples of this new style. Aphrodites in great number, the best-known being the *Aphrodite of Melos*, exhibited an erotic quality which was new; and the studied elegance of the *Apollo Belvedere* also marked a departure. Other statues, such as the portrait studies of *Demosthenes* and *Sophocles*, or the figure called *The Old Woman*, give evidence of an attempt at naturalism. Painting also demonstrated a greater naturalism and realism and an excellent use of colors and handling of line, but most of the work of the Hellenistic painters, like that of their Hellenic predecessors, has been lost.

In scholarship and in letters the Hellenistic Age had the tremendous advantage of being able to build upon the work of an earlier day. Extensive and excellent libraries, notably at Alexandria and Pergamum, preserved and made available most of the works of Hellenic scholars and *literati*. Drama flourished, indeed the other arts often reflected the influence of the theater. Comedy was noteworthy with Menander (c. 341-290), whose popularity lasted into the days of the Roman Empire, as the leading playwright. Poets experimented with all kinds of verse, most successfully perhaps with the idyllic form which was best mastered by Theocritus of Syracuse whom Virgil later imitated. Prose writing was also prolific with rhetoric the dominant criterion and aim. To this period belongs the work of the historian Polybius (d. 117). His style was dull, but his conception of the breadth of history, his well-developed theory of causation, and, above all, his devotion to the truth stamped him as one of the immortal masters of the craft.

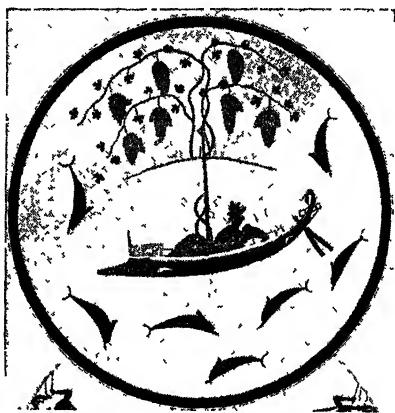
The attainment of happiness became the goal of the philosophers of the Hellenistic Age. Differing as to the meaning of happiness and the method of attaining it, they were united only in searching for it. In addition to the Neo-Platonists, who put their trust in the mystic revelation of faith, the most important schools of thought were the Epicurean, the Cynic, and the Stoic. The first of these was mecha-

nistic, denying the power of the gods to aid or injure human beings even if they willed to do so. To the Epicureans, happiness meant the avoidance of all physical and mental pain by an escape into the dream world of the mind. The Cynics taught that whatever is, is right and that to attain happiness one must accept whatever comes. Their message of passive endurance appealed most to the poor whose very poverty condemned them to accept it. From this negativism the Stoics developed a very different philosophy, and one from which Christianity drew many of its tenets. Happiness, according to Stoic thought, was to be attained by living in accord with the divine law which ruled the universe. All living things, God-created, carried within themselves a spark of the divine which made them kin. Each man, therefore, owed it to his brother-men and to the great super-state of which all were members to play the part assigned him cheerfully and with good grace. Overcoming and ignoring his physical weakness, the wise man must seek to learn the universal law and to abide by it. The potential breadth of the Stoic appeal was dramatically demonstrated by the fact that the two most famous Stoics were the Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, and the crippled slave, Epictetus. Stoicism was, however, an intellectual creed which failed to answer the needs of the masses and it was never popular.

The Hellenistic Age saw also many and impressive achievements in science but their influence remained comparatively small for many years. Euclidean geometry and trigonometry were developed; the rotation of the earth upon its axis was suspected, and there was a hazy notion of the solar system; the law of floating bodies, the principle of the pulley and of the lever, were discovered; a beginning was made in descriptive biology and medicine, and marked progress in geography. Failure to make practical application of these and other advances made science a sort of plaything and strictly inhibited its influence.

The significance of the Hellenistic culture lay in its relation to Rome. Already influenced by Hellenic civilization, Rome found the Hellenistic more cosmopolitan and more appealing, and adapted much of it. Years later Rome spread her version over the west. Moreover, remnants of Hellenistic culture lingered in the East. From Constantinople many of them were carried into ancient Muscovy, becoming part of the heritage of Russia. The Arab conquerors of the seventh century (A.D.) also modified and adopted Hellenistic elements and bore them across Africa into Spain, whence they later filtered into Europe. More direct contacts between Europe and Hellenic and Hel-

lenistic cultures were made during the twelfth century (A.D.) revival of learning and the later Renaissance. In both these periods, the discovery and translation of original Greek documents into western tongues made the learning of the ancient scholars available to the new, and increased the debt of western society to the ancient world.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

EXECIAS' CYLIX

Dionysus, the god of wine and fruitfulness, sails the sea in a boat quite typical of Greek and Phœnician design.

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Roman and Barbarian

A. THE WESTWARD MARCH OF CIVILIZATION

From earliest recorded times to the comparatively recent era, civilization has seemed to move consistently westward. The ancient peoples of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates Valleys gave way before the advancing fortunes of the Ægeans, though not until their great cultural achievements had left an indelible imprint upon the latter. From this source, the Greeks, in turn, built their civilization; and this, modified and adapted in the Hellenistic Age, was spread abroad by the conquests of Alexander the Great. The Romans borrowed heavily from both these cultures, molded and reshaped them in their own way, and then imparted them to the barbarian invaders who overran the Empire. The resulting fusion of Roman and barbarian elements laid the basis for what we call European civilization. In turn, this was carried beyond the seas, to Africa, the New World, and the Far East, never wholly displacing the indigenous, but blending and amalgamating with it to evolve a new culture. This process has been in continuous operation, but since the sixteenth century and even more especially since the nineteenth century it has advanced with almost breathless speed. European civilization has now become the dominant element of world civilization, still marching on toward new conquests and new adaptations. Its far-flung victories have brought an end, however, to its consistent westerly march. At one and the same time it springs from Europe, from the Americas, from farthest Asia, moving out and into societies which still are "backward."

The foundations of this "western" or "European" culture were laid by the ancient civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean, but more especially by the Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Roman peoples.

Heavy infiltrations of barbarians, impact with other advanced but different cultures, the inventive genius of successive generations of men, have modified and reshaped it, but the basic elements remain. To the Greco-Roman era can be traced directly the beginnings of western philosophy, western science, western law, western religion, western art, and western government. The ideal of freedom and tolerance, the secular view of life, interest in formal education, to mention only a few, are direct heritages of Greece; the belief that the state is the fountain of justice and the guardian of individual liberty, the elusive quest for a world-state, the recurring confidence in the "civilizing" power of the sword, are some of the more important heritages of Rome. It is all too easy to overlook these; so deeply imbedded are they in our habits of thought that we often think they ought to be the possession of all men.

Each generation only appears to create its own world. In reality, it adopts more than it invents. The course of social development is like an endless chain, continuous and unbroken. The problems of contemporary Europe are only in part the outgrowth of recent events, which always seem more important than they actually are because of our nearness to them; in greater measure, they are the consequence of influences accumulating through centuries. To know these better, to understand ourselves more clearly, it is necessary to follow through the whole stream of human affairs. For Europe, this means to trace the gradual evolution of European society from the Roman epoch, in which it first took recognizable shape.

B. THE ROMAN MELTING POT

As Hellenistic civilization marched along the Mediterranean seaboard it provided a powerful stimulus for the political and cultural development of an Italian people known as Romans. Of obscure origins, which time and man have wrapped with mythical legend, but probably an admixture of many peoples, the earliest Romans appear to have occupied the hills of Latium in the twelfth century B.C. The rich and fertile volcanic soil was fitted to their pastoral and agricultural life, but it was also their chief source of danger for it attracted a variety of other wandering peoples who were ready to fight for land and a livelihood. By these neighboring tribes, and especially by the Etruscans, a warlike people of Ægean extraction who occupied Etruria to the north, Rome was more than once overrun but never extinguished. Adopting much of the culture of their ene-

mies, and adapting themselves with remarkable facility to each new situation, the Romans managed not only to defend themselves but also to develop into a flourishing community. By the sixth century B.C., Rome was considerably enlarged and strengthened, and important enough in trade to win from Carthage a commercial treaty.

During this early period, the social and political structure which was eventually to dominate the entire western world gradually took shape. The earliest unit of social life was the patriarchal family, which was also the starting point of government. The wealthier and more powerful landed families were alone capable of fulfilling social and religious obligations, and their leaders, known as *patricians*, became the ruling citizens. All others were *plebes* or *plebeians*.¹ Head of the state was an elective king, empowered to command the citizens and consult the gods. A Senate, chosen from among the *patricians*, advised with him and took the leading role in nominating his successor, although his election depended upon the will of an Assembly in which *plebeians* were also represented. Despite changing customs and purposeful transformations, such representative institutions as the Senate and the Assembly continued to exert prominent influence throughout the long history of Rome.

The kingship, however, disappeared under circumstances which are largely obscure during a time of struggles with neighboring peoples about the fifth century B.C. The king's power passed to two generals, known as *consuls*, who could checkmate each other and who were annually elected by the populace. Under this form of "republican" organization, Rome conquered the world by a series of piecemeal subjections of immediate neighbors. Theoretically defensive, the wars of the republic were induced by greed for land and dictated chiefly by geographic circumstances. The Italian peninsula is divided into four principal regions: the southeast and Sicily, which were occupied by Hellenic peoples; the northeastern coast; the valley of the Po, which troubled the Romans because of the barbarians who filtered through it; and, finally, the western coast of Etruria, Latium, and Campania, of which the central portion was dominated by Rome. Gradually the republic absorbed all of this western part and then advancing continually northward, southward, and eastward occupied the whole of continental Italy, including the Greek settlements, by 272 B.C.

Southern conquests brought the Romans into conflict with Carthage, the dominant power of the West. A rich and powerful state,

¹ Roughly, *plebeian* means the filling or the mass.

occupying what is now Tunis, Carthage regarded Rome as a potential Mediterranean rival who must be immediately subdued. Disputes over Sicily and the neighboring islands of Corsica and Sardinia provided the excuse for war which broke out in 264 B.C. and lasted, with periodic intermissions, until 146 B.C. Known as the Punic Wars, this contest was an exhausting fight to the finish, marked by the brilliant military exploits of the Carthaginian, Hannibal, and the stubborn perseverance of the Romans. Carthage eventually succumbed but not until she had done Rome and its institutions grave damage.

Meanwhile, the Roman republic had been drawn into the troubled East. A dispute over Egyptian possessions in the Ægean area brought the Romans into open conflict with Philip V of Macedon (203 B.C.). After two wars, the Macedonian was worsted (197 B.C.) and was compelled to relinquish his claims to Greece, the Ægean islands, and Illyricum. An attempt some thirty years later by Philip's son, Perseus, to recover these losses failed, but it offered Rome the excuse for further consolidating its position in the eastern Mediterranean. By 130 B.C. the whole Mediterranean basin had been brought under Rome's sway. Carthage had been humbled and in the process much of Spain and Gaul had been subdued. The whole of the disunited East had collapsed at Rome's advance. The great empire which the republic had thus won was not a closely knit unit but a loose federation of colonies, provinces, and allies bound to Rome but enjoying extensive privileges of local autonomy.

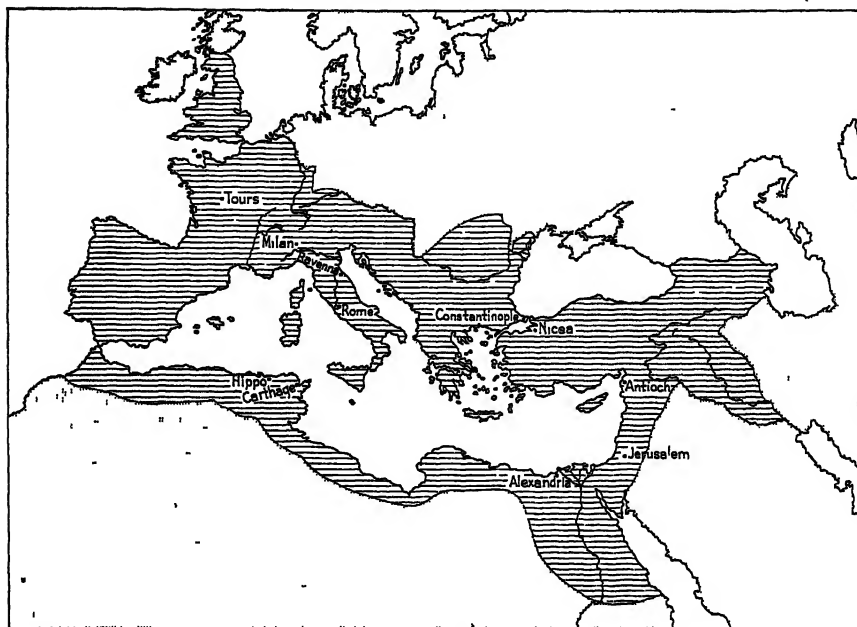
In the process of winning an empire, Roman life and government were completely transformed. The class of small landholders, impoverished by the ravages of war and the mounting demands of government finance, and further victimized by the use of numerous captives as slaves, flocked to the cities, thereby swelling the already large and restless body of the proletariat. The great landed aristocracy profited by these circumstances to enlarge their estates and, at the same time, as a ruling caste, exploited the wealth of the new provinces. A middle class (*equites*) which grew up with commercial expansion in the Mediterranean soon vied with the aristocracy in wealth and prestige. Conflict between these latter and between them and the proletariat provoked widespread social unrest and a revolution in government.

During the period of expansion the Senate, dominated by the landed aristocracy, reached the zenith of its power and even assumed command of military affairs. The empire which it conquered, it could not administer. It was divided by greed over the spoils, blind to the needs of the mass of the people, and obstinate in its determination to

preserve a monopoly of privilege. Becoming increasingly incompetent, the Senate slowly but surely relinquished its powers to demagogues, would-be reformers, and strong men. After a century of political conflict and civil wars, marked by the most partisan strife, the authority of government was concentrated in the hands of Julius Cæsar in 49 B.C. A man of extraordinary talents, although vain and unscrupulous, Cæsar arrogated to himself the functions of the consuls, exercised control over the machinery of religion, and assumed the right of appointing magistrates and provincial administrators. After his assassination (44 B.C.) by jealous malcontents, there ensued another period of turmoil in which the Senate, vainly trying to recover its prestige, was made the victim of a three-sided contest for power among Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius. The latter, Cæsar's grand-nephew, emerged victorious and, as Augustus Cæsar (31 B.C.-14 A.D.) proceeded forthwith to lay the basis of monarchical government.

Although scrupulously careful to preserve the fiction of republicanism, Augustus actually ruled with dictatorial authority. By exercising the powers of the consuls and tribunes, he enjoyed complete control over the civil administration. He was invested with extensive proconsular authority which enabled him to govern provinces where an army of occupation was required. As *princeps* (first citizen), he was consulted first on all matters of policy and on all problems of legislation; as *imperator* (victorious general), he was given unlimited control over the army; finally, as *pontifex maximus* (high priest), he dominated religious affairs. In theory, all of these powers were dependent upon the will of the people whose great deliberative body, the Senate, had bestowed them, but in practice the Senate was completely subservient. Augustus not only controlled its membership but likewise determined its competence in matters of legislation. Like contemporary dictators, Augustus acquired autocratic power under the mask of constitutionalism. During the next century his successors gradually lifted the disguise.

The period of Roman history from the death of Augustus to the death of Marcus Aurelius (180 A.D.) was one of glory and prosperity. Political anarchy of the later republican era disappeared. Wars of conquest almost ceased; the frontiers were rounded out and provided with defense works; and attention was concentrated upon the preservation of external and internal peace. Although this ideal could never be fully realized, at no time in the life of the ancient world was it attained as completely over so vast an expanse of territory.



MAP 5. THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 180 A.D.

Stretching from the Tigris and Euphrates in the east to the British Isles in the west and from the Rhine and Danube in the north to the desert wastes of Africa in the south, the Augustan empire constituted the whole of the civilized western world. Imperial tolerance of local customs and traditions, the existence of a common tongue, the universal sway of Roman law, and the practice of Emperor worship, helped to weld disparate parts together into a fairly coherent whole. An elaborate system of internal highways radiating from the capital city and the great free trade area of the Mediterranean, completely under Roman jurisdiction, tended to unite these sections economically. Agriculture remained the chief source of wealth and social prestige, and most local communities continued to be largely self-sufficing, but trade and commerce grew steadily, as the flourishing towns and cities of the whole empire indicated.

Culturally, this was the golden age of Rome. Nothing, perhaps, represents more clearly its grandeur and prosperity, and at the same time the degree of its indebtedness to the Hellenistic world which it had subdued. In its art, literature, religion, and even in its government, the basic structural design was drawn from the East. Sometimes purely imitative, the Romans more often molded these forms into new patterns and infused into them much of their own spirit

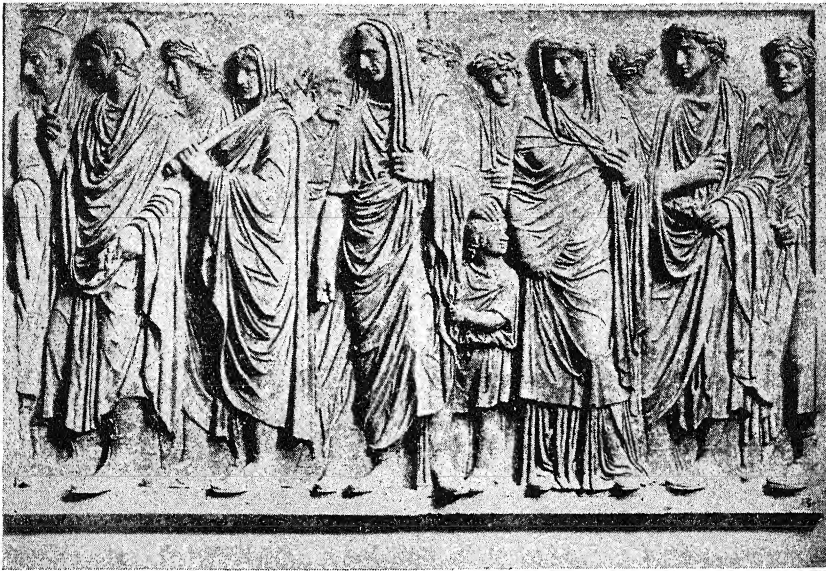


BATHS OF CARACALLA

Begun by the Emperor Caracalla (211-217) in 212 and completed more than a decade later, these baths were unparalleled in their magnificence. Even in their present ruined state they reveal, especially in the majestic arches, the great technical skills of the Roman builders. It is said that Michelangelo carefully studied such Roman examples before completing his designs for the basilica of St. Peter's in Rome.

of practical realism. The elemental principles of architecture were learned from the Greeks, but they were employed on a wider scale for a profusion of public buildings, triumphal arches, bridges, and aqueducts constructed throughout the length and breadth of the empire. Extensive use of the arch, the dome, and the barrel vault, all of which influenced Romanesque, Gothic and early Renaissance architecture so profoundly, were essentially Roman contributions. Sculpture continued chiefly in the Greek tradition with little originality, except for the naturalistic and realistic portraiture of leading and imperial families. The fora of Rome, the remains of Herculaneum and Pompei, remnants of the Colosseum and the Claudian aqueduct, and the Pantheon, are only a few of the more impressive heritages of this Roman epoch which attest to the grandeur of its architecture and the profusion of its decorative arts.

Beginning with Cicero (106-43 B.C.), who died just a few years prior to the Augustan transformation, Latin literature reached its apogee with the immortal masterpieces of Virgil (70 B.C.-19 A.D.), and Horace (65-8 B.C.). The first of this great trio was justly famed for his oratory, for his precise and flowing style, for his importation of Greek learning in which he was well versed, and for his enrichment

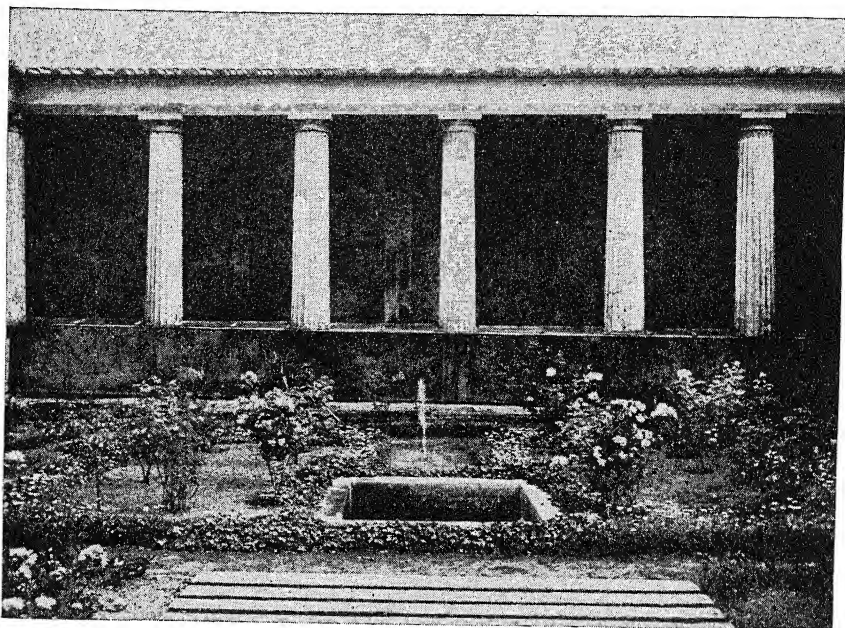


Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PROCESSION FROM THE ARA PACIS AGUSTÆ. 13 A.D.

This altar was dedicated by the Senate to the goddess of peace of Augustus. Over a long period of years fragments have been dug from the Campus Martius and have been shown in various museums. The altar has recently been reconstructed in Rome, where it now may be seen as a whole. The section shown here portrays two members of the sacred college of flamines with caps surmounted by the disc and apex, followed by a man with the *sacena* or official ax, borne as a symbol of sacrifice. The next figure, resembling portraits of Augustus, is perhaps Agrippa, his son-in-law, whom the Emperor was training as his successor; then a child, then a fine figure identified as Livia, Augustus' wife, with other members of the family following. The subject of the frieze which decorates the altar is a religious procession, with Augustus and other officials, priests and magistrates, as well as his family, shown in relief in the best of the Roman style, realistic and dignified. Other decorations on the altar were symbolic panels and friezes of garlands and scroll work, which must have been popular, for we see them repeated in the stucco work at Pompei and centuries later in the mosaic work in the apses of San Clemente and other Roman churches.

of the Latin tongue. Virgil, son of a peasant farmer near Mantua, was the great epic poet who, under the patronage of Augustus himself, wrote the epic of Rome in his *Æneid*. Permeated with the ideal of "devotion to duty" and with deep human feeling, singing the praises and greatness of Rome, this has been regarded very appropriately as one of the outstanding literary achievements of western civilization. Horace, an intimate friend of Virgil, was the master of lyric verse. In his *Odes*, *Satires*, and *Epistles* he sang of the simple life and love, of civic virtue, of the grandeur of Augustus. Both Horace and Virgil sought to arouse and keep alive the patriotism which had distinguished



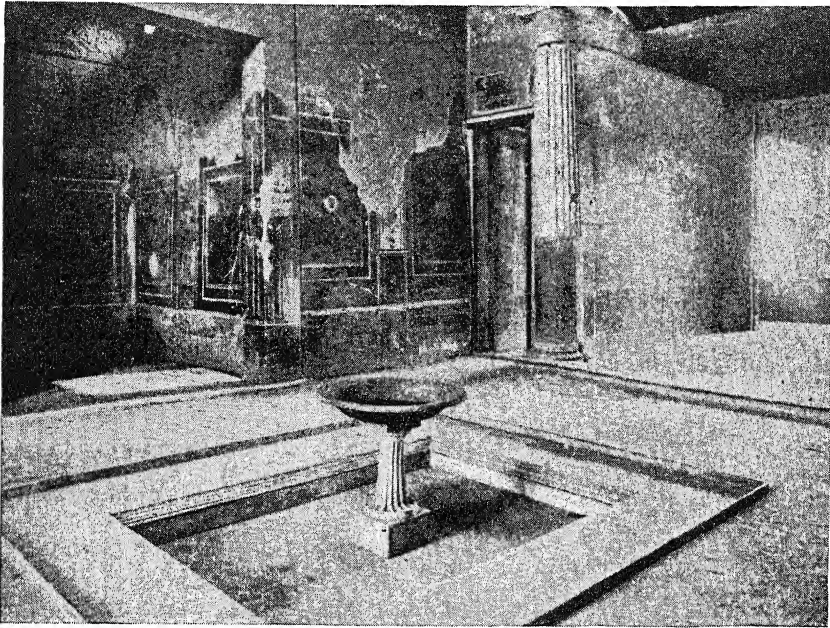
Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

HOUSE OF MENANDER, POMPEI. PERISTYLE WITH EXEDRA.

The peristyle, a courtyard or garden enclosed by colonnades, was a feature of Greek homes adopted by the later Romans; here the life of the family centered. The decoration of the exedra or apse shows the scroll design noticed on the *Ara Pacis Augustæ*. The painting which ornaments the wall beneath is in the style of Hellenistic art and gives some idea of what painting in Greece must have been.

the days of the republic. In this service, a notable historian, Titus Livius (59 B.C.-17 A.D.), also played a prominent part with his lengthy, vigorous, dramatic, and patriotic history of Rome.

After Augustus, who had been careful to patronize men of learning, the spring of literary inspiration gradually dried up. This was due in large measure to the oppression of a number of succeeding emperors who stifled freedom of thought and concentrated the attention of literature upon harmless rhetorical expression. It was likewise the result of the accumulating influences of the educational system which, with its practical approach to civil service, emphasized forms of expression rather than independent thought. Even more, perhaps, it was the outgrowth of revived Hellenistic influences which, by the third century, had acquired a new popularity. Despite the growing attention to style and form, literature in the post-Augustan age was not empty, as the poetic achievements of Martial and Juvenal, the tragedies of Seneca, the historical biographies of Suetonius and, most of all, the terse and critical histories of Tacitus (c. 55-120) attest.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

HOUSE OF MENANDER, POMPEI. PERISTYLE.

Pompeii was a flourishing town of about 20,000 when it was destroyed by the eruption of nearby Vesuvius in 79 A.D. The houses which have been excavated here show that the buildings of this period retained as a reception room the atrium, which had served as the main room in the earlier, simpler period of Roman life.

Science and philosophy never attained the popularity among Roman intellectuals which they had enjoyed in ancient Greece. Even among the Hellenistic peoples, they suffered a decline which varied in inverse ratio with the expanding fortunes of Rome. Except for Pliny the Elder (23-79) whose *Natural History* was deeply infused with the Greek scientific spirit, no scientist of note appeared among the Romans. Galen (c. 130-200) whose great anatomical and physiological studies put him in the category of Hippocrates as one of the fathers of modern medicine, and Claudius Ptolemy, the astronomer and geographer of the third century, who formulated the Ptolemaic geocentric concept of the universe, were both of Hellenic extraction. In the writings of all of these there was a curious compound of fact and fiction, a marked tendency to seek the mysterious interpretation rather than to rely upon close observation.

There was, indeed, in this great period of the empire, and even more in the third and fourth centuries, a remarkable growth of mystery cults and mystery philosophies. The intellectuals and the unedu-

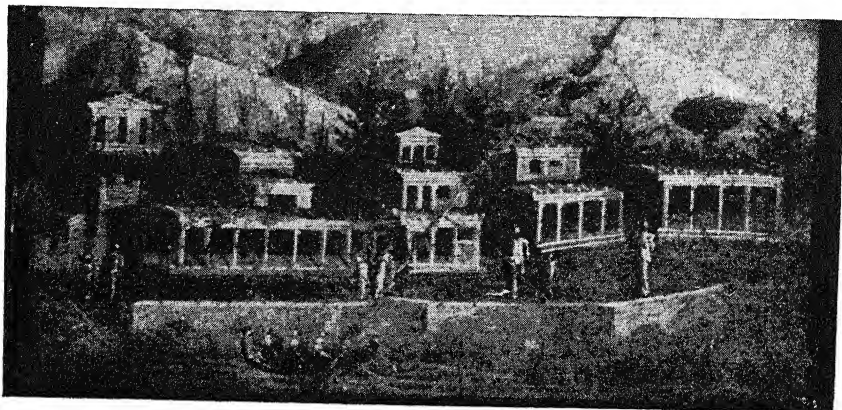
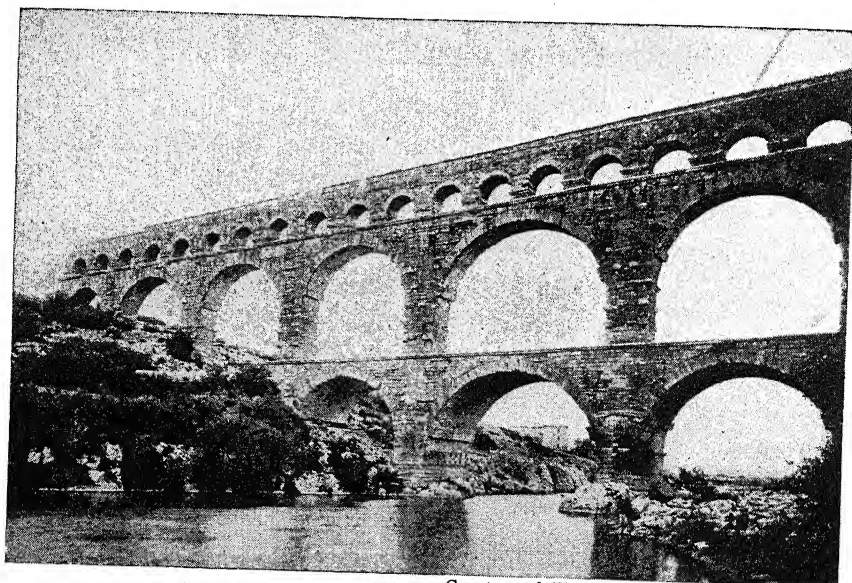


Photo by Ernest Nash

FRESCO OF A ROMAN VILLA, HOUSE OF LUCREZIO FRONTONE,
POMPEI.

The country villa here portrayed is in accordance with the luxury mentioned by Horace and his contemporaries. The architectural style was influenced by the example of Egyptian buildings along the Nile.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PONT DU GARD. NEAR NÎMES, FRANCE.

This aqueduct was constructed in the first century A.D. to bring water from Uzès to the city of Nemausus (Nîmes). This series of three strong rows of arches, 160 feet high, was built over the river Gard.

cated, the aristocracy and the proletariat alike, showed a desire to find security in the realm of spirit. Such universal spiritual craving always defies rational explanation, but in the case of Roman society it was probably induced by political tyranny and uncertainty, widespread moral degeneration, and the depressing effects of a social system which enriched the rich and impoverished the poor. Epicurean, Skeptic, Cynic, and Neo-Platonic philosophies sought to fill the void, and philosophers expounding these various doctrines appeared everywhere, even among the poor in the market place. Stoicism was particularly influential among the intellectuals. Its concept of a uniform law permeating nature and its belief in the brotherhood of man paralleled the cosmopolitan administration and universal law of Rome, while its doctrine of calm resignation to fate provided an escape from unhappy contemporary life. It is significant to note that such philosophies, like the Mithraic and Christian religions, were not Roman in origin but perversions and adaptations of Greek thought which filtered through from the Hellenistic east. Romans were little given to independent metaphysical speculation.

It was in the more practical sphere marked out by law and administration that the Roman Empire made its greatest and most lasting contribution. The ideal of political unity which it achieved under a single, central authority forever cast its spell over the western world. Medieval emperors and popes, cosmopolitan rationalists of the eighteenth century, and even contemporary exponents of a united Europe have found in it their common source of inspiration. Its administrative divisions of the West formed the basis of the local organization of the Church and were largely preserved as the bases of administration in modern times. Even more important to western society was Rome's contribution of law. Beginning with a body of civil law (*jus civile*) applicable to citizens of a city-state, there gradually evolved a law for non-citizens (*jus gentium*). In time these two were fused into a new synthesis, embodying the customs of a wide variety of peoples and therefore capable of universal application. Not as complex as modern law, it was nevertheless adequately adjusted to the economic and social life of the times. Moreover, it was carefully and systematically arranged and, by its interpretation at the hands of such able students as Ulpian and Papinian (c. 200) was made the most flexible legal system the ancient world had produced. Unquestionably, its most important characteristic was its spirit of equity and humanity. It was the product of Stoic thought which regarded the universe as

governed by one law which, being ordered after nature and reason, applied equal justice to slave and aristocrat. In addition, like contemporary English or American law, deliberate efforts were made to fit the law to the case, rather than the case to the law. Through the Church the essential principles of this legal system were transmitted to medieval society, and today Roman law constitutes the basis of most legal practices in continental Europe.

Despite its impressive achievements in law and administration and its seeming material prosperity, the Roman Empire was fundamentally weak, and after the death of Marcus Aurelius slowly collapsed. Historians have always been perplexed to explain this. Some have advanced the argument of racial degeneration, occasioned by the admixture of conqueror and conquered. Some have attributed the fall of Rome to climatic changes, particularly to lessening rainfall, which presumably crippled the economic life of the state. Others have explained it as the result of political and constitutional deficiencies. It has also been suggested that the advent of Christianity divided the loyalty of the people to the detriment of imperial unity. The problem is much too complicated for any simple, single solution. Looking back, it is easy now to trace out the stages of disintegration but it must be remembered that there is no infallible key to unlock the secret of a civilization's decay.

An inherent political weakness of the empire, and the source of many evils, was the absence of a satisfactory arrangement for succession to the imperial throne. Augustus had apparently hoped to find an heir within his own family and, failing a son, delegated his vast wealth and power to a stepson, Tiberius (14-37), who was duly acclaimed by the army and accepted by the Senate. This was a solution of the immediate problem which Augustus faced but it left the larger question of constitutional succession in the uncertain hands of those who followed him. The unfortunate consequences of such procedure were soon apparent. In his will, Tiberius nominated two joint heirs, the younger of whom, Caligula (37-41), being popular with the army, secured the imperial purple. Without administrative training, obsessed with unlimited power, and mentally unbalanced beyond hope of recovery, Caligula's reign was marked by the wildest excesses. After his assassination by malcontents, an unhappy augury in itself, an even more startling thing happened: the powerful Prætorian Guard stationed at Rome elevated to the throne Claudius (41-54), a deformed and sickly member of the Julian house, as descendants of the family of Augustus were called. Although demonstrating unsuspected vigor

in handling affairs of state, particularly in broadening the powers of the emperor and in organizing the central administration, he allowed himself to be influenced by his intriguing wife to nominate her son Nero (54-68) for the succession. Nero's reign, characterized by the abuse of power, aroused Romans and provincials alike and ended in violence. During the nineteen months following his death three emperors occupied the throne, and would-be emperors appeared everywhere. Anyone who could command sufficient backing was free to enter the lists. From impending political and military anarchy the empire was saved by a shrewd bourgeois army commander, Vespasian (69-79), who founded a new dynasty (the Flavian) and re-established domestic peace. Succeeded in turn by his two sons Titus (79-81) and Domitian (81-96), the blessings of Vespasian's government were largely perpetuated until Domitian succumbed to tyranny and eventually fell himself the victim of conspiracies which he generated. Thereafter, the Stoic ideal of choosing the wise man to rule was practiced with good fortune for almost a century. Nerva (96-98), Trajan (98-117), Hadrian (117-137) and the Antonines, Antoninus Pius (138-161), and Marcus Aurelius (161-180) raised the empire to the pinnacle of its glory.

The last of these was perhaps the noblest Roman of them all, a philosopher become king. Of Gallic extraction, Marcus Aurelius was a distinguished Stoic who practiced the doctrine of self-discipline and cultivated the virtues of philanthropy, patience, and forgiveness. By one of the curious twists of fate, this ideal emperor abandoned the policy of choosing the wise man and reverted to earlier practice by naming his son, Commodus, his heir. Commodus (180-191), debauched and worthless, opened the way for the revival of abuses which had appeared as early as Nero but which were now greatly aggravated by plague, crop failures, corrupt administration, military anarchy, and the increasing pressure of barbarian hordes upon the frontiers. The imperial purple became once more the prize of ambitious military commanders who challenged established authority whenever the opportunity afforded some reasonable hope of success. During the next century there were some thirty occupants of the imperial throne. In 285 an able Dalmatian soldier, Diocletian (285-305), who had risen to power through the customary method of force, sought to bring order out of chaos. Recognizing that it was no longer possible to preserve complete administrative unity, he legalized division in a new constitution. The empire was cut into an eastern and a western half in each of which the supreme authority was vested

in an *Augustus*, assisted by a *Cæsar* who was to inherit the power. By this method Diocletian not only hoped to provide more efficient administration, but also to solve the problem of succession. So long as Diocletian exercised his influence in the East the results were reasonably satisfactory, but with his retirement in 305 rivalry between the *Cæsars* and the *Augustus* who had shared authority with him broke out into civil war. Constantine of Gaul (306-337), son of the western *Cæsar*, took advantage of the opportunity to seize the throne. Establishing himself in the East, he made Constantinople the capital, and the West was all but abandoned to its fate. The ship of state was sinking swiftly, but the contest for its command continued with unabated fury.

The almost perpetual civil war thus engendered elevated the army to a position of paramount importance. During the first century of the empire a deliberate effort had been made to avoid such an eventuality, but pressure upon the frontiers and the weak indulgence of some of the authorities in the second century gave increased prestige to the troops. In the third century the number of legions was considerably increased, and successive emperors governed, when they could, as military despots. This was not always possible for the army tended more and more to get beyond all control. Most of the soldiers, who were drawn from the provinces and who were barely civilized, fought for personal gain rather than out of loyalty to Rome. They welcomed civil war, pillaged indiscriminately, and made oppressive demands upon the imperial treasury. The Prætorian Guard was unquestionably the worst offender. Stationed at Rome in enforced idleness it was ready at hand to take advantage of each recurring crisis. It arbitrarily elevated Claudius to the throne, found a successor for Commodus, and for nearly a century thereafter sold the throne to the highest bidder. There is perhaps no better example in history of the pernicious evils of military despotism.

The demands of parasitical armies and improvident emperors created an intolerable public burden. As poverty spread it became increasingly difficult to collect regular taxes. Yet to these were added a number of irregular exactions, sometimes legally but more often illegally imposed, from which there was no relief or escape. Occasionally efforts were made, as during the reign of Diocletian, to eliminate peculation and fiscal irregularity, but in place of lightening the taxpayer's obligations they usually made collections more certain. The requirements of the exchequer grew and in its interest the state was gradually transformed into a huge money-making machine. Since

land was the basic source of wealth, the government manifested a keen solicitude for the collection of the land tax. All landholders were obligated for this, but the burden was borne chiefly by the less well-to-do, since the great aristocrats were able to and frequently did defy the government. But even the lesser landholders were unable to pay unless they were certain of peasant tenants (*coloni*) to till the soil and, in consequence, measures were adopted to bind the *coloni* to the estates. Not infrequently undertaken by landed aristocrats out of self-defense, this procedure was in time legally enforced by imperial decree under Constantine (322). Adopted with the view of guaranteeing the flow of imperial revenue, it created a caste of unprivileged peasants and facilitated the growth of the class of great aristocrats who could successfully defy the government. The vicious circle thus created ended eventually in defeating the very ends which the authorities had set out to gain.

All other productive classes suffered the same fate as the tillers of the soil, and were organized to provide services or produce revenue. Commerce carriers were requisitioned to transport troops and supplies, merchants were compelled to provide goods; artisans and members of various professions were required to form guilds so that production could be better regulated and the payment of taxes better guaranteed. As with the *coloni*, membership in these organizations was made hereditary. Such stratification and stabilization of the productive classes in society was only one aspect of oppressive fiscal policies. Collection of taxes would still have been uncertain without adequate administrative agencies. During the first century, when such problems were not acute, levies made upon provinces and municipalities were usually met by the local autonomous authorities. When these were no longer able to fulfill official demands in the third and fourth centuries, local autonomy was abandoned and imperial overseers who were despatched to the provinces usurped control. These had to be assisted by more civil servants and, since they frequently were dishonest toward both the public and the government, had to be watched by others. In this fashion, the grabbing imperial bureaucracy thrived as national distress intensified. Not only did the government create a parasitical bureaucracy but, out of its zeal to gather taxes, it impoverished and literally extinguished the middle class. Its members were not only engaged in commerce but were likewise the largest group of small landholders in the provinces. Through their wealth and social position they had become a lesser ruling caste, and in the municipalities were municipal senators, or *curiales*. Wealthy and in-

fluent in local government the imperial authorities turned to them more and more for the collection of taxes in the municipalities and in their tributaries. Eventually, the entire obligation of their communities was placed upon their shoulders. If they could recoup themselves from the remainder of the population so much the better for them, but if this were impossible because of public unwillingness, crop failure, or otherwise, the *curiales* were compelled to make the payment from their own pockets. Obviously, it was in their interest to escape such onerous duties and liabilities, but this the imperial government made practically impossible. Elevation to the class of senators was legally barred as was also withdrawal to peasant or artisan status. The only escape was death or exile.

The social consequences of such policies need hardly be elaborated. Town life ceased to flourish and, except for some of the great urban communities in the eastern Mediterranean like Constantinople, Antioch, and Adrianople, the cities were almost completely depopulated. The majority fled to the land, offering their services in return for some security to the more fortunate independent aristocrats who alone profited from the prevailing state of unrest. Life became agricultural and local. It would be erroneous to attribute the chain of events which brought this result solely to the cupidity of the army and the greed of the treasury. There were other factors, both social and economic, which developed quite independently. In one sense, it was the culmination of the process of concentrating property in the hands of the aristocracy, begun as early as Rome itself but greatly accelerated during and after the Punic Wars. Again, it developed partly out of the institution of slavery which flourished during imperial expansion¹ and which helped reduce the lesser peasants and artisans to a state of penury. Moreover, it is probably true that social deterioration, engendered by too much wealth and leisure among the upper ruling caste, contributed its share, although it was more the symptom than the cause of decline.

Among experts there have appeared wide differences of opinion as to the place of economic factors in the fall of Rome. That these were important is generally conceded, but as to their causes or results and their relation to administrative policies no definitive conclusion has been reached. Climatic changes have been advanced as a cause of diminished agricultural production, but evidence hardly supports this. The use of slave labor probably helped to produce an unsatisfactory situation, as has been suggested, but perhaps the chief cause of decline

¹ Slavery steadily declined in later years.

was the gradual impoverishment of the soil from overuse. At all events, knowledge of scientific agriculture was limited and its practice confined chiefly to great estates in Italy. The corresponding decline in commerce has been explained by the spread of industrial processes which tended to localize markets, by the diminution of the gold supply occasioned by the need of payments for manufactured goods of the East, and by the administrative policies of the government. Each of these was important, but it is probable that the last had the most serious consequences. Commerce and industry flourish only in times of social peace and political stability, neither of which the later Roman Empire could guarantee. Brigandage which grew with intestine strife, debasement of the coinage to meet expenses, and the legal extinction of the middle class ruined commerce.

Reference has been made to barbarian invasions. These also hold a prominent but not the most important place among the causes of Rome's collapse. If government had been more secure, society less disordered, and prosperity more genuine, it is likely that the uncivilized peoples upon the frontiers might have been successfully fended off or at least assimilated. Nevertheless, their continuous pressure constituted a problem of sizeable proportions. The entire frontier had to be fortified and sufficient troops placed there to ward off any attacks. This was partly responsible for mounting taxes and it certainly led to filling the ranks of the army with disloyal provincials and even with barbarians themselves. Despite this, the degeneration of Rome's legions might have been prevented and the defenses might have been made secure if the state had not been torn and weakened by civil strife. The barbarians did not destroy Rome; they merely absorbed her patrimony when she became thoroughly exhausted.

C. THE NON-ROMAN PEOPLES

Unfortunately, little is known definitely of the life and customs of the barbarian peoples prior to their occupation of Roman territory. Folklore provides some information, but this is hopelessly intertwined with myth and legend, while the extant accounts of Roman observers, such as Julius Cæsar and Tacitus, are biased and too limited in scope. It is clear, however, that certain characteristics of society and government were held in common by all the German barbarian peoples. It appears that they had all arrived at the pastoral stage of development by the beginning of the Christian era, and that the need for grazing lands, protection against immediate neighbors, and the pressure of

growing populations induced a restlessness which impelled them to seek a livelihood within the boundaries of Rome. Primarily organized for war, they had no settled institutions of the customary sort. The chieftain or king was frequently elected by the freedmen, but this procedure, which nineteenth century historians interpreted as "democratic," seems more often than not to have been a mere formality. Ability of the leader was measured simply by his capacity to impose his will upon subject and enemy, and it was strength in arms rather than the wishes of the freedmen which was ultimately the deciding factor. Once established, his power was limited, however, by custom, expressed in the primitive and unwritten law of his people. Unlike Roman law which recognized the broader concepts of human equity and justice, barbarian law was based chiefly on the elemental principle of retribution. Each crime had its own price and was neatly adjusted to the social status of the individual. The *wergeld*¹ of a member of the nobility, for example, was much higher than that of the freedman or slave. Since there were none of the common law-enforcing agencies, punishment of the convicted party was delegated to the family of which he was a member.

The great majority of the barbarian people were freedmen, since slavery was uncommon, but there were generally accepted class distinctions. These were based upon possession of land, which in turn was determined by the individual's place and duty in the army. As fixed by custom, there was usually a small nobility, constituting the aristocracy, in addition to the larger group of less-privileged freedmen who made up the bulk of the fighting machine. One of the most important aspects of this dependence of social structure on military service is the organization of the *comitatus*. Composed of an able fighter and his retinue of dependents bound together by voluntary bonds of honor, the *comitatus* merged with Roman custom to form a basis of feudalism. This developed only, however, after the barbarians became permanently settled. So long as the tribe moved restlessly about, the *comitatus* preserved its essentially military character.

These generalizations apply chiefly to the German barbarians who occupied central and northern Europe. Less is known of the Slavs who occupied the Pripet Marshes or of the nomadic orientals who came from the steppe lands north of the Caspian Sea. How these latter were organized and what impelled them to move westward and southward must remain, therefore, even more of a mystery than in the case of the Germans. Whether driven by the need for land or

¹ Compensation in money for personal injury, literally, man-money.

climatic change, whether motivated solely by desire for adventure or forced from their homeland by political turmoil, the fact remains that the pressure of these eastern nomads upon the Germans of the west drove the latter irresistibly into Rome for safety. It was the impact of Huns upon Germans in the third and fourth centuries which raised the Roman problem of barbarian invasions to a really momentous issue.

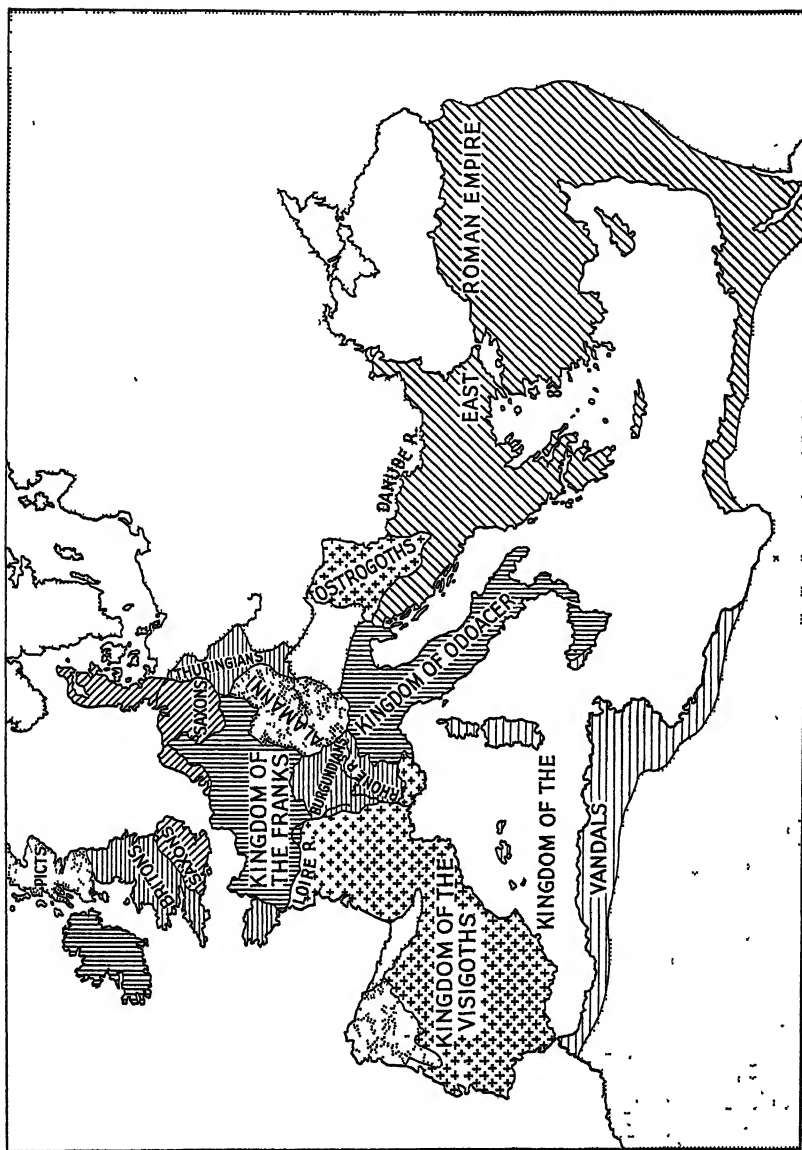
As early as 390 B.C. barbarians had plundered and sacked the city of Rome itself and sporadically thereafter there were incursions across the Danube-Rhine frontier. These had been repulsed with comparatively little difficulty, until the empire, weakened within, adopted dangerous methods of conciliation. During the strife-torn third century many barbarians were admitted to the army and some of the more able and ambitious were given important posts in civil and military administration. Sometimes tribes would be established as guards to protect the frontiers against other barbarians. More often than not these were merely absorbed rather than assimilated and, keeping their primitive customs and ideals, proved more danger than help when the pressure of their kin intensified in the fourth century.

It is not to be wondered at that the first serious reversal of fortune for Rome at the hands of these barbarians was felt along the banks of the Danube. Two circumstances contributed to this: the flood-gates of the west were fairly well closed by mountain barriers and strong defense works; and the relentless pressure of the Huns came from the east. A Gothic people, originally from Scandinavia, after a long trek from the mouth of the Vistula had established themselves in the region of the Dnieper and Don Rivers north of the Black Sea in the second and third centuries. Divided there into Ostrogoths, occupying the eastern districts, and Visigoths, occupying the western, they had occasionally menaced the empire but, for the most part, had been peaceful neighbors. In the middle of the fourth century, the Huns swept into this area driving Ostrogoths and Visigoths together with terrific impact. Terrorized by this oriental people who lived on horseback and performed superhuman feats of valor, the Visigoths sought the privilege of crossing into Roman territory for protection. An arrangement was made to this end, the Goths crossing the Danube under imperial protection in 376. Corruption among the Roman administrators shortly led to difficulties, particularly when allotments of food promised the tribesmen were not forthcoming. In desperate need, the Visigoths broke out of the district to which they had been assigned, pillaged and ravaged the Balkan peninsula,

and, finally, ignominiously defeated the flower of the Roman army which had assembled to destroy them at Adrianople (378). This proved to be a decisive engagement inasmuch as the weakened empire was incapable of effectively repairing the damage. In due course of time the Visigoths under the leadership of an able chieftain, Alaric, crossed the Balkans into Italy, overcame Roman resistance, besieged Rome in 410, and finally, seven years later, settled in northern Spain and southern France. The fact that a people, perhaps not more than 100,000 strong, could range the whole empire with impunity, is certainly clear indication of Roman impotence.

The Visigothic invasion was just a beginning. Meanwhile, on the Rhine and Danube other Germanic people took advantage of Rome's weakened condition. The Vandals, who occupied the re-entrant triangle between the Thiesse and the Danube, moved out, some across the Alps into Italy where they were almost annihilated, and the greater portion to the western Rhenish frontier which they crossed at Mainz. Overrunning France, they finally occupied much of Spain and then in 428, ably led by a young chieftain, Gaiseric, crossed to Africa where they occupied the western coastal plain as far east as Hippo and Carthage. From this strategic location they menaced imperial commerce in the Mediterranean and in 455 threatened to sack Rome itself. Meanwhile, a Burgundian people settled in eastern France along the course of the Rhone River, and the Franks began their slow but steady conquest of western Gaul. During this time the Ostrogoths, who had suffered most at the hands of the Huns, recovered slowly. After threatening Constantinople, their great leader, Theodoric, received a commission from the emperor at Constantinople to occupy Italy. This was successfully carried out in 495. In the interim, Britain was lost to adventurous Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, natives of the region of present Denmark. The Huns who had been partly instrumental in precipitating this series of disasters, under Attila, their astute but ruthless chieftain, sought to make capital of prevailing anarchy, but were successfully repulsed near Châlons (451) after having overrun much of France. By the end of the fifth century the whole western half of the empire had succumbed to invaders and the eastern portion was gravely menaced.

During this period of turmoil, and even after the barbarians had entered and settled, the fiction of the universal Roman Empire persisted, even though for administrative purposes it was divided into eastern and western portions. Since the constitutional reforms of Diocletian some such division had been maintained, and after the



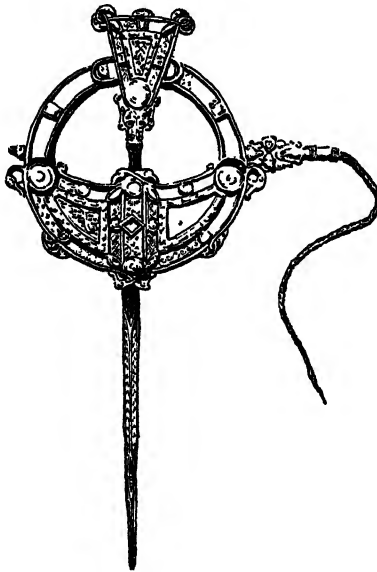
MAP 6. GERMANIC KINGDOMS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

death of Constantine it was definitely assured by the conferring of imperial authority in the east upon one son and that of the west upon another. The two halves tended more and more to draw apart in language, customs, and political interests. Of the two the western half was certainly in the less enviable position since it was hopelessly exposed to the German barbarians. To meet this problem the center of its government was shifted first from Rome to Milan and then, as the external menace became more and more acute, to the landlocked lagoon city of Ravenna on the Adriatic coast. From this quarter the pretense of imperial administration continued, but its practical exercise was confined almost entirely to the city limits. Real authority had to be delegated to bishops of the Christian Church and to ambitious barbarians. During most of the troubled fifth century power was vested in the latter, who elevated puppet emperors of their own at will and who, finally in 478, under Odoacer, ceased to recognize any imperial government in the west. Odoacer regarded himself as the agent of the emperor at Constantinople, in this fashion nominally restoring and recognizing the unity of the empire. Theodoric of the Ostrogoths, the kings of the Burgundians, Franks, Visigoths, and Vandals continued this practice, but in reality were independent sovereigns.

The barbarians dealt the death blow to the political unity of Rome, but they had neither the desire nor the ability to extinguish its culture. Most of the great chieftains, like Alaric and Gaiseric, seem to have aimed not at the destruction of the Roman state but at the control of its higher military offices. Their tribes were too small to justify any dreams of complete conquest. Probably averaging not more than 80,000 to a tribe, the total number of barbarians could hardly have exceeded 1,000,000, according to the most generous estimates. The Roman citizenry in the west, by contrast, must have totaled approximately thirty times that number. In the biological process of fusion, therefore, Roman influences were bound to predominate. Except for the British Isles where almost all traces of Roman occupation were extinguished, and northern France and Belgium, where the Franks seem to have been unusually thorough, the barbarization of Europe was much less complete than formerly imagined.

The Germans at first seized approximately a third of the land, but otherwise refrained from molesting what they found. They took over bodily Roman civil administration, adapting it to their own needs, used Roman law for their conquered subjects and, in time,

modifications of it for themselves. Contemporary sources indicate that life went on much as before, that at worst the inhabitants regarded the presence of armed, heretical barbarians as a temporary nuisance. Commerce continued, though on a diminished scale, but at that it was hardly worse than before the barbarians came. Cultural interests lagged noticeably but, again, this was not the result of overwhelming German influences, but the natural culmination of a process which had begun several centuries before. Since the time of Augustus, literature and the fine arts had been declining. 'This the barbarians merely accelerated. Cassiodorus, the annalist of Theodoric, and his contemporary, Boethius, often called the last great Greek scholar, clearly reflect this. Both were pedants, each in his own fashion, and both were steeped in the metaphysical other-worldliness imported from the Hellenistic East by way of Neo-Platonism and Christianity. Among intellectuals everywhere there was a marked disregard of Latin rhetoric, a growing sluggishness in tongue and expression, and a pronounced tendency to attribute all things to the supernatural. Classical Latin gradually gave way to a variety of new languages which became the Romance tongues of the Latin countries. The growth of these Romance languages is perhaps the clearest evidence of the predominating influence and continuing strength of Roman traditions.



THE TARA BROOCH

This Irish brooch shows the characteristics of late Celtic ornament, fine gold interlacing, animal forms and human heads.

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The Continuity of Social Development: Religion

A. PRIMITIVE RELIGIONS

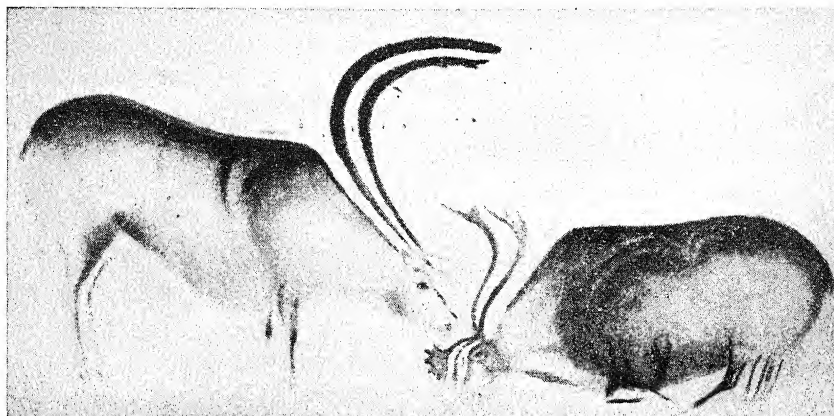
There is, perhaps, no aspect of human life and thought so baffling to inquirers as religion. Its very mystical character at once separates it from such material institutions as government. Absolute scientific objectivity, always a doubtful quantity in any social study, becomes almost impossible in the study of religion. Inevitably and invariably the interpretation offered is colored by the interpreter's religious training and experience. A Mohammedan or a Buddhist, for example, does not always see the past in the same light as does a Christian. It could hardly be otherwise since, strictly speaking, all religions are techniques for expressing and using faith in the supernatural.¹ Religion, by its very nature, is and has always been a personal matter with wide variations among individuals as to its strength and breadth. It would seem that faith of some sort is and has always been common to all men. Human beings apparently must believe in something even though it may be the fallacious belief that they believe in nothing. The religion or technique by which this faith is expressed varies with the environment, training, and need of the individual or group. New religions have grown out of the old as society has become older. There is no evidence that this development has been truly evolutionary or that the simpler are the more primitive. There is, however, abundant evidence to show that every age and every people has

¹ Supernatural is used here in its broadest meaning of something which, transcending human experience and comprehension, appears to be above natural forces. Since increasing knowledge has constantly transformed what was once held to be supernatural into comprehensible and natural phenomena, it would seem probable that "supernatural" might be regarded as the "unknown." Some groups believe that the supernatural is essentially unknowable by human reason alone.

tended to modify existing practices to suit their immediate needs. Largely for reason of convenience it has become customary to force the various religions into an artificially ordered plan, starting from the simplest, which is hopefully dubbed primitive, and proceeding to the more complex. Throughout the story runs one continuous thread: man's faith in his ability somehow to come to terms with the supernatural or unknown.

"Know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," an old and familiar saying, implies the fundamental truth that most men fear the unknown. Upon that premise is based the assumption that primitive men, who knew so little of the world and its workings, were pursued by a universal and constant fear which beclouded all their lives. Storms swept down upon them, wild animals preyed upon them, rocks and trees fell upon them, crushing out life, and floods drowned them. Because he did not distinguish between the human and the non-human, the savage felt that these things intended to injure him. He endowed the storms and the rocks with mental and spiritual attributes like his own, a belief known as animism, and ascribed to them the desire to attack him. When he sought to defend himself his material weapons proved useless. The boulder splintered his spear, the water swallowed his stone ax, and his arrows could not reach the thunder. In despair, he turned then to more subtle methods, and sought to render these evil spirits harmless by magic spells and charms. His magic rarely worked, but he nonetheless clung to the belief that some day he would find the proper formula. This, then, was the primeval expression of faith.

Gradually primitive men came to feel that not all spirits were evil, and that some were friendly or at least neutral. To the technique designed to propitiate hostile spirits were added attempts to retain and increase the benevolence of the friendly spirits and to win over the neutral ones. The environment and the habits of different individuals and groups were naturally reflected in the spirits to which appeal was made. Hunters and warriors were likely to offer rewards to the spirits of their weapons in order to assure trustworthy and successful service. Nomadic peoples who had reached the pastoral stage were more dependent upon supplies of water and upon climate. This was particularly true of desert folk who grew to attribute the presence of oases to beneficent spirits. These methods were expanded in the hope of controlling the spirits of the sun, moon, and stars. Groups who had arrived at the settled, agricultural stage of development became conscious of new needs and supplemented or supplanted old



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

REINDEER, FONT DE GAUME CAVE PAINTING AT DORDOGNE,
FRANCE. STONE AGE.

Hunting animals like these reindeer have been found in the remotest parts of cavernous grottoes, painted on walls, perhaps in an attempt to control the quarry. These animals were often sensitively drawn with a skillful use of red or ochre or black. There still exist savage tribes whose magic makers draw the image of their prey before a hunt is started.

practices with new.¹ More dependent upon the weather, agricultural peoples were concerned with trying to control such phenomena as rainfall. In addition, the vital importance of soil fertility led to the introduction of rites designed to encourage the spirits of the soil to imitate human fecundity and produce good crops. The recurrent seasonal changes, especially the annual miracle of Spring, were not lost upon these early peoples, and to the growing body of their religious folklore was added their naive explanation of this change. The Christian celebration of Easter in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ may be partly derived from these ancient festivals held to welcome Spring.

Simultaneously with the development of these religions there arose a class of men, known by the generic name of priests, who devoted themselves to the service of the spirits or gods. It seems probable that in the beginning these men gave only part of their time to this task. Later, it absorbed all their energies, and, finally, they arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of dealing with the gods. The earliest priest probably became so by accident of disease. His illness was thought to result from the presence in him of an evil spirit and

¹ It must be noted that all three ways of winning a livelihood were frequently if not always practiced by one group and, hence, all three techniques were likely to be employed. The emphasis probably varied with the most pressing need of the moment.

gradually there arose a belief that he could control this spirit. In primitive Siberia this individual was called a *shaman* which may be roughly translated as medicine-man. Since his control of his personal spirit seemed to give him a close contact with the supernatural, the neighbors called him in to relieve them of their illnesses. If he was honest and sincerely believed in his own magic power he must often have failed, but if he was a clever and somewhat skeptical *shaman* he took care to set the stage for his performances so that his success was reasonably sure. Partly because of the awe in which such magic was held and partly because he was clever enough to exploit his fellows, the successful *shaman* frequently became the most powerful figure in his group.

The priesthood appeared in another way among peoples where *shamanism* was not common. Some primitive peoples believed that the possession of an object vested the control of its spirit in the possessor. The magical object is called a fetish and the belief, fetishism. There were personal fetishes of which the rabbit's foot is a survival, and tribal fetishes.¹ The first fetishes were natural objects but, by and by, men began to manufacture them. The products of some of these men won great reputation and the power of the makers grew until finally from among these there arose a priestly class. The practice of offering gifts, or sacrifices, to the tribal fetish was an early one, and with it there grew up a small group of men who made the care of the fetish and the control of the sacrifices their profession. In time these sacrificers added to their other duties the task of foretelling the future by a study of the entrails of the sacrificed animals. Still later, they sought to read the future in other omens and eventually the astrologer-priests of ancient Babylonia developed a very intricate and highly profitable business in divination and prophecy.

Largely to protect their monopoly these various types of priests developed ways of keeping the layman from learning their secrets. One method, known as the system of *taboos*, consisted of prohibitions against doing certain things. The priests probably did not originate the idea of *taboos* but they certainly made use of it. It was forbidden for laymen to utter the name of the god, for example. The list of *taboos* was long, and varied with different groups. The penalty for breaking a *taboo* might be only the doing of penance but frequently it was exile or execution. The other protective method employed by the priests was to make the ritual so complex that no layman could perform it since years of study were required to learn all the neces-

¹ The Kaaba Stone, still worshiped by Mohammedans, was once a tribal fetish.

sary details. By these and other means, the priestly caste became extremely powerful and in some instances already mentioned even took over the entire control of a people.

In the course of time one fetish or one spirit emerged as apparently more powerful than his fellows and became the family or the tribal god. When the early social units were fused to form a larger group, the process was extended to these numerous deities. Some were forgotten, some were combined, and some were retained. The result was polytheism, a belief in many gods, which was common to most ancient peoples. One god, usually the one of the dominant unit, became the chief god of the pantheon. Among the peoples of ancient Babylonia the most popular was Ishtar, mother of the gods and symbol of sex and fertility. In various guises and under many names, including Isis, Cybele, Venus, and Aphrodite, this goddess appeared throughout the Mediterranean region. The most powerful deities in ancient Egypt were Osiris, god of the Nile and judge of the after-world, and the combination-god, Amon-Re. Zeus was the dominant god of the ancient Greeks, and Jupiter, of the Romans.

The polytheism of ancient Greece is described as anthropomorphic, which is to say that the Greeks attributed human characteristics to their gods. Hellenic mythology is filled with lusty tales of brawling, intrigue, and war among the chief gods, whose home was thought to be on Mount Olympus. In addition to the Olympic gods, there were many regional, local, and family deities. The Greeks apparently enjoyed their gods just as they enjoyed their fellowmen, without fear and often with slight respect. The worship of the city gods was less by what we should call religious ritual than by civil service. There were priests among the ancient Greeks, but the simplicity of the ritual and general character of the religion prevented the rise of a dominating priestly class. Philosophy and criticism greatly weakened the Hellenic religion and the failure of the city-state in the Hellenistic Age destroyed it. Numerous cults, most of them importations from the East, and new philosophies sought to fill the void.

Ancient Roman polytheism resulted from the fusion of family gods, and family worship long played an important part in Roman religion. Prominent, also, were the divinities who guarded the cities and who were served by priests. This simple, deeply spiritual religion was overwhelmed by the impact of Hellenic mythology, which the legally minded Romans took literally. Slowly they lost faith in their

ancient gods, and ever seeking a more satisfactory contact with the supernatural, turned more and more to Hellenistic philosophies and to eastern cults. The religion of imperial Rome was as cosmopolitan as the empire.

Temporarily the most significant of these cults which appeared in the Hellenistic and later in the Roman period were those called the mysteries. All mystery cults were based originally upon the revolution of the seasons. Spring was thought to be the rebirth of nature, and was hailed by joyous festivals which often turned into bestial orgies. In the cult of Attis, who was held to have been born of a virgin, the festival began with a commemoration of the death of the god, reaching its joyful climax three days later in a celebration of the resurrection of the god. Very important among these cults was the worship of the sun-god, Mithras. Originating in an ancient Persian legend, the Mithraic cult developed an elaborate ritual which included the chanting of hymns, the burning of candles, the eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood of a sacrificial animal. On the Sun-day and on the twenty-fifth of December, special rites were held. Mithraists expected to reach heaven through seven gates which could be unlocked by seven keys possessed by the Mithraic priests. By the second century B.C., all the important cults had developed common features. All of them taught that man was saved from punishment or oblivion by the intervention of the god. All of them included in their ritual a sacrificial meal at which the worshiper partook of the symbols of divine substance. All of them measured time by a seven day week with the seventh day held to be holy, and all of them promulgated some form of ethical teaching.

One other oriental cult penetrated into the lands of the west. From the worship of a tribal god, Jahweh, a Semitic people, called Hebrews, had evolved a monotheistic religion. Slowly, very slowly, the cult of Jahvism was changed into Judaism, a legalistic religion in which the mutual contractual obligation between Jahweh and the Hebrews was emphasized: they would worship him alone and he would help them alone. As the years rolled on there grew a belief that some day an appointed leader, the Messiah, would appear to give the Hebrews triumph, glory, and peace. Within the Roman empire but not part of it, Judaism remained a despised and little-known sect; nevertheless, there came from it a new answer to the eternal problem of the supernatural, an answer whose influence on the development of the west is incalculable.

B. THE CHRISTIAN BEGINNINGS

The origins of the Christian answer to the eternal question of human relationship to the supernatural are inextricably tangled in the various cults just sketched.¹ Like all other religions, Christianity was built from the materials at hand. Based upon an abiding faith in man's ability to come to terms with the supernatural, Christianity borrowed and adapted many elements from preceding and contemporary religions. From the ancient religion of Persia came the emphasis upon immortality, the acceptance of December 25 as a festival day, and much of the costuming and ritual of the priests. Judaism contributed a large body of "revealed" writing, the Old Testament, and the conception of Jahweh. The mystery cults supplied ritual and various means of winning salvation or safety from the dangers of this world and the next. Local pagan beliefs offered saints and icons. Hellenic and Hellenistic philosophies gave codes of ethics and the conception of the *Logos*, an intermediary between God and man, variously known as the Word, or the Son of God. The list of indebtedness might be infinitely extended, for in the words of a modern scholar: "Dogma apart, there is hardly an aspect which is not found equally in pagan and Christian—asceticism, fasts, vigils, puritanism, ritual, saints, angels, demons, and the reliance on visions and *sortes* [a type of divination]." ²

The beginnings of Christianity are shrouded in the mists which hang about its first and greatest leader, a Jewish carpenter from Nazareth whose Hebraic name was Joshua, but who is best known by his Greek name, Jesus. Modern scholars find the sources for the study of Jesus very imperfect. He left no written report of his life or work and the extant records were all compiled long after his death about 29 A.D. The years which intervened between the event and the recording of it offered multiple chances for accidental or intentional errors. Faulty memories may have clouded the story, legends and new conceptions may have overlaid the truth. From such new materials, the scholar must glean what he can about the little-known figure, Jesus of Nazareth. The materials for the history of the early Church,

¹ Many hold the view that Christian doctrines were divinely revealed to man through Christ who created the Church to spread them throughout the world. The Roman Catholic church takes the position that this revealed doctrine, its dogma, has remained unchanged.

² Moss, H. St. L. B., *The Birth of the Middle Ages*, 395-814. Oxford, 1935. P. 12.

which include the New Testament, the writings of the Church Fathers, the Church law and ritual, are fuller but not complete.

A young and unknown preacher from Galilee, Jesus appeared in Palestine about 28 A.D. at a time when the Jews were seething with fury at their Roman masters. Stiff-necked and truculent, the Jews were violently enraged by the residence of Roman governors and soldiery in their holy city of Jerusalem and many impatiently awaited the long-prophesied coming of the *Messiah* who could lead them to victory over their enemies. The teachings of the Galilean seemed about as far from the expected nature of the *Messiah* as was possible and few would hear his message. He pointed a finger of scorn at the things most men held dear, pride, ambition, self-seeking, patriotism; and taught a doctrine of an all-embracing, all-powerful love. The socially respectable would have none of such ridiculous notions and Jesus turned to the poor, the humble, and the outcast. Only partly comprehending his message, these people were so drawn by his personal power that they gave up what little they had to follow him. Only once did Jesus seek popular support and then he entered Jerusalem in triumph, hailed by the mob as *Messiah*. His success and his attacks upon the vested interests led the upper classes to conspire against him. Betrayed and accused of treason, Jesus was condemned and executed by a Roman court. The mob soon forgot its momentary hero, but his early followers did not.

There is no universally accepted evidence that Jesus planned to found a new religion. On the contrary, he seems to have thought of himself as a reformer, not a destroyer of orthodox Judaism. He made no provision for a new sect, set up no formal organization for his followers, and formulated no definite plan for their guidance. Upon his death, the small group of his disciples, despairing and grief-stricken, were preparing to go their separate ways when a remarkable thing happened. The disciples believed that they had seen a vision of Jesus risen from the dead. So profound was their conviction that they returned to Jerusalem and by their burning enthusiasm won converts to their belief. From this mystical and mysterious spark eventually flamed the consuming spiritual fire of Christianity, but not until the new religion had been broadened and transformed from a branch of Judaism to a religion with a cosmopolitan appeal.

The chief agent of this transformation was a Hellenized Jew, Saul of Tarsus, who, after his conversion to the new belief, changed his name to Paul. Because his training and background were broader than those of the original disciples, Paul was able to express this

new religion in such a way as to appeal to non-Jewish peoples. In the process, the original teachings of Jesus were expanded and revised almost beyond recognition. The great majority of the Jews would have none of Christianity and the attention of the converts was turned more and more to the pagan Gentiles. From the beginning, the Christians had been enthusiastic missionaries, and with the work of Paul, proselytizing activities were accelerated. The first Gentile church, founded at Antioch, became the center of attempts to spread the new religion. Paul himself was the most famous missionary, traveling from one city to the next, founding congregations, instructing them, and then moving on. His numerous "Epistles" to the Greeks, to the Romans, and to the Corinthians, give evidence of his methods and the scope of his work. The first organizer of Christianity, Paul found it an obscure sect, hidden in a despised section of the Roman Empire. He left it a widely spread religion with a catholic appeal.

Gentile Christianity was heavily indebted to Judaism, despite their mutual repudiations. The Jewish Scriptures served as sources of mystical knowledge, which could be interpreted as foretelling the coming of Jesus. The deep moral purpose of Judaism, combined with the ethical teachings of the Stoics and others, furnished Christianity with its most distinctive accomplishment, an ethical code, Greco-Jewish in origin, but international in its appeal. Christianity came to stand for humility and gentleness, honesty, moral courage, pacifism and love. Moreover, unlike the pagan philosophies, Christianity taught that adherence to this code would improve the world, thereby providing its followers with a cause for which to live and, if need be, die.

The wide reception of Christianity was due in part to these elements, and in part to other things. The older religions failed to satisfy the people who were eagerly seeking a new answer to the age-old question of the supernatural. The Hellenistic philosophies, by their very nature, could appeal to only a few. The mystery cults satisfied more, but the expense of initiation barred them to the poor. Besides, the deities of the mystery cults and of the other pagan beliefs were remote and inaccessible. Christianity had a universal appeal. To the intellectual minority, it offered a very high moral code and a satisfying philosophy. To the majority, it supplied an emotional appeal, typified by the numerous "miracles." Its promises of love, of equality, and of heaven gave heart to the oppressed, and the figure of Jesus made the religion personal and intimate. The really good life of the

early Christians, and the courage with which they endured persecution made a profound impression upon their contemporaries. The aura of mystery with which Christianity perforce surrounded itself attracted many who, coming to see, remained to worship. Members of the privileged classes seem frequently to have been introduced to the religion through their servants to whom Christianity had first appealed. Political considerations were also important. In the beginning, the secrecy of the religion served as a convenient cloak to hide movements against the government. Later, the increased number of Christians and the growing weakness of the empire forced the emperors to try to unite their subjects by seeking the support of this organized and powerful minority. By virtue of these and other reasons, Christianity expanded and was strengthened until, just at the end of the fourth century, it was made the official state religion. Before that triumph, however, it suffered from growing pains, from competition, and from persecution.

The early Christians made no effort to develop a priesthood or a body of dogma because they lived in constant expectation of the immediate return to earth of Jesus in bodily form. While awaiting this "Second Coming," they formed themselves into communities. Each member contributed his goods to a common store and from it all shared alike. It may be noted that this communism possessed the strong appeal of equality. These early communities were formed by traveling prophets, or apostles, whence comes the name applied to them, the Apostolic Church.¹ In addition to these transient leaders, the local communities found it necessary to choose some one person to guide their affairs and, most important, to administer the rite of the Eucharist when no apostle was present. This official was known interchangeably as a bishop, which means in Greek a shepherd, or a presbyter, meaning "elder." Assisting the bishop or presbyter were attendants, known as deacons. During the era of the Apostolic Church, this organization remained simple and purely local, the officials serving as teachers and administrators only in their own communities.

In addition to the communal life and the teachings of the apostles and bishops, there were two rites held to be especially sacred, and practiced in every community. The first was baptism, a ceremony of initiation into the group. The candidate was immersed in a stream

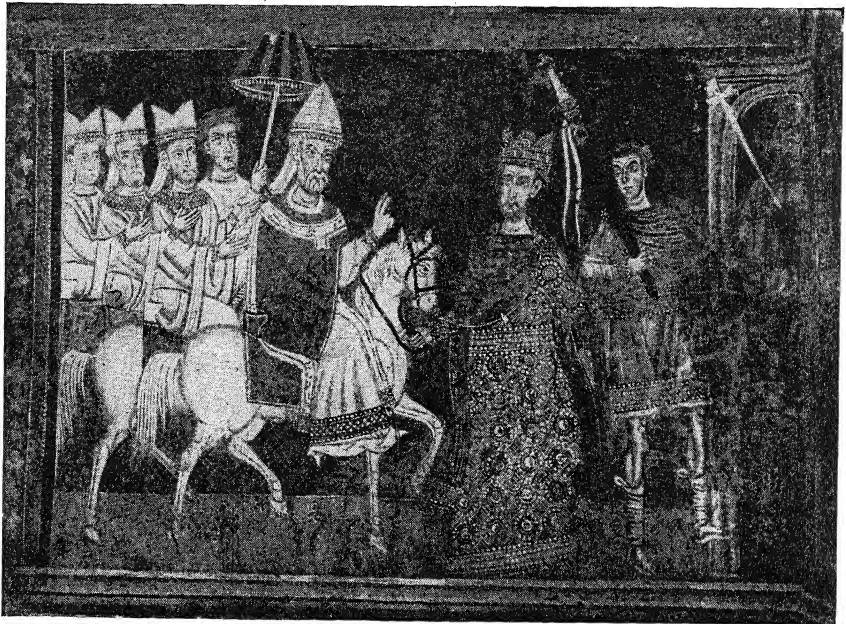
¹ "Apostolic Church" is also used by the Roman Catholics in the sense of the "marks of the Church—One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic."

of water and a sacred formula pronounced.¹ This ceremony was believed to wash away the guilt of the initiate and to fill him with the spirit of Jesus. The second rite, even more sacred, was the Eucharist which the early writers traced back to the last meal shared by Jesus with his disciples. In this ceremony, which was always regarded as the greatest of all, the early communities shared the bread and the wine as Jesus was reported to have done. Perhaps before, and certainly by the first part of the second century, Christians had come to regard the bread and wine no longer as symbols but as the veritable body and blood of the Saviour.

Christians and their communities were, from the beginning, the objects of suspicion and hostility to the government. It was believed, not at all surprisingly, that the Christians insisted upon secrecy the better to indulge in orgies of sex and even of cannibalism,² and to hatch plots against the government. This last suspicion was re-enforced by the refusal of the Christians to render the customary obeisance to the statues of the emperors on the ground that this was showing respect to false gods. Moreover the great majority of Christians came from the lower classes and were, therefore, looked at askance by the ruling classes. The average upper-class Roman regarded Christians much as contemporary capitalists regard anarchists or communists. Despite the fact that from the end of the first century to 313 a confessed Christian might be legally executed, persecution was intermittent and mainly local. The danger of persecution was always imminent, but it steadily decreased until the middle of the third century. Then for a decade (249-259) Christians were subject to widespread and cruel persecution from which they emerged more closely knit together than before. A succession of weak emperors extended them factual but not legal toleration until the reign of Diocletian. Forced either to extirpate the growing body of Christians or to win their support by surrendering to them, Diocletian chose to fight. He failed, and after 305, persecutions ceased in the west. In the east, Galerius continued the struggle for several years but was finally forced to capitulate and issue an Edict of Toleration in 311. Late in 312 or early in 313, after the death of Galerius, the co-rulers, Constantine and Licinius, issued the Edict of Milan which put Christianity on the same legal level as the other religions of the empire. Christian-

¹ The earliest formula was, "I baptize thee in the name of Jesus of Nazareth." Later it became, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

² Vague rumors of the ceremony in which Christians partook of "the body and blood of the Saviour" probably gave rise to this peculiar canard.



Alinari

DONATION OF CONSTANTINE. FRESCO IN CHURCH OF I SANTI
QUATTRO CORONATI, ROME.

This is one of a series of thirteenth century frescoes in St. Sylvester's chapel, portraying the legendary history of the Emperor Constantine's (305-337) conversion to Christianity. Tradition has it that Constantine while in Rome fell seriously ill and was cured by Pope Sylvester. Out of gratitude, the Emperor is said to have been baptized and to have bestowed certain properties and privileges upon the head of the Church. See p. 119. In this photograph Constantine is shown leading Pope Sylvester's horse into Rome. The fresco is interesting as an example of Roman medieval painting in the Byzantine style.

ity became the court religion under Constantine though he himself was not converted, if at all, until just before his death (337). With the exception of Julian, nicknamed the Apostate (360-363), who vainly sought to revitalize paganism, all the succeeding emperors favored Christianity over the other religions until, finally, the Emperor Theodosius made it the state religion in 395. The gradual acceptance of Christianity, like the sporadic persecutions of it, was dictated primarily by reasons of politics. Its prosperity was purchased at the cost of its Apostolic simplicity.

C. THE GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN HIERARCHY

The relatively small communities of the Apostolic era needed neither a highly organized administration, nor a definitely formulated dogma since the original members had all been taught by the

apostles. Besides, their belief in the imminence of the "Second Coming" dissuaded the early Christians from spending much effort or thought in organizing either doctrines or administration. As the years rolled on, it became apparent that the "Second Coming" was at least temporarily delayed and that it might be well to consolidate the organization of the Church and to preserve the teachings and customs of its founders. This latter need became the more imperative as the numbers of the Christians increased. Not only was it vitally necessary to instruct these converts in the ways of the religion; it was equally necessary to combat the heathen practices and theories which they brought with them. Such parts of this new ideology as were departures from the orthodox or accepted beliefs were denounced as heresies. In addition to the menace of heresies, which at first threatened to submerge the distinctive features of Christianity in a wave of polyglot paganisms, there was further danger of persecutions. All in all, the formulation of a definite creed and the establishment of an organized church government were, as the early Christians clearly recognized, absolute prerequisites for the survival of Christianity.

The process of organization followed two lines, each distinct, yet each dependent for perpetuation on the other. The first was the consolidation of the loose apostolic communities into compact local churches; the second was the knitting of these local groups into one great, unitary association. Both were the natural outgrowth of the need, the times, and the materials at hand. It will be remembered that in the Apostolic era, local communities had been guided, in the absence of traveling apostles, by an officer known either as the bishop (*episcopus*) or the presbyter (*presbuteros*). Sometime in the second century these titles ceased to be interchangeable. In places where there were several congregations, the term *episcopus* (bishop) was reserved for the leader of the most important group and the name *presbuteroi*¹ was given to the heads of the smaller ones. By the end of the century, the bishop was regarded as being a higher official with greater authority and distinct powers which the priests did not share. Concurrently with the practice there had been developed a theory in support of it. This so-called doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, once applied to all heads of congregations, now declared that the bishop received his power by virtue of being the spiritual heir of the first apostles. New bishops were inducted to office by older bishops who thus passed on the apostolic authority in unbroken

¹ Various, presbyters, elders, or priests.

succession. Known as consecration, this process is still continued in form though with widely different meanings by most Christian churches. Priests also were ordained, but with this significant difference: the powers conferred upon the priest did not include the creation of other clergy.¹ Only the bishops could do that. This doctrine not only endowed the bishops with superior power, it was also fundamental to the belief of the Church. The continued existence of true Christianity, it was (and is) maintained, depended upon the preservation of direct, lineal contact with the founders of the religion.

Closely connected with the development of the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession was the evolution of the practice and theory of the Apostolic See. The early bishops had, in the course of time, become missionaries themselves and had founded new congregations. In much the same way that the apostles had turned over the celebration of the Eucharist and the local administration of the Church to the bishops, the bishops now assigned such functions in these daughter-churches to priests. More and more, the bishop tended to become an administrator of a group of churches rather than the servant of one. It was, however, customary for the bishop to be more closely connected with the mother-church than with its offspring. The prestige of his church, naturally greater than of the others, tended to be reflected in the increasing power and authority of the bishop. If the episcopal church had itself been founded by one of the first apostles, it was held in special reverence and accorded unusual power. In such a case the bishopric or diocese was known as an Apostolic See. Thus, Antioch, the missionary center of Syria; Corinth and Ephesus, where the movement was begun by Paul; Alexandria, intellectual center and second city of the empire whose first church had been founded by Mark; and especially Rome, capital of the empire and scene of the traditional martyrdom of Peter and Paul, came to have the greatest prestige of all.

By the fourth century, the two organizations, local and general, had begun to intertwine to produce one catholic unit. The process was not complete, but it was started. The Church was made up of a large number of dioceses, which, in turn, were composed of local congregations. The latter were guided by priests whose ordination at the hands of the bishop had made them competent to administer the Eucharist. The bishop acted as overseer and administrator of the congregations and the clergy within his diocese. In theory, the

¹ The word clergy is derived from the Greek word *kleros* which implied those chosen or selected.

powers of all the bishops were the same, but in practice those of the principal cities and Apostolic Sees were more important, and all tended to look to one or the other of the three great centers, Alexandria, Antioch or Rome for final guidance.

The rise of the Bishop of Rome to a position of paramount power and influence is one of the salient facts of early Church history. It has been noted that although all bishoprics were originally regarded as equal, certain of them gradually emerged as more important than the rest. By the seventh century, Rome had become the acknowledged leader of the Church in the West, and Constantinople in the East. The subordination of the eastern bishopric to the state, as well as the pride and ambition of both rivals, made any compromise between them impossible, and eventually the Church split over the question of supremacy. Constantinople retained the leadership of the eastern branch which came to be called the Orthodox Catholic Church, and Rome so increased its authority over the western part that it became known as the Roman Catholic Church. The explanation of this rise of the Bishop of Rome to the pre-eminent position of Pope is complicated by the fact that the sacerdotal interpretation is based primarily on faith, that of the historian upon rational investigation.

An early proclamation of the Roman Catholic interpretation was made by Pope Leo I (440-461). This doctrine, generally called by Protestant scholars the Petrine Theory, rests upon a statement in the Gospel according to St. Matthew: "And I [Jesus] say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."¹ St. Peter together with St. Paul, the theory continues, founded the Christian community at Rome. Therefore, by virtue of the Apostolic Succession, each Bishop of Rome is the direct heir of the superior power conferred upon Peter. The evidence in support of this theory is held by scholars not of the Roman Catholic persuasion to be inadequate, but faith in the infallible and divine guidance of the Church supplements the material evidence for the faithful. To whichever group one belongs, the almost universal acceptance of this theory by western Christians²

¹ Matthew XVI, 18-19. Many scholars doubt the genuineness of these lines, some maintaining that they were added to the Gospel sometime after its compilation.

² For obvious reasons, the Eastern Church has never concurred in this theory.

remains of great significance. It satisfactorily explained and fully justified to many generations the fact of papal power. In that way it became one of the major reasons making possible such a development. Non-Roman Catholic historians have felt, however, that the Petrine theory was only one of several factors.

Foremost among the other reasons was the prestige of Rome. Generations of men had learned to look to Rome as the chief city of the empire and even of the world. From Rome the great military roads radiated to all parts of the empire like spokes from the hub of a wheel. Rome, the eternal city, as men called her, was the center of law, government, and of style. Even the great provincial cities followed her lead just as modern cities borrow heavily from London, Paris, and New York. To be Bishop of Rome was to be head of the capital diocese of the West, minister to leaders of the Western Empire. Moreover, the Roman Bishop had been very active in missionary work and many small churches looked to Rome as their Mother Church. To them was taught, as a matter of course, the Petrine Theory. Later monasteries, owing direct obedience to the Pope, spread the doctrine of papal supremacy over Europe. The fact that the Roman Bishop had no important episcopal rivals in the West counted heavily in his favor, the more so because his one great competitor, the Bishop of Constantinople, was handicapped by the presence of several important rivals in the East. The growing weakness and eventual collapse of the imperial government in the West also materially aided the Pope. Not only was he freed from the subservience to secular authority which hampered the Bishop of Constantinople; he was, in addition, the only official who remained competent to exercise authority. At this crucial moment when the state was failing, the Roman Church was blessed with strong leaders capable of discharging their ecclesiastical duties and also of assuming the functions of the impotent secular rulers. Finally, by virtue of divine guidance or of good luck and astute management, depending upon one's personal beliefs, the Pope consistently managed in all disputes to favor the side later declared to be orthodox, thereby winning an enviable and significant reputation.

Successive popes contributed to the extension of papal power, but its most successful champions were Leo I (440-461) and Gregory I (590-604).¹ Leo, called the Great, was responsible for a remarkable extension of papal authority. The papacy had long claimed to be the court of final appeal in all ecclesiastical disputes, but the

¹ See pp. 94-95 for a discussion of his advancement of the papacy.

custom of appealing to Rome, though common, had no legal basis. Leo obtained from the Emperor Valentinian III a statement which not only recognized the superior judicial authority of the pope but also declared that papal decrees had the validity of imperial law. This surprising delegation of authority, the outgrowth of imperial weakness and papal strength, made the pope a judge and a lawmaker of imperial stature.

Coincidental with this significant development of organization was the crystallization of doctrine. The changes which took place in the administration of the rites of the Eucharist and of baptism have already been suggested. What the Church sought to do was, first, to make its teaching so appealing to non-Christians that they would forsake their old ways for the new, and second, so to limit this expansion that the distinctive elements of the religion would not be lost. The task was exceedingly difficult since the two aims were to a large extent mutually exclusive. Every pagan element adopted or adapted tended to remove the techniques further from the teachings of Jesus. The process was one of growth, and growth inevitably means change. The more serious pagans demanded that a religion offer them salvation by enabling them to identify themselves with the god. The Christian Church very early stressed its ability to assure salvation by opening the pathway from humanity to divinity. As time wore on, the Church became increasingly insistent upon its monopoly of such power and upon the necessity for orthodoxy. Candidates for admission into the Christian fold had to undergo instruction in the technique of the faith and to accept the teachings of the Church. That done, they had to be purified by baptism before they could be admitted to the Eucharist in which, it was held, they received the body and blood of Christ. An excellent illustration of this type of development is offered by the coagulation and definition of the Christian Scriptures.

Originally, the Old Testament, i.e., the Jewish Scriptures, had served as the "revealed writing" of the Christians who by ingenious and sometimes tortuous interpretations fitted it to their special needs. Unhappy experiences soon demonstrated, however, that non-believers could wring equally cogent but contradictory meanings from the same text, and the demand arose for a specifically Christian body of "inspired truth." The writings of the apostles and their immediate protégés were gradually accepted by common, if tacit, consent. General custom dictated which writings should be used and which discarded, but a few were hotly disputed and the complete

authoritative list was not completed until the fifth century. At first these writings were held to be inferior to the Old Testament but by the middle of the third century it had come to be believed that they were also "inspired" and, hence, equal to the older writings.

Constantine legalized Christianity in order to strengthen himself and his empire through co-operation with this compact and vital organization, and through the merit of the Christian's God. If the Church were to serve the imperial purpose, it was important that nothing should disrupt the ecclesiastical unity. In other words, it became imperative that the emperor intervene when and if necessary to extirpate heresy, settle disputes, and maintain unity.

Before Constantine allied himself with the Church, a dispute had arisen over the election of Cæcilian as Bishop of Carthage and a strong minority faction, led by Donatus, one of the claimants, separated itself from the larger body.¹ Eager to heal this schism, Constantine, after other expedients had failed, summoned a council of all the bishops to meet at Arles in 314. Such procedure was novel only in that the emperor ordered the meeting. It had long been customary for neighboring bishops to meet in councils for the discussion and settlement of local problems, and as early as the middle of the third century, Bishop Cyprian of Carthage regularly called local councils. The impetus given by the imperial summons transformed the conciliar movement from a local to a regional, as in the case of the Council at Arles, and later, to a cosmopolitan technique. The Council of Arles gave its decision in favor of Cæcilian, and Constantine upheld the verdict. The Donatists refused to give in, but the extension of the conciliar practice furthered the union of the Church.

This dispute closed but not settled, Constantine soon found himself faced with another. The very difficult problem of the divinity of Jesus, raised by the philosophical Christians late in the third century, was brought into sharp focus by Arius of Alexandria early in the fourth century. Arius took the position that Jesus was divine but not a deity. The opposition, led first by Alexander and later by Athanasius, stoutly maintained that Jesus was of the "same" nature as God. The increasing complexity and bitterness of the dispute caused the intervention of the Emperor. To Constantine, the central problem was the preservation of church unity as a means of attaining imperial

¹ The Donatists justified their action with the argument that the power of the clergy depended upon personal character and that the opposing candidate, Cæcilian, had demonstrated his moral unfitness for the episcopal office. The issue thus raised was fraught with danger for, if the Donatist theory was accepted, the power of the Church could be undermined by any who charged her officers with moral turpitude.

unity. Feeling that his first experiment with the conciliar method had been a success, he again resorted to this expedient, and, in 325, summoned all the bishops of the East and a few from the West, including the Bishop of Rome, to meet in a general, cosmopolitan council at Nicea. After two months of bitter argument, the Council of Nicea decided in favor of the Athanasian theory, condemned the Arians and banished them from the empire. The struggle continued, partly political, partly religious, but the Nicene creed representing Jesus as "true God of true God" was, with a few lapses due to political changes, the legally accepted belief from which soon evolved the equally orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. Apart from its dogmatic importance, the Council of Nicea was profoundly significant in its political implications. Called by imperial order, its expenses paid from the imperial treasury, and its decisions enacted into imperial law, this council established the Church as a universal, imperial institution.

The changes in the interpretations of doctrines which took place in the centuries following the Council of Nicea represent a process of growth.¹ What the Church could not otherwise overcome she embraced and assimilated. The result was a growing strength which enabled her to retain and to extend her hold upon the peoples of the west. The cost of such expansion was that Christianity became a vast conglomeration of elements in which the pagan frequently overshadowed the apostolic. To the Father and the Son of the original Nicene creed was added in the fourth century the Holy Spirit (Ghost), thereby establishing the doctrine of the Trinity. The problem of the nature of these three was finally solved by a paradoxical formula which, in mathematical terms, may be expressed as x (God) equals $3 x$ (the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost). This seemingly impossible statement was explained by the Church pronouncement that the nature of x was unknown and unknowable and, hence, not subject to the limitations of the human mind. The doctrine of the Trinity, whatever its rational limitations, did express and preserve the Christian conception of a God at once omnipotent and yet readily accessible to men. This doctrine explained the relation of God to Jesus but not the relation of Jesus to man. After long and bitter controversy, the Council of Chalcedon (451) set forth the orthodox dogma that Christ was in one Person a union of divine and human natures, fully man and fully God. Quite large groups of Christians refused to accept this interpretation and maintained that the two

¹ This material is based largely upon Goodenough, E. R., *The Church in the Roman Empire*. New York, 1931. P. 62 seq. et passim.

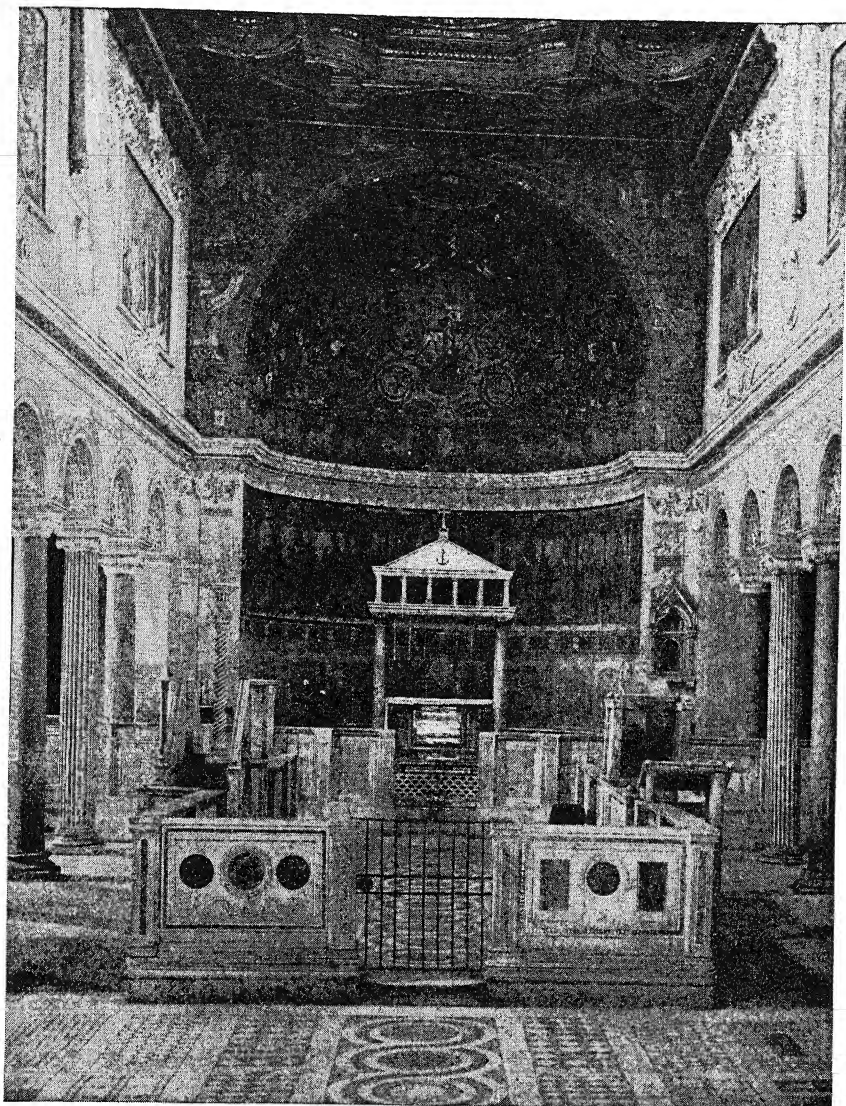
natures fused into one so that Christ was God-man. Known as Monophysitism, this belief is still kept alive by the Coptic Church of Egypt, the Syrian Monophysite Church, and the Armenian (Gregorian) Church.

The influence of paganism upon the Church is clearly illustrated in the growth of martyrolatry and hagiolatry.¹ From the pagan belief that the souls of the dead lingered near the discarded body, grew the belief that the soul of a martyr remained near his body. Since it was further believed that the soul of a martyr was in direct touch with God, the body of the martyr was regarded as possessing supernatural powers. Accordingly, the bodies and relics of martyrs were preserved in the churches in order to keep in close touch with a soul possessed of such power. Prayers were said, first, to God through the martyrs and soon to the martyrs themselves. Later, ascetics and hermits were regarded in the same way. Gradually, certain martyrs assumed the stature of minor deities, and became the saints of Christianity. A new mythology rose about them, and many venerated them as their ancestry had once venerated pagan deities. Indeed, it frequently happened that a local deity was transformed into a saint. Most important figure in hagiolatry was the Virgin Mary, deeply respected in the second century, but greatly honored by the fifth and sixth centuries. After violent argument, she was officially titled the "Mother of God," and Christians prayed to her as the "Queen of Heaven." Many scholars interpret this veneration and the legends which soon clustered about the Virgin as the carrying over into Christianity of such pagan goddesses as Isis, Ishtar, and Cybele. Out of this veneration of martyrs and saints arose the practice of using their relics as charms.

The changes made in the ritual of Mass also clearly show the impact of paganism. By the time of Gregory, the Mass had come to be thought of as a sacrifice offered to God to avert punishment or to gain favor. Masses were sung to obtain relief for a besieged city, to stop a plague, to heal the ill, to assure a good crop or a safe journey. Accompanying this change in interpretation were adoptions and adaptations of pagan ritual and accoutrements. The use of candles as prayer offerings, to cite only one instance, became common enough though it had once been denounced by the early Christians as a peculiarly obnoxious custom.

Coincidental with this ritualistic and dogmatic expansion was the development of a philosophy of life which for some thousand years

¹ This paragraph does not express contemporary Roman Catholic beliefs or practices.



Alinari

SAN CLEMENTE, UPPER CHURCH. ROME.

The Church of San Clemente is one of the best preserved of the old Roman basilicas, with a fascinating history all its own. Recent excavations have shown that there was once a building of the Republican era on the same site and subsequently a Mithræum built in the Imperial era by members of the Mithraic cult. A Christian church was erected above the ruins during the fourth century and attained distinction among the early Church Fathers. St. Jerome mentioned it in 392 and Pope Gregory the Great is known to have delivered sermons there. In 1084 this structure was destroyed by the Normans who had been invited by Gregory VII to save Rome from the Emperor Henry IV. The ruins were filled in and another church built upon them in 1108. The picture above, from the later or Upper Church, shows the nave with flanking columns, the choir screen, ambone or pulpit, and the mosaic in the apse. The scroll design in the apse is similar to that shown in the House of Menander and in the Ara Pacis.

molded the lives and thoughts of men and still retains an important influence. This ideology was the work of the Church Fathers, a succession of very able men, whose writings came to be regarded as second only to the Bible in inspiration and authority. Most important among the western or Latin Fathers were Jerome (c. 340-420) whose translation of the Bible, known as the Vulgate, remains the authoritative edition for the Roman Catholic Church; Ambrose (c. 340-397), who introduced Stoic ethics into the Christian philosophy; Augustine (354-430), greatest of them all, whose *City of God* was the fount of much medieval theology and the source of the medieval ecclesiastical theory that the only function of the State was to support the Church; and Gregory the Great, first of the medieval popes.

Gregory I, later canonized as St. Gregory, was the scion of a wealthy family long identified with service to the state and to the Church. Bestowing his wealth upon the Church and upon the poor, Gregory became a monk, but his talent was so great that he was not allowed to remain in monastic obscurity. After distinguished service as papal legate and abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Andrews, Gregory was literally drafted into the papacy by the Senate, the clergy, and the people of Rome. The task which awaited him was huge but he bore his multiple responsibilities with ability and distinction. Numerous legacies and gifts to the Church had built up a large temporal estate, known as the Patrimony of St. Peter. As manager and virtual owner of these lands, Gregory proved himself practical and astute both as a business man and as an administrator. The latter quality was more spectacularly demonstrated in the rule of the Duchy of Rome which the impotence of the imperial dukes forced Gregory to assume. The Pope filled the position of secular ruler with zeal and ability, relieving the poor, governing the duchy, and opposing the advance of the Arian Lombards from the north. As primate of the Church, Gregory consistently maintained, and in large measure realized, the absolute supremacy of the pope. He declared that decrees of councils had no validity without the sanction of the pontiff and claimed an authority superior to that of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Most notable was his extension of the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts in general and of the papal court in particular. Gregory further strengthened the papacy by allying it with monasticism. The monks, as missionaries, spread Christianity throughout Europe and with it the doctrine of papal supremacy. The pope, for his part, became the patron of the monks

and accorded them special rights and privileges. Eventually, all monks were made subject to the pope to the mutual benefit of both since the monks, in return for their favored position, became a sort of holy army for the papacy. Gregory did not institute this but he paved the way for it.

Gregory's writings have won for him a place among the Church Fathers. Not an original nor a creative thinker, Gregory synthesized the teachings of the earlier Fathers and the practice of his own day. The result was a badly needed popularization of dogma. The most important of Gregory's works were the *Pastoral Rule*, which long remained a guidebook for bishops; the *Dialogues*, a compilation of the stories of miracles; and the *Moralia*, an exposition of Christian theology which remained authoritative for centuries. The *Rule* and the *Moralia* show his ability and his sound practicality; the *Dialogues* reveal his ignorance and superstitious credulity. Gregory reflected the virtues and faults of his age, and they stamp him as the first of the medieval churchmen.

The period which closed with Gregory was marked not only by the extension of papal power and the modification of doctrinal interpretations but also by the introduction of new practices. The most striking of the latter was monasticism, a system by which men and women cut themselves off from the life of the world to live in an artificial community dedicated to worship and service. Monasticism is found in many religions besides Christianity and seems to be the natural outgrowth of the human desire to elevate the spirit by mortifying the body, a procedure known as asceticism, which very early appeared in the East. The early ascetics commonly withdrew from the world in a very literal sense and dwelt in deserts and other inaccessible places. The Greeks applied to them the name *eremos* from which the modern word "hermit" is derived. The extremes to which the practice was carried bespeak a religious hysteria which sometimes bordered on insanity.

The movement reached its peak in Egypt in the third century after which reason began to return, though individual instances of extreme asceticism remained common. The practice of isolation was generally abandoned and the hermits, now called cenobites, lived together in a community, or cenobium. The first cenobites were bound by no common rules, but in the fourth century one Pachomius founded a cenobium in Egypt whose members were subject to certain regulations. The practice spread from Egypt and was further refined by Basil, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea in Cappadocia (c. 329-379). The Ba-

silian Rule, which became the standard of the eastern monasteries, substituted useful manual labor for abuse of the body, and stressed the need for religious meditation. Poverty, humility, and obedience were enjoined upon the monks.

Introduced into Italy by Athanasius, monasticism proved very popular. Some of its appeal was due to its novelty but, more than that, it answered the need of the times. The chaos and disorder of the day made some men desirous of escape from a topsy-turvy and turbulent world. Unable or unwilling to stand up to the buffets of life, they welcomed the peace and security of the monastery. Still others found in monasticism the answer to a decadent civilization. To them, the world seemed so bad that they gladly abandoned it in the hope of piling up treasure where moth and rust do not corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal. There was, indeed, a growing and a common emphasis upon the *hereafter* rather than the *here*. Life on earth had become to many so hopelessly barren and sinfully wicked that they bent their efforts and thoughts toward preparation for the Christian heaven.

Western monasticism soon fell into the dual faults of irregularity and extreme asceticism from which it was finally rescued by St. Benedict (c. 480-550). Dismayed by the profligacy of his age and moved by a religious hysteria, Benedict became a hermit. His fame as a rigid ascetic and as a man of God grew apace and others joined him. Probably in 529, Benedict founded a monastery upon the site of an ancient pagan temple at Monte Cassino.¹ For the guidance of his monks, he drew up a set of rules which, largely through papal influence, became the model for all later monastic orders. Eminently practical, the Benedictine Rule enjoined moderation. After a probationary period of a year, the candidate vowed to renounce his old life, to obey the abbot in all things, and to remain at the monastery. The monk was also pledged to poverty; chastity was taken for granted by the Rule. The daily life of the monks revolved about the worship of God by prayer and praising, and the service of men by manual labor. Originally the Benedictine monks had been laymen but gradually more and more of them became priests. As western monasticism came ever more under Benedictine influence and as the teachings of the Church began to reflect a double standard of life, one for the ordinary man, which was good, and the other for the perfect man, which was better, the clergy divided into two

¹ About halfway between Rome and Naples. The monastery was built largely of stone taken from the temple of Apollo.

groups. Those who, like parish priests, lived in the world were called *secular*; those who withdrew to live according to the monastic rules were given the title, *regular*. The rivalry between the two was constant and often of unchristian bitterness but, in general, it resulted in a greater emphasis upon things spiritual and a consequent rectification of many abuses.

To monasticism likewise belongs the credit for the repopularization of manual labor. During the later days of the Roman Empire honest hard work had been regarded as meet only for slaves and members of the lowest class. By insistence upon the value of manual labor, the monks brought it again into good repute and men were no longer ashamed to work with their hands. Monastic communities, as indeed all communities, supported themselves by agriculture, and by precept and example the monks improved the agricultural methods of the people. In particular, the monks were leaders in the conversion of non-arable into arable land.

Cassiodorus, a younger contemporary of Benedict, began the tradition that the monastery be the center of scholarship and learning. He collected a sizeable library for his monastery in Apulia and set his monks to work collating and copying the manuscripts. Throughout the next seven centuries the monasteries were almost the only repositories of records of the past and the sole source of education. In the course of time, the majority of the population became so widely illiterate that the very ability to read and write stamped a man as being of the clergy. Modern society is deeply indebted to the medieval Church for the preservation of such ancient literature as has remained extant. It is only fair to add that the piety of the monks sometimes led them to destroy pagan and anti-Christian literature which the world might profitably have known.

In addition to being the centers of learning, the monasteries served as inns for the traveler. Monastic hospitality was famous, and wayfarers long depended upon it. To the poor the monks gave alms; to the ill and infirm, shelter and care; to the troubled and distraught, spiritual guidance. In short, the monk who had withdrawn from the world returned to it, and, in the name of God, gave service and aid to his fellowmen.¹

By the sixth century, to recapitulate briefly, the western Church had become catholic in fact and in name; the Pope had risen to the

¹ It is not to be supposed that all monks attained this ideal nor that monasticism did not in time become base and corrupt. However, it is true that the services performed by these men were of great benefit to their fellows and to posterity.

place of supremacy in the organization; theology and dogma had been definitely crystallized; many temporal functions had been assumed and the Church was well on its way toward secular superiority. The Church was and for five hundred years continued to be the one unfailing source of order, of learning, and of culture. By all odds it was the outstanding institution of the Middle Ages.



THE CHALICE OF ANTIOCH

From the design and workmanship this appears to belong to the first century A.D. The chalice was found in excavations at Antioch, once the third city in size in the Roman Empire. An important cathedral had been built here by Helena, mother of Constantine. This chalice and other silver articles of the fourth century found with the cup may have been part of the cathedral treasure which had been hidden. The inner cup is plain, but the outer is of elaborately and beautifully wrought silver. The central figure here is said to be the mature Christ with S. Peter and S. John the lesser on his right and S. Paul and S. Jude on his left, indicated by insignia scratched on the chairs. Saints Luke, Mark, Matthew, and John are shown on the other side of the chalice, similarly grouped about a youthful Christ. The preciously encased cup may be the one identified with the Last Supper, the Holy Grail around which legends grew (see p. 330), all of which appear to have an Oriental or Syrian origin.

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Heirs of the Roman Empire

A. THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

It has already been observed both in general and in particular that there is a continuity in social development, or, as the cliché has it, that there is nothing new under the sun. Life goes on despite wars, revolutions, and violent changes. Whether they will or not, men must build the present upon the foundations of the past. The preceding chapter showed this continuity in the development of one institution: the Church. This chapter deals with the same theme as revealed in the institution of government. The classic Roman Empire slowly decayed, but men remained and government continued. They were, of course, not the same as the government of Rome. Differences were many and profound, but the new showed many traces of its debt to the old. In the west, the Franks slowly blended their customs and ideas with the Roman, thus laying the base of medieval European society. Meanwhile, in the east, what had begun as an administrative division of the Roman state, rose to imperial stature in its own right and became the Byzantine Empire.¹

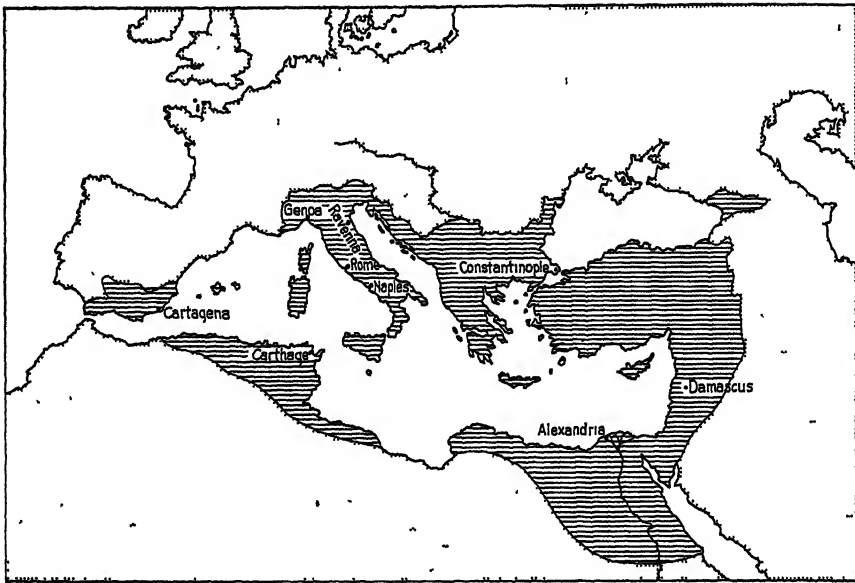
Here is an excellent illustration of both continuity and change. The government of this Eastern Empire was deliberately modeled upon that of Rome but the Roman elements were increasingly overlaid with oriental concepts and practices. Thus by the middle of the fifth century, the monarchy had become an absolute despotism endowed after the eastern fashion with the assumption that its power came from God. Surrounded with all the pomp and ceremony of the oriental practice, the Byzantine emperors more and more con-

¹ The administrative division was made by Diocletian (285-305); Constantine (306-337) established a new capital, modestly naming it Constantinople after himself, on the shores of the Bosphorus in 330; the final separation into the Empires of the East and West took place at the death of Theodosius in 395.

ducted themselves like eastern potentates. Moreover, the Church became essentially a department of the State and an instrument for the fostering and maintenance of imperial unity. In a territorial sense, also, the empire had become eastern, ruling extensive domains from the Adriatic to the mountains of Armenia, from the Danube to the Euphrates, and including Egypt and Cyrenaica. But it continued to lay claim to the old Roman lands of the west in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and the dream of a single Roman state embracing all of the Mediterranean basin haunted the minds of its rulers. Economically and culturally, the Empire grew steadily more Hellenistic and oriental. Egypt and Asia Minor became its artistic and scholarly centers. But until the eighth century, Latin remained the official language and Roman forms and titles were perpetuated. Its greatest enemies were in the east: Persia, with whom it waged almost perpetual war until the Persian collapse in the seventh century; and the eastern barbarians, both Huns and Ostrogoths, were an ever-present menace for years. Nevertheless, the eyes of its rulers frequently turned toward the west, and its greatest emperor, Justinian, was temporarily successful in establishing his power there.

The rise of Justinian to the throne of Byzantium was the result of serious internal political difficulties which developed in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. The corruption of imperial politics, the ascendancy of the army, and the selfish ambitions of strong personalities produced an unsettled state of public life. The imperial office fell to him who could seize it. In 518 that person was an untutored Macedonian, Justin I (518-527), commander-in-chief of the imperial guard. Almost at once he called to his aid his nephew Justinian who became the real ruler and who in 527 succeeded to the throne. Together with his wife, Theodora, Justinian reigned until 565, raising the Byzantine Empire to the pinnacle of its glory. Theodora and Justinian, both resourceful and able but very different in many ways, constituted an efficient political team. The emperor was keen and visionary, ambitious to rebuild a truly Roman Empire, but lacking in courage and stability; the empress was realistic, ruthless, eager to build a strongly unified eastern state, and possessed of an indomitable spirit.

Apart from reorganizing the administration so that taxes might be more efficiently collected, and sanctifying the throne in oriental fashion, Justinian's chief interest was centered in the restoration of the Roman Empire by recovering the alienated provinces of the west. No stone was left unturned in the effort to complete this



MAP 7. THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE UNDER JUSTINIAN

project. A disputed succession to the throne of the Vandal Kingdom in northern Africa offered an excuse for its invasion and extinction. Similarly, difficulties in the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy encouraged intervention which was crowned with success after a long and devastating campaign of twenty years. Southern Spain and other portions of the Mediterranean coast likewise fell into his hands, but the remainder of the Germanic kingdoms successfully evaded conquest. Even so, the territorial acquisitions of Justinian in the west represented no mean achievement. The whole Mediterranean basin had been brought under his sway.

Unhappily, Justinian's conquests were fraught with danger both for the west and for the east. In Italy, especially, the long process of reducing the Ostrogoths had impoverished the country, a situation which the ubiquitous taxgatherers made infinitely worse. The way was thus opened for another invasion of the peninsula by the Germanic Lombards who, significantly enough, entered the valley of the Po in 568, just three years after Justinian's death. Meeting little opposition, except in the coastal regions where the imperial navy could still be used with decisive advantage, the Lombards systematically overran the country. In northern Africa, the consequences were not so immediately destructive. Imperial administration was renewed and commerce revived, but Vandal strength had been sapped

so completely that little defense against the Moors and Berbers of the hinterland was henceforth possible. These latter gradually absorbed the coastal region, and were already reasonably well established when the Moslems swept Africa about a century later. The west was not gained, but irretrievably lost.

In the east, the drain of continuous wars told heavily on the imperial treasury. Taxes increased sharply and with them unrest, which broke out sporadically in serious rioting against the government. One of these, the Nika Revolt (532) almost ended with Justinian's abdication. It is significant to note that most of the extant, unblemished sources of the period reveal a profound discontent among Justinian's subjects. Inability to collect sufficient taxes eventually necessitated a serious curtailment of expenditures. It became impossible to keep the army at a high level of efficiency and defense works were left unrepaired. It was this weakening process, resulting from the Emperor's overly-ambitious schemes, which made it relatively easy for new barbarians to break through the Danube frontier shortly after his death. Slavs, followed by Avars and Bulgars, gradually conquered the whole Balkan peninsula.

If Justinian failed to achieve lasting merit in military enterprise, his fame in the cultural sphere is incontestable. Like many modern rulers, he had a profound interest in public works. It was largely by his patronage and encouragement that the great church of Santa Sophia was built in Constantinople. This magnificent structure, so admirably proportioned, with its rich but restrained decoration, was perhaps the greatest early achievement in purely Christian architecture. In it the abstract theology of the east seems brought to life, and from it western Church art in the Middle Ages drew its inspiration. It is around the church of Santa Sophia that there developed Byzantine art, so-called from the name Byzantium applied to Constantinople by common usage in Justinian's day and for centuries thereafter. This art, like so much else in civilization, was not original but a fusion of many influences from the whole Near East, which naturally converged upon the commercial center of Constantinople.

Still more important for the future of western Europe were Justinian's contributions to law and legislation. His passion for order and uniformity inspired him to undertake a reorganization of the vast conglomeration of Roman law which had been accumulating since the days of the Republic. Two masses of law were distinguished: the old law (*jus vetus*), and the new law (*jus novum*). The former comprised the statutes, senatorial decrees, and juridical inter-



SANTA SOPHIA

Courtesy of Lindsley F. Hall

This great Byzantine church was built between 532 and 562, during the reign of Justinian, by Asiatic architects, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus.

pretations of the early republic and early empire; the latter was derived from the ordinances of more recent emperors. In both there was much confusion and much that was obsolete. The "new law" seeming the less complicated, Justinian appointed a commission to reduce it to order. The result was the famous *Justinian Code*. Success in this initial undertaking inspired Justinian to make a similar attempt with the "old law." To this end the writings and commentaries of jurists covering it since ancient times were edited and compressed into fifty books known as the *Digest* or *Pandects*, generally regarded as the most famous law book of the world. Climaxing these noteworthy achievements, Justinian issued the *Institutes*, a textbook for law students; and systematized legal education throughout the empire. The *Code*, the *Digest*, and the *Institutes* together with the *Novellæ*, or new laws issued to supplement the *Code*, are known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Body of Civil Law). The West was little influenced by these legal reforms at the time that they were made, but after the eleventh century the *Corpus Juris Civilis* became a powerful weapon in the hands of ambitious princes and was gradually applied to the whole continent.

The history of the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century is noteworthy both for grave crises which threatened its existence and for the change which took place in the character of the empire. Much of the western part of the empire was lost, and for a time it seemed that the eastern part would fall before the continuing Persian onslaught. From that fate it was saved by the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) who restored much of its apparent power and prestige, but virtually exhausted his state in doing so. Before his reign was over, he had to meet another and more dangerous attack by the Mohammedan Arabs,¹ to whom he lost both Syria and Egypt. For a generation longer the Arabs constantly threatened the empire until they were temporarily checked by Constantine IV (668-685).

Meanwhile, an important transformation was taking place in the nature and character of the empire itself. New peoples, Bulgars, Croats, and Serbs, had penetrated into the Balkan Peninsula and the area had become less Hellenic than Slavic. The old Roman system of government had been abandoned at about the same time and replaced by a military form of government. Most important, the empire in the seventh century lost its Roman character. Greek became the official language, even the *Novellæ* of Justinian were issued in Greek since that was the tongue common to most of the people. Although until its end, the Byzantine Empire continued to call itself the "Empire of the Romans," that was scarcely more than a tribute to the past. After the seventh century the Byzantine Empire was clearly a separate entity, pursuing its own path of development. From time to time that path crossed those of western Europe with momentous significance.

Early in the eighth century the Arabs were definitely checked again with the result that they turned more vigorously toward the west and pushed on into Europe. In attempting to reduce the power of the monks who threatened to dominate the empire, the Emperor Leo III began a campaign against the use of images in churches. This struggle which won Leo and his successor the name of the Iconoclasts (image breakers) led to the final break between the Eastern and the Roman Church. When Byzantine power in Italy fell before the Lombards, Pope Stephen II turned to the Franks for protection, but that is part of another story. Suffice it to say that seven centuries longer the Byzantine Empire continued to exist and to exert a tremendous influence upon the development of eastern, or Slavic, Europe. In the midst of general decline Constantinople kept alive

¹ The rise of Mohammedanism is treated in part B of this chapter.

the interest in ancient learning, and later transmitted much of that interest through various channels to medieval Europe. Similarly, Constantinople, standing at the crossroads of European and Asiatic trade, perpetuated commercial life in the eastern Mediterranean and eventually contributed greatly to the trade revival in the West. The continental possessions of the Byzantine Empire continually fluctuated; Constantinople alone remained unconquered until 1453 when it fell before the attacks of another group of eastern conquerors, the Ottoman Turks. Like their Arab predecessors, these Turks were Mohammedans. It is time now to turn to a consideration of the origins and growth of this other eastern religion, one of Christianity's greatest rivals, and one of the most significant of the non-European tributaries to the stream of western society.

B. THE RISE OF THE CRESCENT

Arabia was then, as now, a land of startling contrasts. The heart of the peninsula, a huge desert with occasional fertile pastures in the vicinity of oases, was suitable only for restless and primitively organized nomadic peoples. Almost completely surrounding this desert expanse is a narrow rim of land bordering the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and dipping into the fertile valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, which is rich in resources and fortunately situated for commerce. The periphery of Arabia, therefore, naturally accommodated more settled habits of life and, in the time of Mohammed, had developed important cities and enjoyed commercial prosperity. These favored positions (now marked out chiefly by Hedjaz, Yemen, and Iraq) were, however, as in modern times, the prized objects of aggressive neighbors like Persia, the Roman Empire, and Ethiopia. In consequence, they lacked political unity and were subjected to frequent reversals of fortune. The contrasts between the backward people of the desert and the commercial but disunited peoples of the exterior were matched by the great variety of religious beliefs which they professed. Polytheistic like most primitive peoples, the Arabians had drawn their gods from the elements. The only unity which appeared in this welter of religions resulted from the traditional practice of annual pilgrimages to an unusual institution at Mecca, the Kaaba, which held a sacred black stone to which all the credulous nomads attributed supernatural powers. It is likely that these religious pilgrimages grew out of the practices of trade which brought the peoples of the hinterland of Mecca to the city at regular intervals each

year. The religious diversity and political and social divisions thus existing in Arabia make it difficult to explain how any single religion could effect a swift and lasting conquest, yet that is what happened.

Little is known of the prophet Mohammed who founded this new technique of faith. Born about 570 (A.D.), it seems likely that he was dogged by misfortune during his early years. His parents, members of an important family of Mecca but relatively poor, died during his boyhood, leaving Mohammed in the care of a kindly and equally indigenous uncle. When he was twenty-four years old, Mohammed entered the service of a wealthy merchant princess, Kadidja, whom he subsequently married. Through this connection, Mohammed attained riches and the leisure necessary to formulate the religious ideas which grew in precocious youth and matured under the mellowing influence of Hellenistic and Jewish cultures with which he came into contact as an itinerant merchant. It was from these latter apparently that he drew his ethical concepts and his idea of the unity of God, both of which were to provoke revolutionary consequences among his Arabian contemporaries.

There were several circumstances, only dimly visible, which help to explain Mohammed's success. One of these, which has been widely accepted as having an important bearing on the situation, was a growing aridity of the soil and a need for new pasture lands. The evidence to support this is not definitive, but it is likely that some such powerful driving force operated here, as among the German peoples, to establish a common bond of interest. If this be true, it goes far toward explaining the militant aspect which Mohammedanism assumed. It has been suggested also that oppression by foreign enemies gave rise to a general desire of greater political unity, which Mohammedanism seemed able to satisfy. In either case, religion, it has been asserted, acted merely as the crystallizing agency. One more possible explanation of the Mohammedan victory is the success with which Mohammed organized his first converts, his victorious campaigns against the Meccans, and his ability to establish social order in the midst of chaos. The success of the leader in practical affairs must have brought him a host of converts. At all events, the dominant influence of personality in this instance will go far toward explaining the victory of his cause.

The basic principles of the doctrines which Mohammed expounded were derived from Judaistic and Christian teachings. It is important, in this connection, to note that Mohammed considered himself not the founder of a new faith but the last of the Christian

prophets. His God, Allah, while considered in a special sense as the patron and protector of Mecca, was closely identified with Jahweh. He was the creator and judge of mankind, omnipotent and omniscient, a jealous God, tolerant of none other, who spoke to the people through his prophet Mohammed and expected complete obedience. Significantly, the faith was called Islam, meaning surrender to God. Exactly like the Jews, Mohammed and his followers maintained that Satan and his demons, having been cast from heaven, sought to frustrate God's commands by tempting men to evil ways. Those who believed in Allah as the one God and in the divine mission of Mohammed, as well as those who did good works, had reserved for them a paradise abounding in all physical pleasures. Conversely, those who had sinned against Allah were condemned to a terrible hell from which there was no escape. It is interesting to note Mohammed's deviation from the Jewish and Christian concepts of the hereafter. The latter conceived of a spiritual regeneration; Mohammed believed in a physical regeneration. One was adjusted to the cultured Hellenistic east; the other to a superstitious and primitive nomadic peoples.

Belief in Allah and his apostle Mohammed was only the first obligation of the faithful follower. It was likewise essential that he abide by universal moral laws, and particularly that he practice the forgiveness of sins. Moreover, there were four specific duties that had to be performed: (1) prayer, five times each day, with one's face turned toward Mecca; (2) alms-giving to provide for the poor, the spread of the faith, and the maintenance of mosques;¹ (3) fasting, especially during the month of Ramadan, which was roughly comparable to, but more rigorous than, Christian Lent; and (4) a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in one's life, if it could be afforded. Despite these rules, Mohammedanism from its inception was much less ritualistic or formalistic than Christianity. Attendance at church service was not specifically required, nor was there provision for sacraments or a priesthood. Mohammedanism has remained, therefore, essentially a layman's church.

The doctrines of this new faith, derived from revelations of the prophet, were recorded by his followers, apparently sometime after his death, in the Mohammedan holy "book" or Koran. Scarcely as large as the New Testament, this masterly compound of native legend and alien folklore is the sole authoritative source for the religion, despite a supplemental body of traditional sayings of the prophet

¹ Later, this was transformed into a tithe or tax, collected from all Mohammedan property holders.

which subsequently grew up. More than the guide to religious practice and the statement of Mohammedan ethics, the Koran is likewise a body of law governing social and family life. Drawn from Arab customs, but imbued with the more humanitarian principles of the Hellenistic world, this was neatly adjusted to the habits and conditions of nomad life which, however, it aimed to improve. Strong drink, gambling, and usury were prohibited. Polygamy was recognized, although the number of one's wives was specifically limited to four. The ancient practice among families and tribes of taking "an eye for an eye" was retained, but blood feuds were frowned upon. Honesty in business was enjoined upon the faithful as were also kindness and forgiveness to one's friends and enemies. Particular emphasis was placed upon cleanliness, perhaps the most beneficent of Mohammed's teachings. Except for the Bible, no inspired writing has exerted greater influence upon the welfare and happiness of mankind than has the Koran.

Like Christ and his disciples, Mohammed was at first scorned and despised by his contemporaries. Far from being regarded as an inspired prophet, he was looked upon by some as a hopeless lunatic and by others as a dangerous revolutionary. Few were disturbed by his monotheism, but the merchant oligarchy of Mecca protested vigorously against his ethics. Mohammed's early years of proselytizing, therefore, were marked with little success, and he was frequently embroiled with the civil authorities who, on one occasion, sent him to Abyssinia in exile. By 620 the number of his dependable followers could have been counted upon his fingers. In time, however, his dogged persistence brought its full reward. Mohammed had long been in the habit of haranguing the pilgrims who frequented the Kaaba, and it is likely that on one such occasion he was presented with a golden opportunity by some inhabitants of Yathrib, a city two hundred miles north on the caravan route. Yathrib, torn by bitter feuds, was prepared to try any expedient in the hope of attaining peace. Mohammed's monotheistic religion seemed a likely possibility and, probably for this reason, Mohammed was extended an invitation by prominent natives to establish himself at Yathrib. After some hesitation, he sent his faithful followers and then in September 622 secretly followed himself. This flight (*hijra*), marking the transition of Mohammedanism from an insignificant and despised sect to the common religion of Arabia, is usually known by its corrupted English name as the *Hegira*. Its importance to the Mohammedans is evidenced by the fact that it was made the year 1 in their calendar.

Mohammed at once renamed Yathrib Medina, the city of the prophet, establishing himself as its religious despot, and set about wresting order and peace from social chaos and anarchy. His methods were unscrupulous, ranging from exile to assassination of enemies, but they received the sanction of divine revelation and, what is more important, they were eminently successful. The Jews of Mecca and Medina having scorned him, the Arabs of Mecca having placed a price upon his head and many of these in Medina remaining hopelessly indifferent toward him, Mohammed turned for support to the fierce Bedouin tribes of the desert. Prospects of rich rewards for plundering the caravans and killing the infidel, as Allah had now decreed, proved a powerful and decisive attraction. The recalcitrant Jews of Medina were killed or driven into exile; his other enemies were swiftly subdued. With Medina's pacification assured, Mohammed turned vehemently upon his enemies of Mecca. Caravans were raided and, when the Meccans took up arms in self-defense, Mohammed besieged the city. In January 630 he returned to Mecca a conqueror. He forthwith disposed of some of his enemies, destroyed the idols of the Kaaba, but otherwise preserved the *status quo*. Two years later he died, having brought about a third of the peninsula under his sway. The success of his cause in the last decade of his life was phenomenal, although most Arabs had not yet heard of the new evangel.

Even more phenomenal were the conquests of Mohammedanism during the century following the prophet's death. By 732 the new faith claimed adherents from the banks of the Indus to the English Channel, from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean, among the islands of the Mediterranean, and in much of the continent of Africa. Explanation of such extraordinary growth is not easy. It has oftentimes been regarded as the result of fanatical zeal which carried all before it, but evidence seems to support an exactly opposite conclusion. During its early years Mohammedanism was much less intolerant and much less militant than Christianity. This is abundantly clear from the fact that other religions were allowed to exist side by side with it. Nor does it seem to be chiefly the result of a rampant Arab nationalism which Mohammedanism is supposed to have created. That some measure of unity was temporarily attained is undeniable, but factional strife among the nomads, in the prophet's day as since, was never allayed. The true explanation would seem to lie not in its strength but in the weakness of its enemies, in fortunate geographic and climatic circumstances, and in Arabian superiority at arms.

It has been asserted that Arab expansion in the seventh century would probably have resulted without a Mohammed. Certainly there were similar, if less extensive, invasions of neighboring territory from time immemorial, largely induced by the nomad's perennial need for grazing lands. In the early days of the eastern empires and before Byzantium and Persia had exhausted each other, these incursions were held within reasonable bounds. During the seventh century no such formidable obstacles appeared, with the result that initial successes on their immediate boundaries urged the Arabs on to adventures further afield. After an indecisive clash with Byzantine forces in Syria, the bulk of the Arab army turned upon the Persian Empire, reducing it by 641. Meanwhile, another Arab force reopened hostilities with the enfeebled Byzantines and, with promises of relief from intolerable taxes or religious oppression, won over the inhabitants of Syria in 639. The Eastern Empire's army thereupon collapsed and the Arabs moved irresistibly into Palestine, capturing Jerusalem after a long siege. To make these acquisitions secure and to frustrate Byzantine recovery, the conquest of Egypt with its strong naval bases was deemed necessary. Even more, growing dependence upon Egyptian grain made it expedient to control her granaries. Consequently, as early as 646, Arab forces crossed the isthmus of Suez, swiftly overcame all opposition and within four years were complete masters of the country. While establishing themselves in Egypt, raiding parties subdued the strategic Mediterranean islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Sicily, and still others pressed westward in Africa to modern Tripoli and Tunis. Carthage was successfully invested in 698, by which time the warlike Berbers of the Moroccan hill country were likewise subdued and converted. The latter forced the Moslems to undertake the conquest of Visigothic Spain, a task which was made easy by prevailing political and religious confusion. After several small expeditions a famous Berber chieftain, Tarik,¹ with several thousand tribesmen seized the citadel of Gibraltar in 711, and shortly thereafter completely routed the Visigothic army. Within a few years the whole of the peninsula had succumbed, except the mountainous regions of Galicia and Asturias in the northwest, to which the Visigoths had fled. Still the advance of Mohammedanism into the west had not been stayed. Crossing the Pyrenees, the Moslem Moors pressed forward into Frankish Gaul as far as Autun, until halted at the "battle of Tours" near Poitiers by Charles Martel in 732. By

¹ From a corruption of Djebel Tarik (Tarik's rock) modern Gibraltar receives its name.

that time the momentum of the movement had at last spent itself, as the faithful settled down to dispute among themselves the disposition of the vast spoils already taken in the west. Slowly pushed behind the Pyrenees again (759), the Moslems thereafter stood wholly on the defensive in western Europe. In the east, however, progress of the faith continued for some time, passing through India into parts of China, Japan, the Malay Peninsula, Java, and the Philippines.

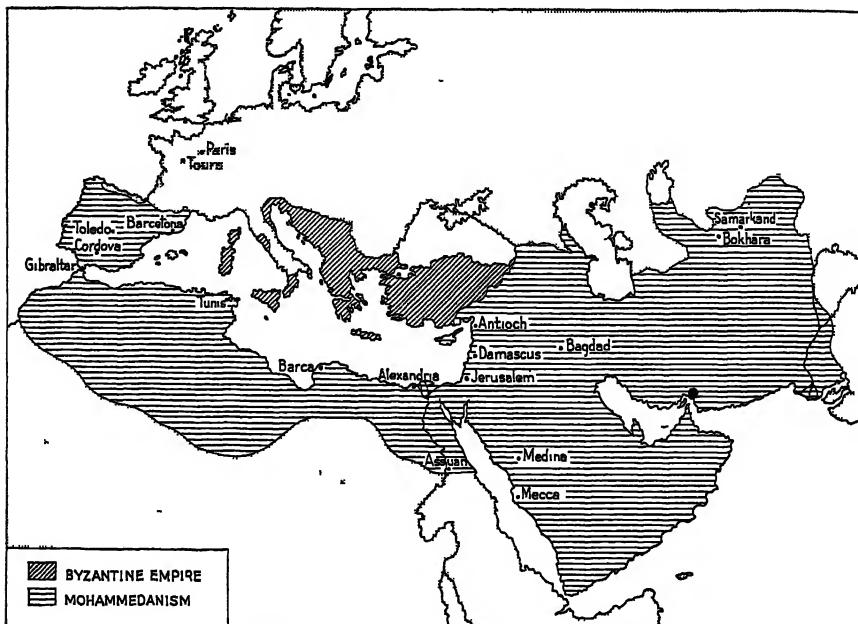
Three circumstances explain the ease with which the whole of northern Africa and Spain fell before the advancing Arabs. In the first place, most of this territory was under the jurisdiction of the Byzantine Empire which, while instituting oppressive taxes and ruthlessly persecuting unofficial Christian sects, was unable to provide the people with adequate defense. So unhappy had their condition become, in fact, that the Mohammedan invaders were widely welcomed as deliverers. Moreover, religious factionalism made it impossible for the native peoples to unite in self-defense when such unity might have been desirable. Finally, it must be remembered that the coastal plain of northern Africa was strikingly similar to that of the Arab's native land, both topographically and climatically. There were neither serious natural obstacles nor organized opposition to delay his progress. With divided enemies and nature favorable, the swift, well-equipped Arab cavalry were practically invincible.

Beside these factors, it must be observed that the treatment which Mohammedans accorded subject peoples eliminated much of the danger of popular rebellion and strengthened their control. All unbelievers, except the poverty-stricken, the aged, and the infirm, were required to pay a poll-tax, graduated according to wealth, but this was the only stigma of inferiority which they were compelled to bear. Other regular taxes were assessed equally upon believer and infidel. Religious ceremonies of the various existing Christian and Jewish sects were left unmolested, and local customs and speech were fully tolerated. The conquered peoples were happier under the Crescent of the Arabs than they were under the Cross of Byzantium. This liberalism was largely the result of political expediency, dictated by the desire to conciliate the conquered as well as to keep the Faith the monopoly of the conquerors. The Arab, inferior in culture to the subjected peoples, had no desire to throw away his advantage by effecting religious conversions. As it happened, their very leniency, combined with a strong popular desire to escape the taxes imposed upon unbelievers, continually swelled the Moslem ranks.

The incorporation of so many diverse peoples eventually had telling effect. The original Arab element became completely submerged and Mohammedanism became a great melting pot in which the cultures of the East flourished and flowered anew.

From the day of its first conquest at Medina, Mohammedanism was something more than a religion; it was a state. Conversion to Allah became subordinated to submission to the prophet, while expansion took on more and more the character of a victorious advance of the military aristocracy operating out of Medina. Mohammed himself kept in his hand the control of both temporal and spiritual affairs, as the mixed character of the Koran clearly attests, but he left no son and no well-elaborated program which his successors could follow. It is not surprising, therefore, that the conquered territories were at first administered without plan or purpose by the Arab military leaders. The growth of the Mohammedan Empire as a political institution was slow, faltering, and distinctly evolutionary, and it was deeply affected by the absorption of practices common among the conquered.

Following the death of the prophet there was some confusion as to the choice of a new leader since, unfortunately, no "revelation" had been made on this matter. However, because of his intimate relations with Mohammed, Abu Bekr (632-634) was chosen caliph, meaning successor to the prophet. He was followed by Omar (634-644), a statesman of the first order, and by Othman (644-656), member of the important Ommiad family of Mecca. All of these had been early converts and had assisted the prophet during the time of the *Hegira*, but they were not immediate members of Mohammed's family. There gradually developed a strong feeling among the latter, supported by a large faction of the faithful, that the caliphate was legitimately their possession. This issue, as usual in such cases, became deeply involved with theological controversy, and took on the dual character of a politico-religious dispute. The legitimists were purists in dogma, claiming that the Koran alone was sufficient, and objected to a tendency of the early caliphs to place the accumulating traditions (*sunna*) on a par with the inspired word. These former were called Shiites (from *shī'a*, meaning sect). Their enemies, the Sunnites, were theologically more liberal and, moreover, asserted that the old patriarchal tradition of election should apply to the office of caliph. In 656 the legitimist Shiites scored a temporary victory when Ali (656-661), the husband of Mohammed's daughter, Fatima, seized power, but this success was shortlived. In



MAP 8. MOHAMMEDANISM IN THE WEST ABOUT 750 A.D.

661 Ali was murdered and Muawiya, a descendant of Othman of the Ommiad house, was made caliph. To strengthen his control, he moved the capital from Medina to Damascus, away from the legitimist Arab stronghold, and there so consolidated power within his family that the Ommiads remained masters of the Caliphate until 750. The principle of hereditary succession was established and heavy borrowings from Byzantine administration and oriental despotism were made.

Success of the Ommiads had not, however, suppressed the Shiite movement, which spread from Medina throughout the empire, taking on the emotional aspect of a religious cult and everywhere influenced by local hatreds and ambitions. Producing continual intrigues, this opposition flared into rebellion in the eighth century in Persia, where it was chiefly anti-Syrian in character, and then swept swiftly westward. In 750 the Shiite candidate, Abul Abbas, known as Shedder of Blood, brutally exterminated almost the whole of the Ommiad house and made himself caliph. The capital was forthwith moved from Damascus to Bagdad, a new city built in Mesopotamia, where the Caliphate was further orientalized under Persian influence. The Abbasid dynasty which Abbas had thus created was no more successful than its predecessor in checking the disruptive tendencies

within the empire. Rival Caliphates grew successfully, particularly in the west. One of the escaped Ommiads established the independence of Spain; a descendant of Ali created a Caliphate at Fez in northwestern Africa; Tunis and Algeria came under the Aghlabids, of native descent; and Egypt fell to the Fatimite dynasty, descendants of Fatima. With their power shrunk, the Abbasid Caliphs continued to rule at Bagdad until their extermination at the hands of the Mongols in 1258.

C. THE FRANKISH EMPIRE

A third of the major, immediate heirs of ancient Rome were the Franks. Like the other German tribes, they moved into Roman territory during the third and fourth centuries, joining with the Romans as allies, but never ceasing to be a menace to imperial security. Little is known of them prior to the end of the fifth century, except that they were few in numbers, occupied the territory between the Meuse and Scheldt Rivers, and were governed by tribal chieftains, the Merovings.

The accession of Clovis (481-511) of the Merovingian line marked a decisive turning point in their history. A powerful personality, unscrupulous and ambitious, Clovis lifted his people from obscurity. Under his direction, the Franks entered upon a career of conquest which swiftly brought within their control almost the whole of modern France. This achievement, amazing in view of the numerical preponderance of the peoples he conquered, is the most convincing testimonial of Clovis' extraordinary ability. Hopeless political division among his enemies made his task easier, but that is hardly enough to explain his success. He had the foresight to unite his aggressive ambitions with the most powerful moral force of his times, the Christian Church. This decisive step, so important to his victory and so influential in the subsequent history of Europe, was apparently taken at the suggestion of his Catholic Burgundian wife, Chlotilde. The churchmen at once became his allies and counselors, and his conquests assumed more and more the character of crusades in behalf of Christian civilization. In this fashion, Clovis not only silenced the Roman citizenry who had formerly opposed him on the ground of his paganism, but he also won the willing support of trained and experienced clergy for administration. The close union of secular and spiritual affairs thus apparent in the alliance of Clovis and the Church not only goes far toward explaining the Frankish

king's successful expansion, but it also accounts, in part, for the close identification of Church and State in subsequent Frankish history.

The unity of Gaul which had been achieved under Clovis expired with his death. Following the traditional practice of his tribe, Clovis turned over the government to his four sons who shared power equally. This method of royal succession, known as multiple succession, was employed by all kings of the Franks until 888, with the most unfortunate results. It was chiefly responsible for centuries of internecine strife and thus was an important cause for the political disintegration of Europe. For the moment, however, the dangers of this practice were avoided. The sons of Clovis lived in comparative harmony, and together consolidated a number of their father's gains. By accident of the death of his brothers, the youngest of these sons, Chlotar, eventually reunited the enlarged realm, only to divide it once more before his death. Instead of pursuing a common policy, Chlotar's heirs turned against each other. In consequence, the next fifty years were marked by hopeless confusion. Not until 629, and then as usual, by accident, were the Frankish peoples united under a single sovereign. After a decade, civil war recurred again, lasting almost a century and ending with the complete extinction of the Merovingian line.

Meanwhile, several highly significant developments took place among the Franks. Especially marked was a growing cultural separation between those who occupied the original homeland of the Rhine country and those who had migrated into Roman Gaul. The latter became increasingly Romanized, but the former, constantly supplied with fresh barbarian blood, preserved the basic elements of German culture. The foundations of modern French and German civilizations were thus being slowly fashioned. Simultaneously, there occurred a great social revolution. The military aristocracy who had seized much of the Roman land, adopting the system of cultivation employed by the Romans, were gradually transformed into a landed aristocracy. The Merovingian kings hastened this process in order to ensure themselves of self-supporting armies. Indeed, it became the customary policy of the crown to bestow grants of land upon those who performed or promised to perform services for the state. Ownership of land thus became the basis for government. These were the rudimentary beginnings of economic and political feudalism.

Among the servants of the crown in the later Merovingian period, the most prominent was the *major domus*. Originally, he was a mere domestic official, who in time came to exercise unlimited jurisdiction

over the whole administration. Strong royal personalities were oftentimes able to curb his influence but, as a general rule, the Merovingians of the seventh century were mentally degenerate and precociously debauched, too feeble to hold dominating subordinates in check. After 639 the *major domus* of each king governed the principal divisions of the Frankish kingdom: Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. Of these the most important was the *major domus* of Austrasia.

Perpetuating the feuds of their sovereigns, these officials in Austrasia and Neustria sought to exalt their own provinces to a position of paramount importance. After a series of bloody contests engendered by this ambition, the *major domus* of Austrasia, Pepin of Herstal, subdued and subjugated his rival, and established himself in everything but name as the real ruler of France. The Merovingians still reigned but they no longer ruled. During the span of his life, Pepin managed to reunite the Frankish lands and restore to them a measure of peace and order. Upon his death in 714, however, the reappearance of political confusion and anarchy was barely avoided for, in conformity with the established tradition of multiple succession, Pepin had arranged that all of his sons should succeed jointly to his powers. One of these, Charles Martel, managed to prevent such an eventuality by forcefully gathering all authority into his own hands. An able soldier and competent statesman, Charles quelled incipient rebellion, extended the frontiers eastward, and finally gained immortal fame by his victory over the Moslems at the Battle of "Tours." The victory over the infidel cemented the power of this upstart house and prepared the way for its assumption of the royal title.

Charles performed notable services for the Church, but he likewise incurred its anger, a fact of profound importance during the succeeding reign. Not only had he "saved" Christendom, but he also showed zeal in forwarding the missionary work of the Church. Charles, however, was more of a sinner than a saint. His anxiety to keep the ranks of his army filled led him to seize Church property in order to bestow it for military service. More than that, he refused aid to the Pope against the rapacious Lombards. Charles' heirs, when in need of papal support themselves, were constantly reminded that Charles was among the damned, and were constrained to make amends for him.

Charles Martel, as was the custom, divided his power between his two sons, Carloman and Pepin. The brothers co-operated harmoni-

ously for six years and then Carloman retired into monastic seclusion. Pepin, nicknamed the Short, carried on alone and laid the basis for the Frankish Empire. More statesmanlike than his father, Pepin sought to conciliate the Church probably for the purpose of attaining the necessary religious sanction for his own assumption of the royal dignity, to which he openly aspired. Logically, Pepin could hardly have justified to his people the seizure of the crown of the Merovingians, descendants of the God of the Sea, without having the supernatural or moral support of the head of the Christian church. It appears that Pepin solicited papal approval of his own coronation, a request which the Papacy was ready to honor both because of Pepin's conciliatory attitude as well as because of its own projects in the Italian peninsula. Indeed, at the very time when Pepin was maturing his plans for the assumption of the Frankish throne, the Papacy was extremely hard pressed by the aggressive Lombards. So serious was this problem that it has been plausibly suggested that the Papacy actually proposed Pepin's coronation or at least encouraged it in the hope that Pepin could thereby be prevailed upon to intervene in Italy on the pope's behalf. Whether the pope or Pepin took the initiative in this matter is certainly less important than the fact that they co-operated in its realization. In 751 Pepin assumed the crown of France at Soissons in the presence of a papal agent, and the last of the Merovingians was sent into exile. Three years later Pepin was formally crowned at Paris by the pope, and a new dynasty, the Carolingian, was established. The act of papal coronation sealed the union of the Papacy and the Carolingian house and laid the basis for the Frankish theocratic state.

In order to appreciate fully the significance of this new alliance it is necessary to examine the conditions of the papacy during the eighth century. By that time papal authority, which had been extended by Gregory the Great throughout most of the peninsula, had been widely and successfully challenged and the state of the country as a whole had been reduced to anarchy through the rival ambitions of Lombards, Byzantines,¹ and Arab pirates. Surrounded by these mutual rivals and common enemies, the Papacy did well to survive. This it managed to do by playing off one enemy against the other, a policy which worked with considerable success so long as there were two rival enemies, each too weak to subdue the other.

¹ The Byzantine Empire had considerable territory in Italy, the southern portion of the peninsula, the Ligurian coast, Venice, and Ravenna. This was administered by an Exarch established in the Exarchate of Ravenna.

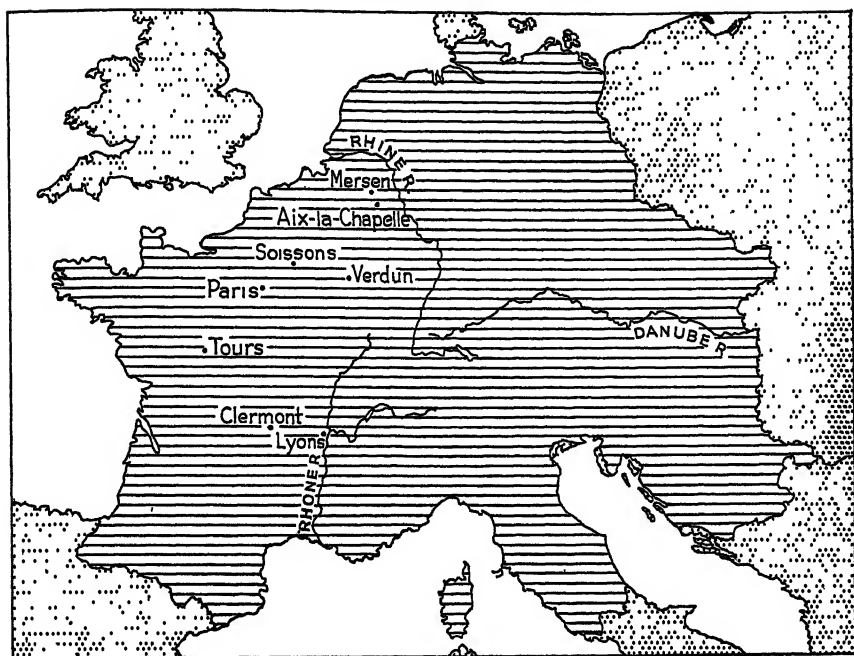
The precarious balance which the Papacy thus maintained was rendered untenable during the first half of the eighth century when the emergence of strong personalities among the contending powers brought their conflict to a decisive stage. Liutprand (712-744), the greatest of the Lombard kings, Popes Gregory II (715-741), and Gregory III (731-741), and Leo the Isaurian (714-741) of Byzantium, an efficient statesman of the post-Justinian era, were worthy contestants. Without material support the Papacy was destined to suffer most in the three-cornered conflict. The Byzantine Emperor, often known as the Iconoclast, because of his effort to eliminate the use of images from Christian worship, interfered decisively with papal religious prerogatives in the peninsula. Although much of the Italian population, devoted to the use of images, rebelled against the Emperor, Leo nevertheless was able to remove the dioceses of Sicily and south Italy from papal jurisdiction. The pope's influence was consequently reduced to that of a provincial bishop. This humiliation had to be suffered since the aggressive Lombard king was to be feared even more, and against him both Byzantium and the Papacy were compelled to unite. This unnatural alliance was no match for the warlike Lombards whose successful advances in the peninsula continued almost unbroken. Hard pressed by the Moslems in the East, Byzantium was compelled to retreat before the Lombards in the north and central parts of Italy, until in 751 the Exarchate of Ravenna had to be relinquished. The papal counterpoise had thus vanished. It was deemed expedient to find another, swiftly, lest the head of Christendom be exposed to the none too tender mercies of the Lombards. Not unnaturally, the support of the Frankish kingdom, the one strong power of the western world, was urgently solicited to fill the gap created by the withdrawal of Byzantium. This explains the papal willingness to support Pepin's personal ambitions and to formally bestow the crown of France upon him.

When Pope Stephen II journeyed to France in 753 to officially coronate Pepin he apparently expected to promptly win French assistance against the Lombards. What actually passed between these two men on the occasion of their meeting is a matter of conjecture, although the subsequent turn of events offers a clue. It has been cogently argued that the Pope must have buttressed his request for aid by means of a spurious document, the Donation of Constantine, brought with him for the occasion. Perhaps less a deliberate forgery than an innocent statement of popular superstitions which had grown about the memory of the great Emperor, this Donation

asserted that Constantine not only had abandoned secular powers in the west to the Bishop of Rome but that he had endowed the Bishop and all his successors with Rome, the Italian peninsula, and certain islands of the west. If, as it seems, Pepin had hesitated to intervene against the Lombards, with whom the Franks had long been on friendly terms, the Donation was calculated to remove all doubts as to the propriety of such an act. The Lombards apparently had illegitimately seized the inheritance of the Church and Pepin, now the Church's anointed, felt compelled to repair the damage. Next year (754) Pepin by a show of force induced the Lombards to promise restitution, and when this promise was not fulfilled the Frankish king decisively overran the Lombard country and, entering Rome in 756, transferred the disputed lands to the Pope. This has been known as the Donation of Pepin.

Having fulfilled his bond with the Church, Pepin devoted the remaining twelve years of his reign to the less spectacular task of defending his frontiers and rounding out his possessions. True to Frankish custom, he divided these between his sons, Carloman and Charles, who for three years after their father's death ruled jointly. Mutually antagonistic, they were restrained by their mother from engulfing the state in civil war. In 771 Carloman died, perhaps as the result of poisoning, and Charles, distinguished in European history as Charlemagne, united the whole of his father's patrimony.

Charlemagne is one of those extraordinary figures of history who won the admiration of his contemporaries and has never failed to capture the imagination of successive generations of men. Naturally much legend has grown about him. Apparently a tall man, he was friendly, courteous, frank, and energetic. A military tactician of unusual acumen, he was likewise a patron of the arts and letters, although he could neither read nor write. His court at Aix-la-Chapelle recaptured something of the brilliance of ancient Rome and became the center of an important if evanescent intellectual revival. The conqueror of Europe, he was likewise the leading personality in the creation of the medieval Holy Roman Empire which survived him for a millennium. More than that, Charlemagne was the great patron, defender, and, in practice if not in theory, the head of the Christian Church. So omniscient was his power, so completely did he centralize in himself the life of his times, that it is not difficult to understand why his limitations should have been obscured. Although this will be treated later, it should be observed that scarcely



MAP 9. THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

more than his memory outlived him. After all, Charlemagne did not transcend his age.

Except for a single year Charlemagne's reign (771-814) was marked by continuous wars. Many of these were waged in self-defense, but by far the most important were aggressive campaigns directed against the warlike Saxons of central and northern Germany. Year after year these hardy peoples had to be "reconquered." Not until the very end of his reign was Charlemagne able to reduce them to obedience. It is interesting to observe that their conquest was ultimately effected by forcible Christianization through the clergy whom Charlemagne controlled. The Saxons subdued, Charlemagne extended his frontier to the Elbe and brought Bavaria, Austria, and western Hungary under his control. At the request of the pope the Lombards were subdued and their kingdom with its possessions southward to Rome annexed. Intervention among the divided Moors of Spain advanced the Frankish frontier beyond the Pyrenees, where an important frontier province, the Spanish March, was erected. This huge empire actually contained the whole of Christian Europe except the British Isles, a negligible factor at the time.

Successfully administering an empire is quite a different matter

from creating it, but in this Charlemagne demonstrated almost equal ability despite the impermanent character of his craftsmanship. Most of the older Frankish institutions were preserved. In contrast with Roman and modern times, no fixed or abstract system of administration was adopted, no civil service and no bureaucracy evolved. Government emanated from the royal person and possessed much of the fluid and personal character of that which had been peculiar to the German peoples. There were no taxes in the ordinary sense and financial administration was largely primitive. Collections of tolls continued, chiefly because they were direct, but they formed only an insignificant part of the revenues. There were few taxes on land since those who held it had often been granted immunity as reward for service to the state. The chief source of royal revenue was the royal estates, which Charlemagne administered with painstaking care.

In the army, even more than in fiscal administration, the primitive and purely personal character of Charlemagne's administration may be observed. Unlike the earlier Roman and the contemporary Byzantine Empires, no standing army was maintained. Nor was the earlier Frankish practice of calling all freemen to arms employed. The soldier was required to equip himself for the campaign, and since this was usually expensive and time-consuming, only the wealthier landlord could serve regularly. The assumption of this obligation carried with it privileges which in time produced a nearly independent class of landed military aristocracy. This transformation had not been completed in Charlemagne's day, but considerable progress had been made. Under this system the king became simply the general seigneur who could command the support of the landlords, not as of right but because of the personal allegiance which they owed their sovereign.

Despite the tendencies toward complete administrative disintegration inherent in a system so personal, Charlemagne by unremitting toil and dominant force of personality preserved the unity of his empire. He divided it into counties, and over each of these placed a representative, known as a count. In frontier communities organized for military defense and known as Marches, the royal representative was a margrave. Both counts and margraves served as personal agents of the king, administering the law, collecting dues, taxes, and fines, and arranging for the assembling of the troops. All were paid for these services in land. With the great expanse of the empire and with the most primitive communications, it would have been an

easy matter for these subordinates to make themselves independent, as eventually happened, had not Charlemagne possessed the foresight to establish over them a supervisory authority, the *missi dominici*. These *missi* were the traveling representatives of the king and were despatched regularly to all parts of the empire. Beside inspecting local administration, they were empowered to overrule the local authorities in the king's name. Traveling in pairs, usually one layman and one ecclesiastic, the *missi* were sent each year to a different group of counties (together called *missatica*), so that their impartiality and independence might be more definitely assured. They could render justice, regulate taxes, and military service. It was through them that Charlemagne kept in touch with affairs of his far-flung empire, and kept intact the bonds of personal allegiance which bound crown and subject together.

From this sprawling, loosely organized state was created a new Roman Empire. While the assumption of this title changed nothing at the time, the peculiar circumstances which led up to it and the political theories which eventually sprang from it, mark the incident as a decisive event. Ever since the alliance between Frankish king and Roman pope had been sealed by the coronation of one and the establishment of the temporal domains of the other, the relations between them had become increasingly anomalous. Both Pepin and Charlemagne assumed the functions of spiritual authority, the latter to the point of administering the church of the empire, influencing papal policy, and arbitrating papal elections. Having annexed the Lombard kingdom and reduced the Duchies of Benevento and Spoleto to vassalage, Charlemagne had placed himself in a strategic position in the peninsula which enabled him, the protector of the Church, to dominate the papacy. The circumstances which produced this situation had likewise effectively eliminated the Byzantine Empire as an important political influence in Italy and consequently had severed the bond between Empire and Papacy, which had existed in fact or theory since the days of Theodosius. This papal-imperial connection, operating as an ideal union of spiritual and temporal functions had come to be regarded as essential to the divinely ordained unity of Christian civilization. It is a significant commentary upon the dominating thought of the eighth century that men not only believed that this unity was essential but that it might be properly realized again by only recreating the Empire of the West with its seat at the immemorial capital of Rome. Naturally Charlemagne, who had united most of western Christendom, was singled

out as the logical heir to the title and powers of Augustus. On Christmas day 800 A.D., after he had intervened to defend Leo III against a hostile Roman mob, the Pope placed a crown upon Charlemagne's head and the Romans saluted him with the cry "To Charles Augustus crowned of God, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, long life and victory!" Thus had come into being the medieval Roman Empire.

The circumstances under which this empire was created laid the basis of a conflict between Church and State which largely determined politics of the middle ages. Had Charlemagne secured the imperial title as of his own right, or had it been given him by God through the agency of the Pope? This important question, involving the fundamental issue of ultimate authority and jurisdiction, rose to plague the next seven centuries. In the final analysis no compromise on this matter was possible. Either the Church or the State had to be supreme; one had to be subordinate to the other. In Charlemagne's day, it was he who exercised the superior power, but in the tumultuous years which followed his death, the Roman pontiffs managed to reverse this situation. Henceforth the struggle between Empire and Papacy was almost continuous. Charlemagne's ceremonies supplied each side with a share of precedent.

The new Roman Empire was a vastly different institution from its great progenitor, the Empire of Augustus. In the one, authority had been neatly concentrated in a central government; in the other it was divided among a hierarchy of subordinates who customarily enjoyed virtual sovereign rights. One was built upon municipal city life; the other was essentially rural and provincial. One had embraced all the Mediterranean lands south of the Rhine and the Danube, included portions of the British Isles and northern Africa, and stretched eastward to the Tigris and Euphrates, the other was confined to continental Europe, exclusive of most of Spain and southern Italy, but including extensive new territories in the former lands of the German barbarians. In short, while the medieval Empire was rooted in an earlier era, it was otherwise wholly new and distinct. Charlemagne was the logical heir of Clovis, not of Augustus.

Equally indicative of the profound differences between the age of the Antonines and that of the Carolingians was the character of the latter's intellectual interests. Both literature and the fine arts, as already observed, had suffered a steady decline after the second century. The Latin idiom had become barbarized, many of the techniques and skills of the sculptors and architects had been lost, and

interest in learning for its own sake had flagged. The Church alone kept the feeble stream of classical culture flowing, diverting it naturally into ecclesiastical channels and permeating it with its other-worldliness. The great Charlemagne himself could neither read nor write, and the interest which he manifested in education appears to have been engendered largely by his solicitude for the Church. Under his fostering care there appeared a new cultural revival, called the Carolingian renaissance,¹ but it was as different from classical times as was his Roman Empire from its prototype.

Commercial prosperity and active urban life which often accompany great artistic and intellectual developments were conspicuously absent in the Carolingian era, which, from the economic point of view, was unmistakably decadent. Constant barbarian invasions on the frontier, Moslem control of the Mediterranean, and the cumulative effects of prolonged social turmoil had almost stifled trade. Roman highways fell into disuse, the once great ports of call languished and industry, deprived of foreign markets, disintegrated. What industry remained was confined to luxuries and the barest necessities and was largely localized. It is rather surprising that there should have been a renaissance at all under these circumstances.

It is difficult to estimate the real importance of Charlemagne's achievements. That he towered above many of his predecessors and most of his contemporaries is clear enough, but it is equally clear that his vision was limited and that most of his creations were transient. Intelligent but not original, he was a courageous, competent warrior but, by the most exacting standards, not a statesman. The greatness of his Empire was but the reflection of his own dominating personality. Its weakness resulted from the same cause, for so much had come to depend upon personal ability and leadership that with his passing the whole structure creaked and fell apart. In the final analysis the conquests he made were, with the exception of Saxony, left without adequate security; he gave no concern to a Mediterranean policy, leaving the Moslems and Normans there to dispute trade and possessions between them. He created no adequate machinery to halt the tendencies toward feudal particularism; on the contrary, he hastened them by making wide grants of beneficia and immunities. Worst of all, he followed the customary German and Frankish practice of multiple succession. His reign consequently ended in dynastic strife which accelerated the pace of the disintegrating tendencies. A

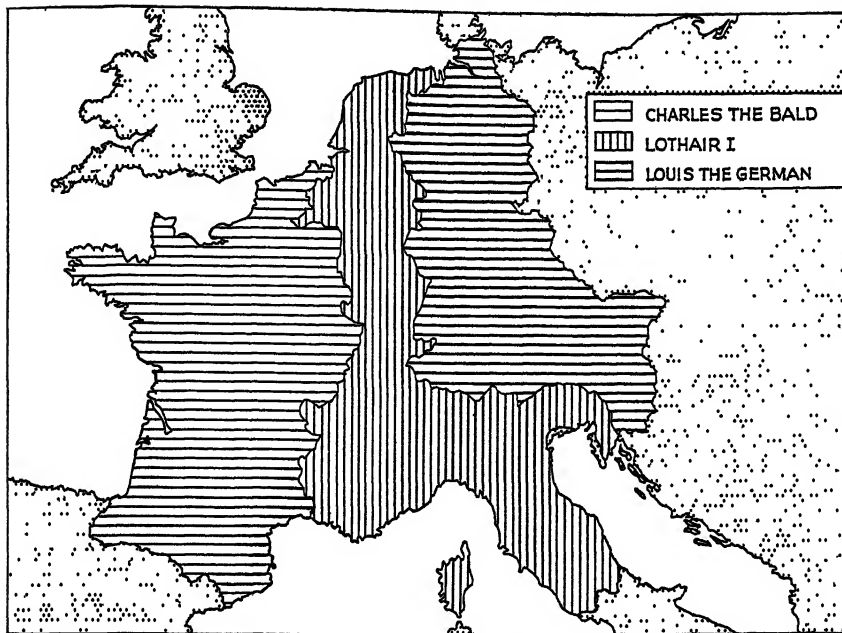
¹ See Chapter XII.

half century after Charlemagne's death little remained to influence posterity except the magic of his name.

In 806 Charlemagne divided his dominions among his three sons, two of whom predeceased him. Louis, known as the Pious, consequently became his sole heir, crowned himself emperor in 813 at his father's request, and definitely assumed the imperial power after the latter's death the following year. Almost the exact antithesis of his father except in physical vigor, Louis was well-educated but slow, hesitant, and exceedingly devout. Despite his experience and training at his father's court, he lacked the abilities necessary for the administration of the imperial office. With the beginning of his reign political strife and social chaos of the type which characterized the Merovingian age reappeared. It is unfair to attribute this wholly to Louis, but it is undeniable that his weakness hastened the process of decay.

Only two years after Charlemagne's death he took two dangerous steps. At the bidding of prominent ecclesiastics he allowed himself to be recrowned by Pope Stephen IV, thus tacitly recognizing that coronation by his own hand was without validity. This lent force to the claim of the clergy that the imperial crown could be bestowed only by the supreme pontiff. Louis partitioned his dominions among his sons, elevating the eldest, Lothair, to the rank of "Associate Emperor," probably in the hope that unity could be maintained by preserving the imperial dignity for himself. Meanwhile the situation was further complicated by the birth of another son, for whom it was deemed expedient to make additional provisions. The three elder brothers, always at odds with each other, were able to unite against their father on this issue. Louis was formally deposed by them and the full imperial title bestowed upon Lothair. By this means they had saved their respective patrimonies, but no sooner had this been achieved than they renewed their mutual quarrels. The resulting civil strife led to a reaction in Louis' favor, and he was restored to the imperial dignity, holding it until his death in 840. During the brief interim of his last years, one of his eldest sons died and a redivision of the imperial possessions was effected. Lothair kept the imperial title, without definite territorial assignments; Louis, the German, was given Bavaria and the lands east of the Rhine; and Charles the Bald, the youngest son, acquired Neustria and Aquitaine.

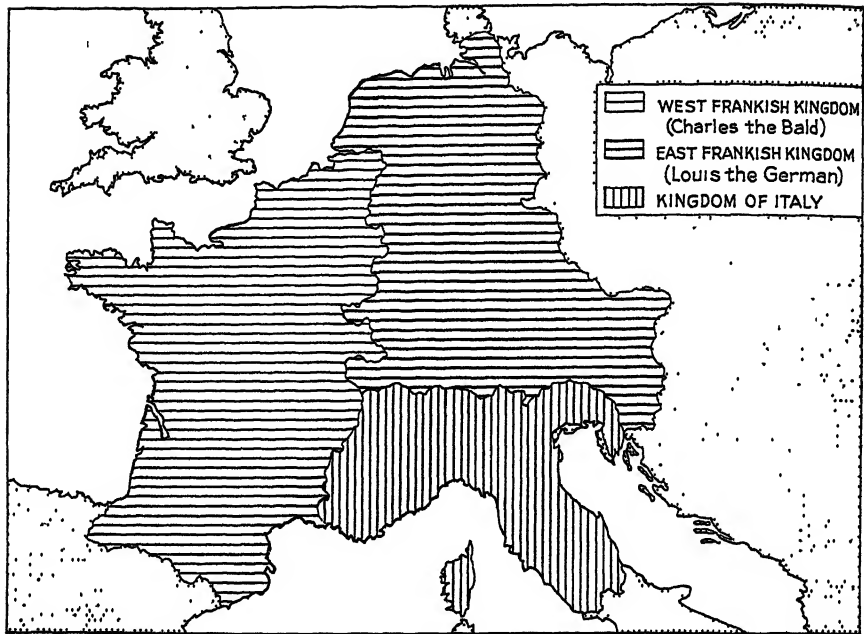
Louis' death was the signal for a renewal of the feud between these three brothers. Lothair wished to implement the imperial title, and his brothers united against him to prevent it. Their armies met



MAP 10. DIVISION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE
TREATY OF VERDUN, 843

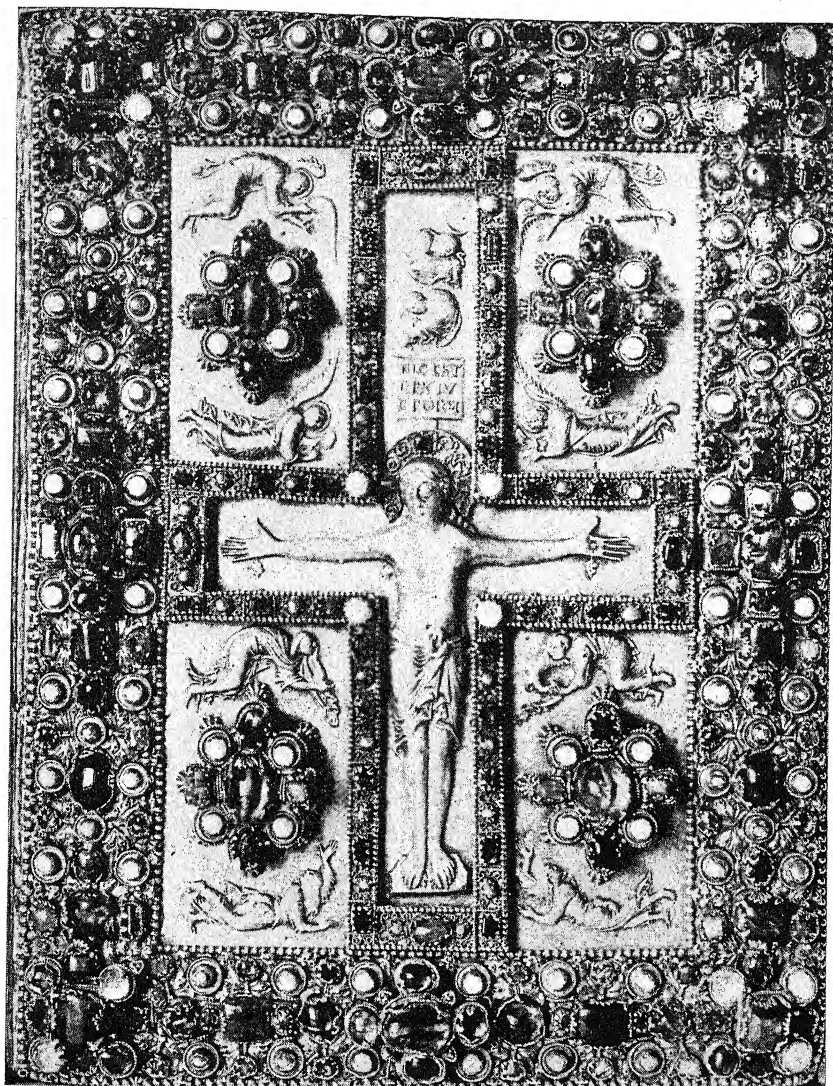
to decide the issue, but were too evenly matched to do so. Lothair's only hope lay in dividing his enemies but this proved impossible when they pledged each other in the Strassburg Oath¹ to maintain their alliance. Consequently in 843 a compromise was arranged at Verdun-sur-Doube. Known usually as the Treaty of Verdun, this provided that Lothair keep the imperial title and Italy together with a narrow corridor running from the Alps to the North Sea. All to the east of this was given to Louis, and all to the west to Charles the Bald. This ingenious distribution signaled the end of the Carolingian Empire, despite the fact that the fiction of it was preserved. It marks the rudimentary beginning of three separate nations: Germany, France, and Italy. In addition, it should be observed that the indefensible character of Lothair's kingdom north of the Alps stimulated the greed of his brothers who divided it between themselves in the Treaty of Mersen (870). The division there effected did not completely satisfy either party and for centuries France and Germany have struggled over portions of the area.

¹ The chief historical significance of the Strassburg Oath lies in the fact that it is presumed to be the first document in which primitive French and primitive German were written.



MAP 11. DIVISION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE
TREATY OF MERSEN, 870

It would be purposeless to follow in detail the dynastic turmoil which characterized the remainder of the ninth century and culminated in the extinction of the Carolingian house. Neither in Germany nor in France could domestic peace be assured, nor could protection against external enemies be guaranteed. By this time the pressure of barbarians had developed into a major problem. Magyars and Slavs raided the eastern frontiers; Saracen pirates ravaged the Mediterranean and Adriatic coasts; and Northmen spread havoc along the rivers of the Atlantic and North Sea coasts. If government had rested in stronger hands, protection would have been difficult enough; when divided and weakened by civil war it was wholly incompetent to cope with the situation. Men sought security from the local landed aristocracy who were fortunate enough to possess reasonable defenses. The decay of central government and the pressure of foreign peoples thus combined to enhance the powers of the landed aristocracy. Gradually they assumed more and more of the prerogatives of the state. Government became localized and the kingship kept little more than the dignity of title. In the midst of this chaos the Carolingian house lost even this. As early as 888 the Frankish nobility adopted the revolutionary procedure of electing a local hero of Paris (Eudes) as king,



Courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library

GOLDEN COVER OF LATIN GOSPELS. CAROLINGIAN.

This is said to be the most finished example of Carolingian goldsmithing. It was made in the Abbey of St. Denis near Paris, renowned for its school of goldsmiths, ivory carvers, and illuminators, as well as for its great monastic library, both of which were under the patronage of the Emperor Charles the Bald.

passing over the logical heir. Although this was soon undone, a successor of Eudes, Hugh Capet, was finally elected king in 987 after the Carolingian house in France had died out. Long before that, in 911, the German branch had been extinguished.

Coincidental with the decline and passing of the Carolingian house was the disappearance of the imperial title which Charlemagne and the Church had resurrected. Charles the Fat, king of Germany and great-grandson of Charlemagne, was the last of his line to hold that office, and after his deposition in 887 at the hands of the great nobility no one of significance aspired to its empty eminence for nearly a century. When it was again restored it was in almost every respect, except in name, a new creation.

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The Principle of Self-Sufficiency

A. THE NEED FOR PROTECTION

The average man takes the existence of his government for granted and customarily submits to it with good grace. He rarely, if ever, ponders the questions of why there should be any government or of why he should surrender so many of his rights to it. It is enough for him that the superior power of the government renders it useless for him as an individual to rebel. Furthermore, men have become habituated by long custom to the tradition of government. The previous chapter suggested some of the stages in the development of political power. It is now proposed to indicate the major reasons for the existence of governments which exercise that power.

First of all, governments exist to protect their citizens against enemies within and without the state. Sad experience has taught men that anti-social individuals and groups must be restrained for the good of all. A leaderless people is unable to defend its homes against invasion. It was long ago discovered that in union there is strength and that the best defense against invasion is corporate action. A price must be paid for co-operation, however, and that price is the curtailment of personal liberty. Individual action must be inhibited for the good of the whole. Moreover, to be effective the group must have a leader whose power is greater than that of any other individual. Such power can come only from the sacrifice of personal rights. In other words, the individual, in order the better to protect himself, delegates or surrenders some of his freedom of action to the group and its leader. Unless the leader has complete authority, others may seek to displace him and the result is disorder, with the weak being crushed by the strong as between the upper and nether millstones. It is to avoid such anarchy, as well as to forestall or beat off invasions, that men pay by surrendering their rights.

Secondly, governments exist to protect their citizens from the depredations of individuals within the state, that is, from assault, murder, and brigandage. Relative freedom from these dangers is a *sine qua non* of material and intellectual progress. Again, men found that the best safeguard was co-operation, and once more they paid the price of giving up personal liberty. In return, they rightfully demanded that the group through its leaders restrain all anti-social individuals.

Thirdly, governments exist to promote co-operation among members of the group to the end that each may enjoy the more abundant life. Men expect their governments to further the interests of the group in such matters as the supplying of sufficient food and the promotion of trade. Men confide the care of the weak to their government so that the individual burden may be lightened by sharing it.

In all these things, what men primarily seek is security, and freedom to pursue their own ends in safety. The farmer wishes to till his fields untroubled by fear that some invader or some stronger individual will rob him of his harvest. The merchant desires a guarantee that he will not be despoiled of his goods. The intellectual wants assurance that he will not be molested. The group as a whole wants peace, and the price of peace is the partial submergence of the individual in the group. These things apply whether the government be that of a family, of a tribe, of a city-state, or of an empire. In many cases, the jurisdiction of a government has been extended by conquest and the conquered have submitted not because of the reasons mentioned above, but because they had no choice. The paradox is more apparent than real for the dominant group accepted its government because of the motives referred to. In the final analysis, the continued existence of any government rests upon the explicit or implicit consent of the majority of the governed. Organized minorities have often imposed their will upon unorganized majorities but the final decision rests with the larger group.

The multifarious functions of a modern state reflect these three major reasons for the existence of government. To defend itself from invasion, to prevent anarchy, and sometimes to extend its influence abroad, the modern state maintains an army, navy, and air force. To protect its citizens from internal dangers, it promulgates, administers, and enforces criminal and civil law. The former defines the conduct of individuals on the basis of the good of the group and punishes those who threaten society by transgressing the code. The latter regulates such things as the fulfillment of contracts and the transfer

of property. It is designed primarily to protect private property. For the greater good of the group, the modern state provides education for its peoples, builds hospitals for the sick and almshouses for the poor, maintains fire departments and life-saving stations, regulates traffic, and guards the public health. The functions of modern states are steadily broadening, but their basic purpose is to protect their citizenry and promote co-operation among them.

It is apparent that men have confided to their governments the right and duty of protecting them. They have not, however, surrendered their inherent impulse of self-defense. Self-preservation remains one of the mainsprings of human action. As long as the government successfully discharges its functions and so justifies its existence, the impulse of self-defense is dormant. If, however, the government fails, that impulse is revitalized and men resume the functions they had once entrusted to a central authority. Again and again when governments have fallen before invaders or have been overturned by revolutions and anarchy has resulted, individuals have acted in their own defense. Invariably it has become a case of every man for himself with the weak left to fall where they might. There is no clearer example of this than the history of Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Partly as a cause of and partly as a result of the decay of the Carolingian Empire, Europe was overrun in these centuries by new barbarian hordes. From the north came the Vikings, "men of the fjords," Germanic in origin, heathens and haters of all things Christian, fierce fighters, shrewd traders, and the best sailors in Europe. Driven from their homeland of Scandinavia by overpopulation and the desire for freedom, and attracted by the prospects of rich plunder and richer trade, they poured into Europe like a tidal wave. One group, the Swedes, crossed the Baltic into Muscovy (Russia) and, following the great rivers, pushed on to the Black Sea. Along the line of their advance developed the great Varangian Trade Route from Constantinople to the north. A second group, the Danes, conquered Brittany and parts of England, and a third group, the Norwegians, sailed north of Scotland to Iceland, Greenland, and perhaps North America. All three groups penetrated into France along the great river systems, made conquests in Spain, and, later, established themselves in Sicily and southern Italy.

From the east came the Magyar peoples, ancestors of the modern Hungarians. Their raids in the ninth and tenth centuries carried them into Bavaria, Thuringia, Burgundy, the Rhine Valley, and even into

Lombardy and Spain. They collided violently with another barbarian people, the Bulgars, who in the ninth century made numerous incursions into the Byzantine Empire. The Magyars were victorious and late in the tenth century settled on the great Hungarian plain. The Bulgars withdrew east and south into the Balkans.

One other non-Christian conqueror appeared in Europe at this time. The Saracens, coming largely from Egypt, overran Sicily and southern Italy and then captured Sardinia and Corsica. They maintained their hold on these lands until the eleventh century when they were finally expelled by Genoa and Pisa. The southern portion of their possessions eventually fell into the hands of the Vikings or Norsemen.

The already tottering authority of the later Carolingians completely collapsed under these terrific impacts. Left practically defenseless, most of the towns of France were destroyed during the ninth and tenth centuries. Trade virtually ceased and then was resumed on a greater scale by the Vikings themselves. Eventually new kingdoms arose, but before that happened Europe was plunged into anarchy. The existing central authority proved totally unable to cope with the social disorders. Life and property became insecure with the advent of the barbarians and the rise of robber barons.

B. FEUDAL INDIVIDUALISM

The failure of centralized public authority forced the individual to resume the burden of self-protection. Local, personalized government replaced imperial, institutionalized government. Very gradually there developed a type of private government based upon ownership or control of land. Individuals, more able or better situated than their fellows, usurped or were granted, either by the crown or by their weaker neighbors, the rights and powers of government in their locality. With the passage of years, these rights came to be regarded as personal possessions which could be handed down from father to son along with the tangible real and personal property. Coincidentally, men came to look upon these rights as part and parcel of landownership. In other words, government became the prerogative of the landlords who thus assumed some or all of the burdens once borne by an impersonal imperial authority. Loyalty to them was, of course, loyalty to a person as contrasted with the earlier and later loyalty to a state. The bonds which held such private governments together were those of personal honor. The landlord was in

honor bound to protect those whom he ruled and those to whom he granted lands. The beneficiaries of his protection and of his grants were in honor bound to render him support. Land and personal service became the mediums of exchange, and the one was customarily exchanged for the other. Very often the service required was aid in supplying protection or in maintaining law and order. Sometimes that was done by individual service and sometimes by furnishing the ruler with a body of soldiers. To the aspects of private government and land tenure was then added a military element.

Political feudalism was the name applied to this highly complex and individualized arrangement and it has become customary to speak of it as the feudal "system." The word "system" is, however, a misnomer since it implies a uniformity and an organized character which did not exist. Our use of it is due to the fact that our knowledge of feudalism is restricted to written records and subsequent theories which sought to reduce local and variable customs to a logically organized system. The student is already sufficiently acquainted with the nature of social growth to realize that no institution has suddenly appeared from nothingness. Feudalism was no exception. It represented the adoptions, adaptations, and innovations of five centuries. The customs of imperial Rome and barbarian Germany were its common ancestors.

During the later days of the Roman Empire there had grown up a type of tenancy or land-occupancy known as *precarium*.¹ Essentially this amounted to the lease of a plot of land to a tenant by a landlord. The tenant paid rent and enjoyed the use of the property, but the ownership of it remained with the grantor. Sometimes this arrangement was made to satisfy a debt, the debtor deeding his land to the creditor but retaining the use of it. In such a case the transfer of the ownership discharged the debt and still permitted the original owner to draw his livelihood from the property. As the decline of the central government brought increasing disorder, sometimes a small landowner deeded his holdings to a more powerful neighbor in return for protection. In this case, also, the original owner retained the use of the land but surrendered the title to it. The Church made wide use of this *precarium*. It granted lands on precarious tenure in answer to formal requests; it accepted gifts of property and allowed the giver to retain the use of the land; and it leased some of its lands to tenants upon the basis of precarious tenure. This last practice was

¹ The name comes from the Latin word meaning a prayer or formal request. In theory the land was granted in response to such a plea.

very useful since it enabled the Church to arrange for the cultivation of its lands without violating the canon law which forbade the alienation of Church property. It will be seen that this practice, whether the landlord was the Church or an individual, resulted in the growth of large estates.

Precarium offered at least a modicum of security to the individual who could exchange his land for it but it did not solve the problem of the landless man who also needed protection. Such an individual had only his services to barter for security. The early Romans had recognized and met this need by a practice called *patrocinium*. This was an arrangement by which the *client* rendered some form of service to a *patron* in return for protection and aid. It would seem that this was an elemental human relationship which men have entered into in some form since primitive times and which they continue to employ today. Since the same powerful individual was likely to attract both the tenants under the *precarium* and the clients under the *patrocinium* it was inevitable that there should have been some confusion and mutual assimilation of the two. The net result was to build up a strong landed aristocracy which tended more and more to become the governing power.

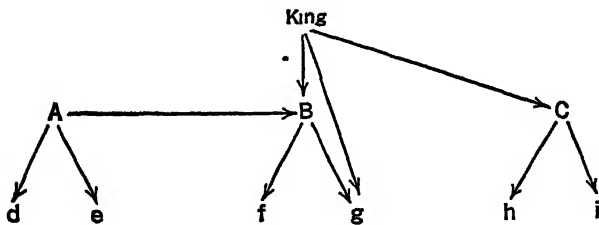
The barbarian invasions accelerated this tendency since the invaders, who had similar customs, adapted them to their needs. By the time of the Merovingian Franks, the Roman customs had merged with the German, and the decentralization of power continued. The patron-client relationship had grown into the practice of *commendation* by which a weaker individual bound himself to be the *vassal* of the stronger. The reciprocal obligation of the vassal to serve and of the lord to protect continued and was sanctified by a formal oath of allegiance. This ceremonial oath grew out of an ancient custom of the Germanic peoples, called *comitatus*, by which warriors bound themselves together by ties of honor. To the ceremony of the vassal's oath, known as *homage*, was added, probably through the influence of the Church, an additional oath, called *fealty*.

The system of *precarium*, meanwhile, had also continued, and by the eighth century had become known as a *benefice*, a lease of land for rent or services. With the disappearance of money economy, service became the general return for a benefice, and, because of the disordered nature of the times, the usual form of service required was military aid. Moreover, the custom of conferring a benefice upon a vassal in return for military service gradually became common. The effect was further to strengthen the landed aristocrat by providing

him with a group of vassals bound to him by oath and by the grant of land. The later Merovingian kings, weak and unable to cope with such powerful local authorities, frequently promised the lord not to interfere in his domain. This *grant of immunity* from royal authority must often have been merely the recognition of a state of affairs which the king was powerless to change, but at least it accorded legal recognition to the fact. When habit and the desire for security had rendered these various arrangements hereditary, political feudalism may be said to have come into being.

The feudal "system" was the dominant mode of life and government in Europe from the ninth to the thirteenth century, and it remained important until much later. A new nomenclature was evolved to describe it and theories were spun to explain it. The old benefice became known as the *fief*, possession of which was conferred upon the vassal by his lord or overlord. Both overlord and vassal were terms of gentility and power and, as will shortly be explained, one man was often both overlord and vassal at the same time. The holding of a fief and the reciprocal relationship of lord and vassal were both referred to as *vassalage*. Finally, the vassal's power to govern his fief was called the *right of jurisdiction*.

To explain the existence of large and small fiefs and the complex interdependence of vassals and overlords the theorists set up a web of theories and added still another term, *subinfeudation*. According to these ingenious explanations, the king was the source of all power and of all landownership. He gave fiefs, including the right of jurisdiction, to certain great men who thus became his vassals. These men, in turn, divided their lands among lesser men who became their vassals and so on until the fiefs were too small to be subdivided further. Subinfeudation did indeed exist but it had come into being by no such orderly and logical development. The king's authority was, in fact, limited by the extent of his actual control of his vassals. The myth of his universal suzerainty was, however, maintained, and it later proved an efficient agent in the destruction of feudalism. During the height of feudalism, the real authority resided in the hands of the great feudal lords, of whom the king was but one. Royal or noble, their power sprang from their control of their vassals. The existent subinfeudation was an outgrowth of need and circumstance rather than of any carefully developed hierarchy stemming from the person of the king. The accompanying illustration, somewhat simplified, will show the essentials of the practice.



A is the overlord of B, d, and e; B is the overlord of f and g, he is also the vassal of A and of the king; the king is the overlord of B, C, and g; C is the vassal of the king, and the overlord of h and of i; h and i are sub-vassals of the king; f and g are sub-vassals of A; etc.; etc.

Vassalage involved a whole series of reciprocal obligations which virtually amounted to a contract. The lord was charged with the protection of his vassal, the vassal's family, and the vassal's lands. Such protection took the form of legal processes in the lord's court, or, that failing, of force. In addition, the lord customarily assumed the protection of the wife and children of the vassal in the event of the latter's death. For his part, the vassal was required to render certain stipulated services to his lord. The first of these was military service. The vassal had to supply a designated number of armed men in response to the lord's demand for aid. A second was presence at the lord's court and assistance in administering and carrying out justice. The lord could also call upon his vassal to furnish him with food and lodging when traveling through the vassal's fiefs. The vassal was further bound to contribute monies to his lord to help defray certain emergency expenditures such as those involved in knighting a son, or providing a dowry for a daughter, or paying a ransom. Finally, a tax, called the *relief*, had to be paid upon the sale of the fief by the vassal, upon the inheritance of the fief by the vassal's heir, and upon the inheritance of the lord's rights by his heir. Legally either party could terminate this contractual arrangement if the other failed to fulfill his obligations, but in practice the termination of the contract probably depended upon whether or not the injured party was strong enough to do so.

The last phrase offers a key to the understanding of much of feudal life. Since there was no universally recognized superior, disputes had to be settled by force, just as they are today. Each small governing unit accepted war as the normal instrument of policy. There is indeed a very interesting parallel between the relations of these feudal units and modern international relations. The feudal units

were smaller and much more numerous and, hence, clashes between them were more frequent, but the basic principles of the relationship have remained much the same. The aims of war have also changed little. Feudal wars were, of course, much smaller than ours but at least they were much more personalized. It is worthy of note that although the fighting in these almost constant wars was regarded as a privilege of the upper classes, it was the common people, then as now, who bore most of the cost and who suffered most heavily from the ravages of the warriors.

Reference to the diagram used to illustrate subinfeudation will demonstrate one of the difficult problems which feudal wars presented to the nobility. In the event of a struggle between A and the king, whom should B support? He was the vassal of both, bound to both by ties of homage and fealty. Early in the feudal period an attempt had been made to solve just such a problem by distinguishing two types of homage, *liege* and *simple*. The former was the more binding and in case of dispute between the two overlords the vassal was to side with his *liege* lord. That distinction gradually lost its force, however, and the problem of divided loyalties remained. In all probability it was usually decided on a basis of personal interest. In this hypothetical case, B would aid whichever of his lords could compel him or bribe him to do so.

Since the Church was the largest landowner of the Middle Ages it follows that it was the chief feudal lord of the period. This power was exercised by the clergy, including the pope, so it often happened that church officials were overlords or vassals or both. This feudalizing tendency was furthered by the entrance into the Church of the younger sons of the feudal nobles. Products of a feudal age and of feudal training, they carried into their vocation the characteristics of feudal life. In truth, though the Church became their vocation, the habits and pursuits of feudalism remained their avocation. Strictly speaking, the clergy belonged to the first of the three great social classes of feudal society, the First Estate; the lay nobility made up the Second Estate, and the rest of the people constituted the undistinguished majority of the Third Estate. In fact, there was little difference between the First and Second Estates. The higher clergy were virtually all scions of the feudal nobility and many there were who habitually wore the warrior's armor beneath their churchly robes.

The early participation of the Church in the oaths of feudalism

has already been mentioned. The Church continued to play a prominent part in feudal life, especially in the system called chivalry. Like feudalism, chivalry was the product of slow growth. In its early stages it was simple and comparatively crude; later it became a mode of training and a way of life, governed by complicated rules and customs. Chivalry was the prerogative of the First and Second Estates and its basal purpose was to educate the youth in the manners, the customs, and way of life of the privileged groups to which he belonged. This required a long period of training which began in boyhood. After the boy had mastered the rudiments of arms and horsemanship he became a page in a noble household, there to learn polite conduct and the gallantry which became a part of later chivalry. The profession of arms was not forgotten, however, and the boy was daily trained in riding and fighting to prepare him for the next stage, that of being a helper or squire to a knight. After a period of apprenticeship, the youth was allowed to ride to war with his elders that he might prove himself and win the coveted rank of knight. Originally the conferring of knighthood was performed by a very simple ceremony, but later the Church invested it with a long and mystic ritualism. The ideals set for the knights were high indeed. He was to fear God, to serve the Christian religion, to protect the weak and defenseless, to respect women, to be brave, truthful, generous, and unselfish. Probably few knights attained the ideal but many may have approached it. Eventually, chivalry degenerated, burying its ideals under a dead weight of fantastic rules and arrogance, but our concept of a gentleman remains much like the medieval concept of the ideal knight, and the word chivalry itself has become synonymous with gallant courtesy.

The Church not only participated in the formal investiture of knighthood and bound the knights to its service by oath, but it also did much to shape the whole code of chivalrous conduct. Loyalty, kindness, humility, courage are traditionally Christian as well as knightly virtues. With the growth of the veneration of the Virgin Mary, the Church exercised an added influence upon the knights, many of whom dedicated themselves to her service.

The Church also made strenuous efforts to check the incessant feudal wars which not only injured the people but also constantly endangered the lands and the peasantry belonging to the Church. Late in the tenth century the local synods in southern France proclaimed the "Peace of God" which threatened with anathema those

who attacked churches, churchmen, or the poor, or wantonly destroyed property. This worthy attempt was ill-supported by the lay lords and early in the eleventh century the Church supplemented it with the "Truce of God." The Truce forbade private war during specified periods of time under pain of excommunication for him who broke the peace. At first the period of peace was from vespers on Wednesday until sunrise on Monday. Later it was extended to include the seasons of plowing, sowing, and harvesting. The Truce was better observed by the lay lords and was, therefore, more successful. To provide an outlet for the military energy thus bottled up, the Church in the eleventh century began to enlist the feudal nobles in holy wars or Crusades against the non-Christians.

That war was the dominant factor and interest in the life of the feudal nobility is abundantly attested by the social history of the times. It was essentially a man's world with women occupying a definitely inferior and dependent position. In early feudal days women were held in low esteem, valued chiefly as bearers of a dowry and of children. Later, when the great castles sheltered a more gentle society, the lord's wife occupied a more respected place. She was charged with the oversight of domestic duties which were many and heavy in those days when each castle and manor was an all but self-sufficient economic unit. She was, of course, her lord's hostess as well, expected to grace his court with her social accomplishments. When her lord was absent, as he must often have been, the whole care of the estate, including its defense, fell upon her, and not a few records tell of the skill and courage of these women.

The typical home of the nobles, the castle, also reflects the war-like character of the age. In its ninth century form it was hardly more than a rough wooden blockhouse built for purposes of defense upon a hilltop. Later generations learned to build of stone and transformed the old blockhouse into the *donjon* or fortress. Walls built around it formed a courtyard which in time was partially filled with buildings to serve the lord's needs. The art of castle-building reached its height in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries with enormous structures that were really a series of castles, each provided with the means of defense so that if the outer ones were captured, the defenders could retreat to the next line of fortifications and continue to fight. The typical castle, perched upon its hilltop, was protected first by a wide, deep ditch, called the moat. The moat was crossed by a drawbridge controlled from the castle wall. The walls were



Courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library

CASTLE WITH MOAT, MUSIC, AND RIDING. FROM *HOURS OF THE VIRGIN*, FLEMISH (?), SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

This is one of the miniature illustrations of a manuscript probably executed for King Manoel I of Portugal (1495-1521) early in the sixteenth century. Though of a late period, it gives an idea of castle construction as well as of the diversions and dress of the nobility.

of stone, high and enormously thick, and further strengthened by towers so placed as to bring attackers within cross-fire. From beside the gatehouse rose the *donjon* with loop-holes in its walls for the archers, and, near the top, small balconies from which boiling pitch and oil, or molten lead might be poured upon the heads of the attackers. Within the wall were the lord's residence, the chapel, the kitchens, the storehouses, the barracks, and the stables. It was, in effect, a little walled city, of necessity complete in itself.

Judged by our standards, life within the castle must have lacked comforts and convenience. The heavy stone construction and the exigencies of defense necessitated small windows so that the interiors were damp and gloomy. Fireplaces, woefully inadequate to ward off the chill of winter, furnished the only heat both for warmth and for cooking. Until rugs were introduced at the period of the Crusades, the cold stone floors were covered only with rushes or straw. Weapons were the usual wall decoration until the returned Crusaders set the style of hanging tapestries. Furniture was simple, crude, and scarce. Beds, high off the floor and hung with curtains to keep out the drafts; tables made of rough planks resting on trestles; crude settees and stools, and chests for clothing and bedding comprised the usual furniture. Light was furnished by tapers and by torches of resinous wood. Some few castles had running water, but most of them were dependent upon a well or spring.

Meat, fish, and cheese were the staples of the noble's diet. They had the common vegetables, with the noteworthy exception of potatoes, and apples and pears were plentiful. The favorite drinks were ale and wine. Honey was commonly used for sweetening since sugar was so rare a luxury that it was sometimes used as a drug. Until the Crusades, spices and condiments were little known and rarely used. At table everyone ate with his fingers, cutting the meat with his dagger. Bones and refuse were tossed onto the floor for the ubiquitous dogs.

Clothing was usually made of wool, though the Crusaders introduced silk and cotton into Europe. Men commonly wore tunic and hose with a mantle across their shoulders for warmth when necessary. Women customarily wore long robes of simple design which reached the ground. Both men and women used hooded cloaks for outdoor wear.

When the knight rode forth to war he was protected by armor. Early armor was comparatively simple: a shirt of chain mail, a con-

ical helmet with a projecting piece to protect the nose and a long back to guard the neck. Successive generations of war brought many improvements until by the fourteenth century the knight was fully protected by a suit cunningly contrived of armor plate. The helmet was now rounded, and covered the whole head and face with only slits left for seeing and breathing. Horses, too, were often protected by armor plate. The favorite weapons were the lance, carried on the right, and the heavy sword, worn on the left. Daggers or poniards were used in close combat. The infantrymen fought with pikes and later with cross-bows, which shot sharpened iron bolts. The English foot-soldier commonly used the long bow made familiar by the still-known legends of Robin Hood. When besieging castles, the attackers added catapults, battering rams, and movable towers to their other equipment.

Aside from sieges, which usually resolved themselves into the process of starving out the besieged, the fighting seems to have been largely skirmishes between small groups. When pitched battles did occur they consisted mostly of combats between individual knights. Strategy and group action were subordinated to personal bravery and single action. Discipline was never strong among the feudal levies since each knight felt himself to be the ally rather than the subordinate of his nominal leader.

Even the favorite recreations of the feudal noble were warlike. Tournaments, which were really mock warfare, were popular from about the eleventh century, and so close were they to the real thing that many were maimed and killed in them. Hunting, however, easily outranked all other pastimes in popularity. Hunting was the privilege of the nobility and it became, like chivalry, virtually a mark of caste. Extensive and valuable lands were kept from cultivation for use as hunting preserves and the underprivileged peasantry were forbidden to kill the game which oftentimes destroyed their crops. Because horses were necessary to him both for the fight and for the hunt, the noble took an interest in his stables and sought to improve his stock. For indoor pastimes there were backgammon and dice, though the latter were frowned upon by the Church. Wandering minstrels and tumblers offered occasional diversion as did, indeed, any traveler with his tales of the outer world. For the rest there was always eating, drinking and carousing to pass the time away.

The student may well have wondered why, in this discussion of feudalism, no mention has been made of the Third Estate. The

reason is that the majority of the members of the Third Estate were serfs, within the feudal system and vital to its maintenance, but technically not a part of it. The conditions of serfdom varied widely but generally the serf was tied to the soil, the chattel property of his lord. He had few privileges and fewer rights, yet his labor supported the feudal hierarchy in a very literal sense. He planted and harvested the crops, performed the manual labor and, in short, made life possible. Overlord and vassal alike depended upon him for the necessities of life, but they allowed him no voice in their government of privilege. He was the forgotten man of the feudal era.

This dependent servility of the masses must occupy a prominent place on the debit side when one attempts to set up a balance sheet for feudalism. Servility breeds debility of body and mind and results eventually in a kind of physical, mental, and moral stagnation. Servility is an evil thing both for him who commands and for him who must obey. Also on the debit side must be listed the rampant militarism of the feudal era. Neither fighting to live nor living to fight is conducive to material or moral progress. It is safe to say that the military exploits of the bellicose knight were his least important and most transient deeds, no matter how large they may have bulked at the time.

The credit side of the ledger shows equally significant items. Whatever its lacks, and they were many, political feudalism worked, which is the final test of any government. Moreover, it stabilized society and brought some order from the chaos, some law and justice from



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

COURT OF MAXIMILIAN I, MUMMING AND FEASTING. WOODCUT FROM *DER WEISSKUNIG*, GERMANY, EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

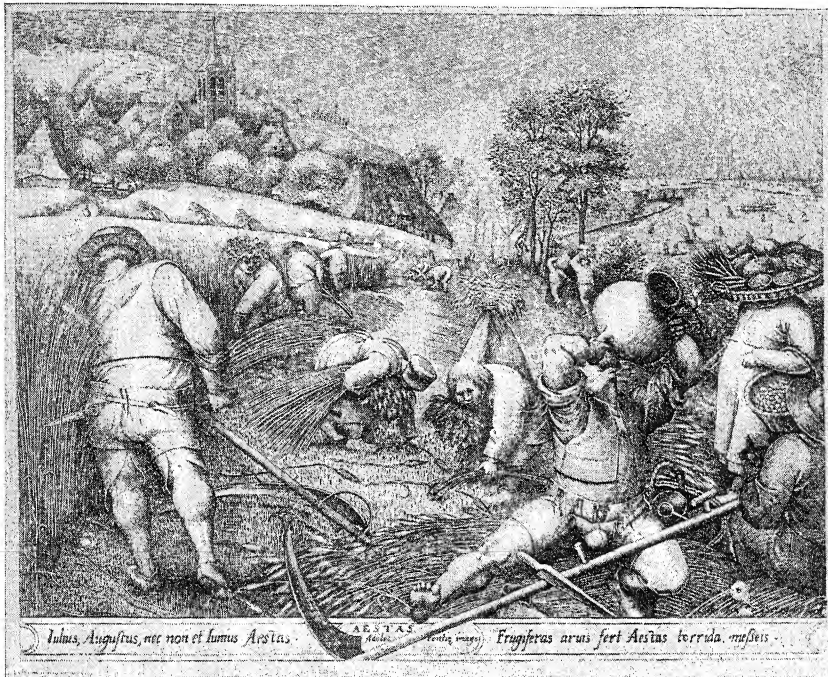
Dressing up in fantastic costumes—mumming, as it was called—was one of the favorite medieval pastimes. The photograph above shows Maximilian I (1493-1519), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, receiving mummers, probably members of his own court, at dinner. Musicians are to be seen tuning up their instruments preparatory to the beginning of the feasting. Both the costumes and the furnishings of the room are a little later than the medieval period.

the rule of might, some security from insecurity. Even serfs, wretched as they seem to us, ordinarily did not starve. Eventually the stability of feudalism made possible the revival of trade and the growth of towns. Finally, the decentralization of feudalism made the transition from the old empires to new national groupings easier. In France the feudal power of the kings served as a nucleus around which royal power was eventually built. Feudalism, as introduced into England by the Normans, was used as an instrument of centralization and was an important element in the growth of royal authority. Feudal particularisms were too strong in the Germanies to permit the creation of a large national state but there the stronger feudalities developed into small states loosely bound together until the nineteenth century in the Holy Roman Empire. All in all, feudalism was neither an unmixed blessing nor an unmitigated curse. Rather, it was a stage in the long history of man's attempts to find security.

C. ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

With all of its elaborate and complicated machinery political feudalism would have been quite impossible without economic feudalism. The knight who went to battle and the king who held court would both have found it impossible to perform their respective functions without an abundance of leisure and resources. For this they were dependent upon the tillers of the soil.

By the ninth century, agriculture had become practically the sole basis of European economic life, a condition which persisted for the better part of six centuries. Trade had almost disappeared with a consequent decline in urban life and the almost complete passing of money economy. Wealth and power could therefore be measured only in terms of landed possession. If a king wished to recompense his agents for their services, the customary procedure was to bestow parcels of land upon them; if a wealthy man wished to make a sizeable contribution to the Church, he left his estates to it. Obviously, the value of such bequests would have been completely nullified without satisfactory means of reaping the fruit of the land. It was not regarded as fitting that the secular and clerical aristocracy, whose functions were to fight and to pray, should themselves till the soil; this was the obligation of the much greater majority of dependent peasantry. Feudal society was divided into two general categories: the smaller, comprising the clergy and the lay nobility, that is, the First and Second Estates, which provided protection and salvation



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

SUMMER. PETER BRUEGHEL (1525-1569).

Brueghel portrays peasant life with vigor and with Flemish wealth of detail. This picture of the harvest shows a scene that had changed little from earlier centuries.

for all but performed no manual labor; the larger, the Third Estate, which labored and presumably enjoyed the fruits of protection. In theory neither could live without the other, but in practice the tillers of the soil could have existed quite independently.

A controversy has developed around the question as to how and under what circumstances the peasantry came to be made dependent upon the small but powerful body of aristocracy. No entirely satisfactory answer can be supplied but it seems that the practices of the later Roman Empire and those of the barbarian peoples individually and collectively laid the basis. It has already been observed that during the later era of the Roman Empire the tendency toward the development of compact, self-supporting, and self-governing agricultural communities became pronounced. These *villas* were held by a noble proprietor and the labor upon them was performed by a body of dependent serfs and slaves. Simultaneously, among the Germanic tribes the customary organization of their agricultural life developed along much the same lines. These small and nearly self-

sufficient units were well adapted to the period of political insecurity and civil strife which accompanied Rome's decline. The confusion of the fifth to the ninth centuries hastened their development since the lesser independent landholders who remained were often forced to sacrifice their possessions and independence for the protection which a better endowed individual could provide. The means by which this dependence was enforced varied from region to region in accordance with the peculiarities of local customs and traditions. In some quarters the practices of the later Roman *villa* predominated; in others the customs of the Germanic peoples; but more usually there was a fusion and admixture of both. In all cases the manors¹ became the basic unit of life, but because of their multiple origins and the peculiar circumstances to which they were exposed in the process of development the variations among them were almost as great as their number. Nevertheless, in a general way they possessed enough similar characteristics so that one is justified in discussing them collectively.

The manor was usually composed of twelve to sixty families who lived together in a manorial village under the jurisdiction of a landed aristocrat, and who won their livelihood from the tilling of the soil. Although the size of these estates varied considerably, they were usually large enough to approach the ideal of self-sufficiency, seldom containing less than a thousand acres each of arable and non-arable land. The core of this was the *demesne*, or lord's property, comprising from one-sixth to two-fifths of the total estate. The remainder was divided among the peasantry in proportion to their status.

Physically, manorial villages differed from each other as much as do modern rural communities, though in the very broadest sense they followed a fairly uniform pattern. At the most desirable situation was located the manor house, occupied by the proprietor or his agent. Judged by modern standards, this was usually no more than a reasonably comfortable farmhouse, but nevertheless it was a luxurious mansion in contrast to the humble huts of the peasantry. These latter, made of wattle or of wood with thatched roofs, lacking windows and chimneys, were, if anything, less desirable than the shacks of our contemporary metropolitan "shanty towns." Near the manor house stood the village church, the heart of community social life, and close by it the residence of the parish priest. Within reasonable distance were the mill, the bake house, the brewery, and the wine press, all of which any respectable manorial estate possessed.

¹ The French equivalent of this, *villa*, is often used.



BAKING IN CONSTANCE. SKETCH FROM *CHRONICLE OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE* BY ULRICH VON RICHTENTHAL.

Much of our knowledge of life in the middle ages is drawn from the chronicles of contemporaries. Ulrich von Richtenthal was a burgher of the thriving city of Constance, Switzerland, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. His *Chronicle of the Council of Constance* is not limited to the Council alone but describes in popular south German dialect the familiar life of Constance. In that city traveling bread bakers sold their products on the streets. The sketch shows the baker and his helpers selling their bread.

Everything in the life of the manor revolved about the lord. All the members of the community, even the parish priest, when the church itself did not own the estate and lord it over the peasants, were dependent upon his bounty and good will. He was the interpreter of local custom and, through the manorial court which regulated all local concerns, the administrator of justice. Yet he seldom exercised his powers indiscriminately. Although he could not be hauled before the manorial court by one of his dependents, he was frequently restrained by local tradition from trespassing the boundaries of common honesty and decency. Certainly it was not expedient for him to alienate his dependents since his entire income was derived from their labors. Often the peasants themselves shared, though not on a basis of equality, in the administration of the manor. The lord's bailiffs and overseers were selected from among them, and the reeve, who represented the peasants before the lord and the lord before the peasants in all matters concerning the welfare of the whole community, was perforce a peasant.

The status of the dependent peasants was far from uniform either within a single manor or among the different manors. Everything depended upon local practice. In some few instances there were those who could be classified as slaves, possessing no personal liberties and

holding no land in their own right. There were a number of others, often referred to as cotters or crofters, who were personally free but held too little land to support themselves and who consequently hired out their labor to the lord and to more fortunate peasants. But the majority could be generally grouped under the headings of freemen and serfs. Among these various classifications there oftentimes existed an infinity of gradations.

The freemen constituted a relatively small group of more privileged individuals, whose holdings were usually from three to four times as large as those of the serfs and whose obligations and responsibilities to the lord were limited. Ordinarily the freeman was dependent upon the lord in much the same sense that the modern tenant farmer is dependent upon his landlord. He paid a rent for the use of the soil, though, unlike contemporary times, this was fixed in perpetuity. He could cultivate his soil for profit and, if he wished, he could alienate his property through sale to someone else. Unlike the serf, he was not a permanent fixture upon the manor. Nor was the freeman usually responsible for menial service to the lord. Where such obligations did exist the freeman sometimes was able to delegate them to others.

In contrast with the relatively independent class of freemen was the great body of serfs who constituted probably eighty percent of the peasant population. The rights and privileges of these were few indeed when compared with their duties and obligations. The serf was bound to the soil and although, by fulfilling certain customary requirements, he could pass on his share of land to his heirs, he was not permitted to alienate it to someone else. If the manor were disposed of, he was transferred with the land to the new proprietor to fulfill for him his customary obligations. In the event that the serf's son or daughter wished to marry out of the manor this required a special dispensation from the lord. Should the serf flee from the estate his lord had the right to search him out and return him to his former status.

There was, of course, a logical reason for binding a serf to the manor. It was he who tilled the lord's fields and provided him with his income. Every serf was obligated to perform a more or less definite amount of menial service upon the *demesne*. During the busy seasons of planting and harvesting it was often required that he devote as much as three to five days of labor each week to the cultivation of the lord's lands. At other times less would be demanded but there was usually some time each week which had to

be placed at the lord's disposal. Not only could the serf be asked to supply his labor but for the performance of various tasks he was also expected to provide the necessary implements and beasts of burden. In some instances, but in relatively few, all of these services could be commuted in kind, if the serf chose to adopt this procedure. Beside these obligations of labor upon the *demesne*, the serf was also expected to provide a more or less definite amount of labor each year for the construction and repair of manorial roads (*corvée*), for repairs of the manorial house or castle, and for the construction and repair of bridges. Sometimes also, though not frequently, the serf was expected to perform domestic service in the lord's household. More often the serf was obliged to supply food and entertainment for the lord's guests. This was an unexpected obligation and the extent of it was not ordinarily fixed.

Beside performing menial services for him, the serf was also the lord's chief source of revenue. In accordance with local custom, the lord exacted a payment in kind, perhaps the best cow, on the occasion of the death of the serf. This symbolized the servile status of his heirs and their dependence upon the lord. A fee in kind or in money was usually charged when the privilege of marrying outside the estate was extended. Each year the serf paid a head or capitation tax, ordinarily small in amount but thoroughly disliked because it represented his servitude. Another type of tax, known generally as *tallage*, was levied upon the serf's properties. All of these payments plus a considerable number of contributions on feast days and holidays comprised the bulk of the lord's revenue.

Another profitable source of income for the lord was derived from a variety of fees known as *banalities*. These were charges for the use of certain properties such as the mill, the bake oven, the wine press, and perhaps even certain gates and bridges over which the lord had established a monopoly. If, for example, the peasant wished to grind his grain he was required to have this done in the lord's mill at such cost as the lord might fix. The possibilities of exploiting the peasants in this way were almost limitless and few proprietors neglected them.

Heavy as these payments to his lord were they were only part of the peasant's total obligations. The church likewise claimed its share. Every peasant was required to pay a tithe, theoretically ten percent of his annual income, but actually varying in amount. On the assumption that the whole of this would not be paid at the end of his life, the church also collected a death tax, taking for this the

second best piece of the peasant's personal property or the second best head of his livestock. After the payment of all of these fees there was little enough left for the peasant or his family.

Yet with all of his heavy responsibilities the serf was not lacking in security. His right to a living from the land was universally recognized. Unlike the modern tenant farmer he could not be evicted at the caprice of his landlord, not even in the event that the proprietor transferred his estate to another. Thus though bound to the soil the serf was not wholly at a disadvantage. Furthermore, when there were bad harvests it was the landlord's customary obligation to supply his dependents with food from his own granaries. At least the serf was guaranteed subsistence which is more than can often be said for contemporary laborers.

Just as the personal status of dependents followed a broadly uniform pattern everywhere, so also with the organization of the manor for the exploitation of the soil. The arable land was usually divided into three fields, one for fall planting, one for spring planting, and one to lie fallow a year to regain its fertility. By rotating crops among these so that one field always lay fallow the resources of the land were not exhausted. This expedient was made necessary through ignorance of fertilization.

Each of the three fields was divided into strips, approximately equivalent to an English acre. These strips were usually apportioned with great care among dependents and lord so that each would have his fair share of good and bad land. In this way it occurred that the serf who generally held about thirty strips and the freeman who had as many as a hundred and twenty would find his lands distributed over the entire estate. Seldom were any of them contiguous. Not being fenced in, these strips were separated from each other by narrow balks of unplowed turf or by mounds of earth thrown up by the plow. Much of the labor was necessarily done in common since implements and livestock of the manor were few in number, no one member of the community possessing all that were required. The plow, made from a forked trunk of a tree, sometimes tipped with iron, needed as many as three or four men and ten or more yoke of oxen to turn the heavy glebe. Even then it merely scratched the earth. In the harvest season also the entire community would cooperate to gather the grain before it fell. Of course, at both planting and harvest time the peasants were expected to give first attention to the lord's *demesne*.

When the harvest had been gathered the fields were turned into

pasturage for the livestock of the whole community. Such communal rights in the arable land were supplemented by similar rights in the non-arable land. About equal in extent to the former, the non-arable land was divided into meadows for hay and pasturage, wastelands, and woodlands where fuel was gathered. Everyone shared in these in proportion to his tenure of arable land. In some respects the common meadow was more important than the cultivated fields since it provided the hay with which to keep the livestock over the winter. Often this was so inadequate that most of the oxen, cattle, sheep, and pigs had to be killed, while those that were left became so weak by spring that they could barely walk to the fields of fresh young grass.

If the livestock suffered from lack of food, the peasantry were little better off. Their fare, comprised chiefly of black or brown bread and cheese, was supplemented by the few known types of vegetables grown in the garden adjoining the hut. Occasionally they had meat on important feast days, but because of lack of refrigeration and ignorance of adequate preservatives, this was often in an advanced state of decay. The proprietor, it should be observed, had little better food though he might have had more of it. All alike suffered unspeakable hardship in periods of food shortage.

An important feature of every manor was its flock of sheep, providing the wool for clothing. Generally there was hardly enough of this to make the barest minimum of homespun. One suit usually sufficed the peasant for the season and was worn continuously day and night until it reached the stage of disintegration. Little wonder that medieval chroniclers made such frequent reference to the peasant's malodorous state.

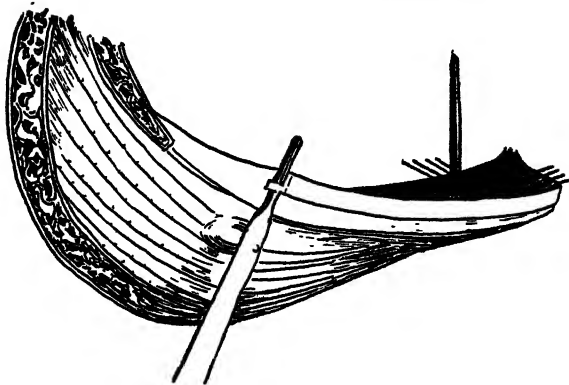
Indeed, life was not easy and certainly not ideal upon the manor. Beside scant rations, lack of sanitation, and the absence of what would now be regarded as the irreducible minimum of comforts in the home, the peasant's hours of work were long and his labors arduous. Rising at sunrise he remained at his tasks until sunset, and then having no form of artificial light, even candles being a luxury, he completed his routine by going to bed. He could not read even if it had been possible to buy books, and the types of recreation and forms of amusement in which he could engage were restricted by time, energy, and convention.

Nevertheless it would be quite erroneous to portray the peasant's life as one continuous round of hardship. Any comparison of his state with that of the average individual today must neces-

sarily be to his disadvantage, but such comparisons are invidious. Relatively, the medieval serf could lead a reasonably happy and comfortable life according to the standards of his time. The monotony of his labors was broken regularly on Sundays, when no one was allowed to work, as well as on holy days (holidays) which were much more frequent then than now. Occasionally the lord of the manor provided a public celebration, and traveling merchants and entertainers brought news of the outside world and occasional amusement. Wrestling and the more masculine sports sometimes afforded diversions, and dancing on the church green became so common that it shocked the pious clergy.

The habits of manorial life long remained, continuing in modified form in isolated regions of Europe today, but the relationship between the dependent peasantry and the noble proprietor underwent a profound transformation after the eleventh century. The serfs, once little better than slaves, almost everywhere won their freedom and independence, mostly through their own efforts. There had always existed methods of escaping servile status such as manumission (bestowal of freedom by the lord), the taking of holy orders (also through the lord's permission), and successful flight. But, except for the last, these had never been widely employed. It was the combination from the eleventh century forward of a series of unusual factors such as the growth of population, the revival of trade, the Crusades, and devastating plagues which gave momentum to the movement toward peasant independence. At the beginning of the eleventh century certainly eighty percent of Europe's population lived in servile dependence; by the sixteenth century the preponderant majority of these were free. No greater social revolution in western Europe has ever occurred.

Among the contributing causes of this revolution the growth of population holds a conspicuous place. So great was this increase that it has been estimated that by the twelfth century the population was double that of the Roman Empire. This placed too heavy a strain upon the manor which, because of its organization and methods of cultivation employed, was capable of providing for only a limited number. Hundreds and thousands of peasants were therefore encouraged to pioneer among the unreclaimed lands of the west and the newer, unexploited regions of the east. The clearing of forests and the draining of swamps, the opening to cultivation of the area between the Elbe and the Oder, along the Danube into Hungary, and in northern Spain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries attest



VIKING SHIP FOUND AT OSEBERG

The Viking ship was used by the northern invaders in the ninth and tenth centuries. Although these ships carried a sail, they were designed chiefly for propulsion by oars. At night, the mast became a ridgepole and the sail became a tent, providing shelter for the sailors. We have record of one tenth-century war vessel which was 165 feet long. The sides were sometimes painted brightly and further color was added by the warriors' shields. The gunwales of the Oseberg ship are carved with a design that seems to show the Indo-European style.

to the real necessity then of making available greater supplies of food. The lords and the monks who assumed the leadership in this movement found it necessary to offer special inducements to the peasants to secure their services. Not slow to take advantage of such an opportunity, the serfs were able to acquire larger parcels of land and to exact of their new lords promises of substantial independence.

The revival of trade at the same time had similar consequences.¹ The lure of urban life oftentimes attracted serfs to the developing towns, and if they managed to live there undiscovered by their lords for a year and a day their freedom was assured. So serious were the results of such successful flights that noble proprietors often deemed it expedient to make generous concessions to keep their labor upon the estate. In some instances they founded their own towns in an effort to profit from commerce and trade and on such occasions also extended to their peasants numerous liberties. Even where this did not occur the landed aristocracy found it more profitable, as money economy developed, to hire their labor rather than to keep it servile. Many of the customary obligations of the serfs were therefore gradually commuted to fixed money payments.

The Crusades and recurring plagues quickened the pace of all these developments. Thousands of peasants joined the struggle against the

¹ See Chapter XI for a fuller discussion.

Moslems in Spain and in the Holy Land, many to remain there permanently settled under circumstances more favorable than those they had left. In the fourteenth century, the great Black Plague, by decimating Europe's population, placed a premium on labor so that the serfs were enabled to raise their demands still further.

When all these circumstances failed to bring substantial improvement peaceably, the serfs did not hesitate to resort to rebellion. The number of such uprisings against the lay and clerical aristocracy from the eleventh century forward was considerable, culminating in the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, in which the peasants played an active part.

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Experimentation with Government

A. THE FEUDAL KINGDOMS

Feudalism was common to all of Europe, but, as we have seen, infinitely varied in its forms and manifestations. In northern and eastern France it attained its fullest development, while in the south and in Normandy some of its most typical features were completely lacking. Germany was feudalized slowly, and in Italy strong traditions of urban life exercised a retarding influence. England was acquiring a feudal system of its own before the Norman conquest brought with it a perfected European type. Christian Spain, Poland, Russia, and even the Byzantine Empire developed their own peculiar forms of feudalism. And of course the Church, with its great landed wealth and extensive temporal powers, followed the same general pattern.

Two equally logical yet contradictory political developments followed this widespread feudalization of life. On the one hand, the prerogatives of sovereignty which had once been concentrated in the hands of a central authority were widely dispersed. It has already been observed that the later Merovingians and the Carolingians, in the vain hope of securing loyal followers, gave away their private estates, surrendered regalian rights, and made extensive bestowals of immunities. The beneficiaries of these grants were in turn able to bestow concessions upon others as well as to receive them from others, if it seemed to their advantage. The result was a hopelessly confused distribution of authority. Whoever was able could coin money, wage war, and administer justice. Like private property, political power and political office became inheritable and were subjected to personal exploitation for profit. Under such circumstances, it was possible for the royal or papal power to become almost com-

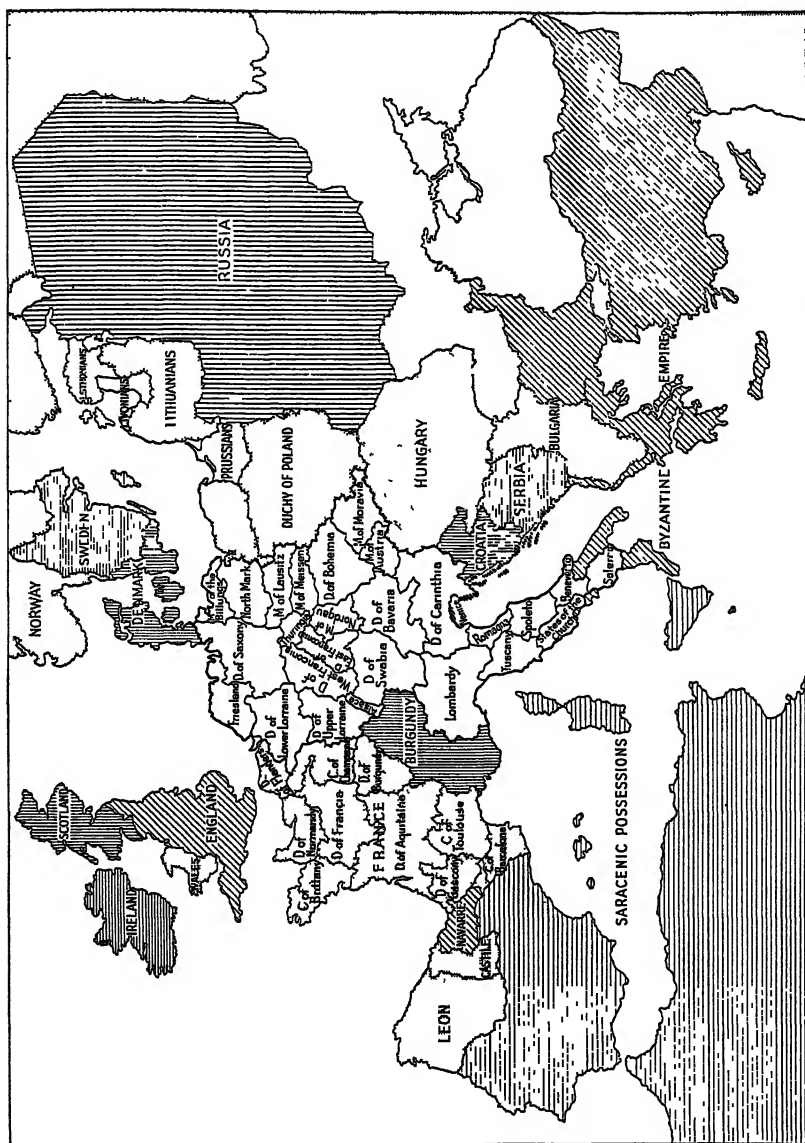
pletely empty of meaning. This is actually what happened during the ninth century.

Yet at the same time it must be remembered that the feudal bond operated to draw men and units of territory together in a purely personal and private way and thus to form the basis for the evolution of a new central authority. Great lords, able to impose their will upon vassals, could secure from them military service, attendance upon court, and fees for the treasury. By wisdom and cunning they could enlarge the area of their jurisdiction and bend recalcitrants to their will. But success in this direction, which meant victory for centralization over decentralization, depended in large measure upon strength of personality and a substantial amount of good fortune.

The struggle between the centralizing and decentralizing forces of feudalism was always present. In some quarters, as in Germany, the latter emerged successful with the result that a strong kingship did not appear, while in France and England the feudal kings were able to increase their powers until they had achieved royal absolutism. The many reasons for these differences in political growth will become clear when we examine the factors involved in each particular case.

France was the first state on the continent to become centralized under a powerful feudal monarchy. The explanation of this lies principally in the history of the Capetian kings. By extraordinary good luck and occasional sound management they were able to direct the forces of their age toward the political consolidation of their vast and tenuous holdings. Rising to prominence during the era of the Norman (Viking) invasions, the House of Capet won the crown of France in 987 when Hugh (987-996) ascended the throne left vacant by the extinction of the Carolingian line. So completely had France been decentralized by then that the royal office brought with it little more than royal dignity, some pretentious claims to sovereign authority, and a few perquisites from the Church. As with the least significant feudal lord, the king's *fiat* was law only within his dominions, the *Île de France*, and these were smaller than the possessions of great neighboring counts and dukes. Even within the *Île de France*, as will be observed, the first members of the Capetian line were constantly plagued by insubordinate and rebellious vassals.

Despite its seeming impotence, there inhered in the royal office potential powers which the Capetians eventually turned to good advantage. Unlike the ordinary feudal lord, the king was God's anointed, consecrated by the Church, and therefore one of the chief



agents in the fulfillment of the divine purpose. The odor of sanctity which enveloped him gave the king a moral dignity which not even his most potent vassal could match. Moreover, the king was regarded as an indispensable element in the feudal system: the overlord of all feudatories in the vaguely defined area of the nation; the fountain of justice; and the commander-in-chief of the national armies. Theoretically, at least, all the great lords were his vassals, owing him service and obedience. In practice it was no easy matter to enforce such dependence, but by dogged persistence and fortuitous circumstance the Capetians achieved it. It should be remarked that the Capetians enjoyed a real advantage in their struggle for power because of the compactness and strategic importance of their dominions. The *Île de France* was the heart of France, rich in agricultural resources and lying directly athwart the natural routes for trade. Its wealth was a continuous blessing to the Capetians while the part which it naturally played in the revival of trade facilitated territorial expansion and aggrandizement.

Even with these advantages the royal power might have become as completely insignificant as in Germany had it not been for the establishment of the principle of primogeniture and the practice of hereditary succession. In Germany this was not realized so that the sovereign was almost always at the mercy of those who elected him. This tended to produce steady decentralization and checkmated those forces which might have facilitated the integration and unification of the realm. The Capetians avoided this danger even though the principle of royal election was also firmly established in France at the time of their succession. In part this must be ascribed to the remarkable fecundity of the house which for almost four centuries was never lacking in male issue; in part, it resulted from the meticulous care with which they arranged for the succession prior to the death of each incumbent. This practice, known as co-optation, consisted in naming one of the sons as co-king. By this means royal election was avoided, a smooth transition from one reign to the next was effected, and the people were made accustomed to regular succession by the Capetians. The establishment of this tradition was the most significant achievement of the first three Capetian kings.¹ This practice had become so widely accepted that in the thirteenth century co-optation was abandoned and the succession fell naturally thereafter to the eldest male heir. The independence

¹ Hugh, Robert (996-1031), Henry I (1031-1060), and Philip I (1060-1108).

of ambitious vassals thus realized by the royal house was the starting point of French political unification.

Their dynasty firmly established by the beginning of the twelfth century, the Capetians undertook to implement their nominal powers and to enlarge their private domains. The first deliberate step in this direction was made by Louis VI (1108-1137), popularly known among his subjects as Louis the Fat. A man of remarkable energy, despite physical handicaps, Louis devoted himself to the establishment of undisputed authority in his own domains. This was no easy task. As elsewhere in France, the greater feudal lords had for years enjoyed virtual independence and had flouted the authority of their overlord. With their strongly fortified castles they were often unassailable, especially since the king had to rely upon the good will of his other vassals to secure the material force necessary to attack them. How formidable these great barons could be is admirably typified by Thomas of Marle and Hugh le Puiset, both of whom fought long but unsuccessfully against Louis VI, the former holding out fifteen and the latter six years. Although the task was difficult, Louis persisted, and by almost continuous fighting reduced his immediate vassals to dependence.

Meanwhile, Louis VI likewise undertook the reorganization of his central government. As was customary with feudal dependents, royal household officials in France were likely to perpetuate their functions for their own families and thus to become increasingly independent of the crown. To escape some of the dangers arising out of this practice Louis VI began to rely more and more upon the services of men of lower birth: clergymen and townsmen from his own domain. This procedure was continued by Louis VII (1137-1180), the son of Louis VI whose long reign was chiefly conspicuous for a variety of political blunders.

The subjugation of rebellious vassals and the strengthening of central administration enabled the Capetians to undertake the enforcement of suzerain rights over their powerful vassals in the remainder of France. At least a beginning was made in this direction by Louis VI and Louis VII, though the greatest achievements were to await the next century. Rebellious vassals were occasionally summoned before the royal court and, increasingly, feudal lords from distant parts of the vaguely defined realm appealed to the crown for its intervention in behalf of justice. The king's powers were still uncertain but his prestige was steadily mounting.

The consolidation of feudal royal power in France, however, was

gravely menaced by the English kings across the Channel. Not only had the English crown achieved centralization well in advance of the French, but its possessions and power on the continent threatened continuously to engulf both the great feudalities and the royal domain as well.

The written records of England begin with the Roman conquests but the soldiers of Cæsar followed a well-beaten track. The fertile lowlands, the approachable coast, and the navigable rivers had invited many migratory peoples. About 600 B.C. there appeared invaders known for want of a better name as Celts. Their origin and history remain a mystery, despite the fact that for almost four centuries wave after wave of them broke over the islands. Those who settled in the region later called England became known as "Britons," a corruption of the tribal name, "Brythonic." Melding their culture with that of the Iberians, a mixed people already resident in the islands, the Britons by the time of Cæsar had developed a semi-pastoral, semi-agricultural society. Their customary social and political unit was the clan, usually dominated by a member of the priestly caste, the druids. Under these leaders, they had driven off the wild beasts and begun to cultivate the soil. No match for Cæsar's crack legions, the Britons were conquered and for a brief time lived under Roman rule. Transient as this occupation was, it served to bring the island within the orbit of Roman trade and influence. Unreconciled to this new order of things the druids fomented mutinies against Rome among their Gallic kinsmen on the continent. It was partly to put a stop to this that the Emperor Claudius ordered the conquest of Briton in 43 A.D.

It took four years for the Roman troops to conquer the area now called England and Wales, but they did it thoroughly. Despite some serious rebellions the conquerors retained their hold until late in the fourth century. Briton became a Roman province with a civilization which bore at least superficial resemblance to that of Rome itself. The Romans built cities with forums, public baths, and other appurtenances of Roman life. Excellent roads ran to all parts of the island and along them marched Roman legions and journeyed Roman traders. Large and elaborate villas appeared in the countryside. Christianity was introduced, becoming eventually the state church as it did elsewhere in the empire. Yet despite all these things and despite the length of the Roman occupation only three legacies survived the disorder which followed the Roman withdrawal.

Even when the Romans were enjoying their greatest power they

had been troubled by the Picts and the Scots, barbarian raiders from Scotland and North Ireland. Walls and garrisons temporarily checked them but as the power of Rome weakened, they began to advance into Britain. At about the same time Vikings appeared along the coasts. Members of three closely related tribes, the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons, but usually known generically as Saxons, these Vikings overran the island in the last half of the fifth century. For the next two centuries their incursions continued until the Roman-Celtic peoples were killed, harassed into flight to the mountains, or assimilated. Of Roman Britain there was left only the magnificent system of roads, whose strategic location facilitated the conquest; the tradition of the site of London, and, in the mountains of Wales, some remnants of Christianity.

The first Saxon invaders were probably warriors and brigands, fierce and courageous fighters intent only upon plunder. Later there came other Saxons eager to carve out homes from the English wilderness as their remote descendants later did in America. These settlers—farmers, fishers, traders, and sailors—built a civilization which was the true starting point of all later English culture. The Roman influence had vanished. In its place Saxon England slowly took form. A city was built upon the site of Roman London, becoming by the eighth century the chief commercial center of the island. Slowly the many groups merged into seven little kingdoms, the Saxon Heptarchy. Jealous, pugnacious, now one and then another dominated but none was able to form a united country. That lay beyond the Saxon capacity and awaited the coming of another invader, the Christian monks sent out by Gregory the Great to win England to the Church.

An intrepid band of forty monks landed on the coast of Kent in 597 and was hospitably received by the king who established them at Canterbury. Royal patronage gave them a number of early converts but their task was made difficult by an anti-Christian reaction among the natives, and by competition from Irish Christian monks. Several centuries before Augustine had arrived in the English islands, Ireland had embraced the Christianity of the Welsh peoples and had gradually evolved a culture and civilization distinctly her own. Isolated from the rest of Europe, it was natural for the Irish forms of Christianity to develop a unique symbolism, ritual, and theology. By enterprising monks, famed for their piety and scholarship, this Irish Christianity was carried among the British Isles, and even into Europe. The most successful of these missionary establishments had been founded by Colomba at Iona, off the Scottish

coast, and from that center Irish Christianity was carried through Scotland and into England proper. By the seventh century these Irish missionaries met with the missionaries from Rome, and a clash over their respective doctrines developed. The differences were minor but symbolic of a great conflict. The Roman Catholic Church could brook no deviation from its creed. Were there to be two churches? No compromise was possible. The struggle was so bitter that the Saxon King of Northumbria called a synod at Whitby (664) to settle the question. Each group presented its case to the king, but the Roman missionaries had the advantage since they could quote Scripture and European custom in support of their claims, whereas the Irish could cite only their own tradition. The king decided in favor of Rome, thereby insuring a close connection between England and the continent.

One important result of this decision was the strong impulse toward unity imparted by the Church. The unitary character of its doctrines and the example of its own efficient organization did much to unify the English peoples under a single king. The administration of the Church with its monarchical hierarchy became the model for the state. In many instances, members of the clergy became the trusted and powerful aides of the kings and thus had a personal part in translating ecclesiastical into secular practice. With the Church came also canon law, based like its Roman ancestor on the premise that the word of the ruler was supreme. The extension of canonical jurisdiction was therefore an education in monarchy and unity.

Christianity also brought cultural attainments hitherto unknown to Saxon England. The moral standards of the people were raised, their customs made more humanitarian, and their manners less savage. The mingling of Saxon custom and Christian ideology stands forth clearly in the works of the early English poets, Cædmon and Cynewulf. Their themes were churchly but the treatment was Saxon—native and naive. Scholarship and learning blossomed with the establishment of schools in connection with monasteries and cathedrals. An outward symbol of the Romanizing influence of the Church was the spread of Romanesque architecture which gradually replaced the more primitive Saxon styles. However, all this progress was not without its price. Gifts of land to the Church with the consequent augmentation of ecclesiastical holdings tended to drive the freemen into servile dependence.

The unifying influence of the Church, powerful as it was, was not enough. The final factor was another series of invasions. Late

in the eighth century bands of Viking raiders, the Danes, began to ravage the coasts of the British Isles. Expert seamen and fierce fighters, these Danes were emboldened by their early successes, and early in the ninth century they overran northern England and persistently threatened the rest of the country. The brunt of the defense was borne by Egbert (802-839), king of Wessex. He managed to hold the Danes in check but upon his death they penetrated southward. Their chain of victories was finally broken by Alfred the Great (871-901) who signed with them the Treaty of Wedmore (878). By its terms, the Danes were given the Danelaw, an area east of a line running roughly from Chester to the mouth of the Thames. The Danes accepted Christianity and adopted many of the Saxon customs. Yet they gave more than they received for they revived the Saxon's forgotten love of the sea. To them belongs the credit for making the English a seafaring people. Their pillaging habits curtailed, the Danes turned to trade and a brisk commerce grew up bringing with it a re-establishment of town life.

The temporary respite given by the Treaty of Wedmore enabled Alfred to undertake numerous reforms. By his order and under his guidance education was encouraged and sons of the nobility were compelled to attend schools. Alfred himself translated several books from Latin into English and encouraged others to do likewise in order that his people might benefit from the wisdom of the past. It is not possible to distinguish with complete certainty Alfred's administrative reforms. Apparently he restored and revitalized former practices but instituted few new ones. For protection against the still restless Danes he divided his kingdom into boroughs, charging each one with its own defense. He built a fleet, strengthened the army, and established garrisons in the towns. Before his death he had begun the reconquest of the Danelaw and first his son and later his grandson carried on this work. It was finally completed by the latter whose name was Athelstan (924-940), first definitely recognized king of all Britain.

Athelstan's triumph, however, vanished with him. His successors were not only too weak to hold what he had gained but proved unable to defend themselves against a fresh onslaught of Danes. The last of the line, Æthelred (978-1016), who won the opprobrious nickname, "the Unready," sought to buy off the Danes. To pay this tribute he levied upon his people a special tax, the Danegeld. In a space of twenty-five years the Danegeld amounted to seventy tons of silver and the country was nearly prostrate. Despairingly, Æthel-

red resorted to force only to provoke a new Danish attack under their king, Sweyn. Sweyn swept all before him and Æthelred fled to Normandy. Sweyn's death robbed him of the crown but after a fierce struggle the power was seized by his son, Canute (1016-1035). This pagan Viking proved himself an excellent king and during his reign the English kingdom was revived and even extended to include Norway and Denmark. At his death, this large empire was divided among his sons and England was so unfortunate as to fall to the least competent. Shortly thereafter, the English were happy to summon Æthelred's son, Edward (1042-1066), to the throne.

Weak and incompetent, the new King's deep piety won him canonization as St. Edward the Confessor. Half Norman by birth and wholly Norman by training, Edward's reign was a prelude to the Norman conquest. Whenever possible he bestowed offices and power upon his Norman friends to the violent dissatisfaction of the English nobles. They were too jealous of each other to co-operate, but one, Earl Godwin, managed to win considerable power and stood forth as the champion of England against the Norman favorites. In the meantime, the English kingdom had lost all unity and most of its strength. Edward's crowning error was his failure to provide an heir so that upon his death several claimants to the throne appeared and England finally fell prey to another invader.

On the eve of the Norman conquest, the Kingdom of England stretched north to the River Tweed and west as far as Wales. Long years of habit led the inhabitants of this area to pay lip service to the king, but in actual fact the institution of central government was weak. Its weakness made it an easy prey for the Norman but the fact that it had existed and had been recognized facilitated the establishment of a potent kingship by the invader. Associated with the king as an advisory and judicial body, but distinctly subordinate to him, was the *witanagemot* or *witan*, a council composed of the higher nobles and prelates. Second in rank only to the king and sometimes superior to him in power were the great earls. Originally the heads of the forty self-governing *shires*, the number of earls had steadily decreased until a handful controlled all the shires. The king was represented in the shires by *sheriffs* who thus served to link the local with the central government. Each shire also had a court, the shire *moot*, which met twice a year. All freemen were entitled to participate but few had the time or the means to do so, with the result that these moots were composed largely of *thanes* or knights. The shires were subdivided into *hundreds*, each of which also had a *moot*. The

hundred moots met monthly and were more democratic than those of the shire. The institution of the moots kept alive the principle of self-government—a principle which survived the invasion. Law, as administered by the moots, was similar to that of the fifth century Germanic peoples. Until into the tenth century, crimes were regarded as being committed against individuals rather than against society. Trial by ordeal, the *werfeld*, and compurgation remained the customary procedure during the Saxon period.

The usual economic unit was the village, tiny and poor. Each village sought to be self-sufficing and each was content to produce only enough for subsistence. With little surplus and small demand, trade was slight. Agriculture was the accepted means of livelihood but methods of cultivation were as inefficient as on the continent. It has been estimated that the average yield of wheat per acre was eight bushels: today it is four or five times that. The great majority of the people were poor and famine was an ever-present threat.

Society was on a class basis with strong feudal tendencies already apparent. The earls were few in number and very powerful. Lower in the scale were the thanes who made up the lesser nobility. Early in the Saxon period the majority of the population were freemen. Gradually this group disappeared during the long periods of insecurity, becoming serfs. The term is elastic for the conditions of serfdom varied but in general it meant "tied to the soil." If this was degradation for the freemen, it was an advance for the *thralls* or slaves. As on the continent, the price the freeman paid for the protection of the nobles or of the Church was the loss of his independence.

When Edward the Confessor died in 1066, he named as his successor Harold, eldest son and heir of Earl Godwin, and the Witan, probably under duress, confirmed the selection. The throne was not so easily won, however. Two claimants, Harold of Norway and Duke William of Normandy, promptly challenged the newly-elected King. The Norwegian claimed the crown by reason of his descent from Canute; the Norman on several flimsy pretexts. As it turned out, the legality of the claim was less important than the strength of the claimant. King Harold was severely handicapped by disunity in England and by the disaffection of many of the English nobles. He also had been unwise or unfortunate enough to offend the Pope who therefore sided with the Norman and by blessing the latter's expedition gave it the nature of a crusade.

The Norwegian struck first, perhaps by pre-arrangement. With

three hundred ships, the invader landed on the unguarded coast of northern England. Rallying his forces, King Harold hastened to meet him. The issue was joined at Stamford Bridge and the invaders were beaten back after the death of their leader. Meanwhile, three days after King Harold started north with his army, leaving the southern coasts defenseless, William landed with an expedition variously estimated as numbering from three to ten thousand. Exulted by his victory over the Norwegians, the king drove his troops toward this second invader. William waited while Harold hurried through London without stopping to gather re-enforcements. The battle was fought about eight miles from the coast town of Hastings, on the road to London. The Norman army was fresher, larger, and very much better equipped but the Saxons were stubborn fighters. Not until Harold's death did they give way. This Battle of Hastings, so-called (Sept. 9, 1066), is properly ranked as one of the most important in history. The Norman triumph signalized the end of Anglo-Saxon England. On Christmas Day, 1066, William of Normandy was crowned King of England.

It was obviously impossible for a few thousand Normans to displace many thousands of Saxons but it was possible for the Normans to take over the positions of authority. The people were at first little affected by the conquest which meant for them only a change in masters, but the Saxon nobles, thanes, and prelates suffered sharply as William rapidly extended his sway. These *quondam* leaders were dispossessed; their lands, their titles, and their power being transferred by the new king to his Norman supporters. It was this change of leadership, rather than any change in population, which resulted in the rise of a new England, culturally, politically, and economically.

Confronted with the difficult task of unifying his new kingdom, William turned naturally to the only type of government he knew, political feudalism. Warned by his practical knowledge of the decentralizing effects of feudalism, perhaps even mindful of how little power his nominal suzerain, the king of France, enjoyed over him, William introduced a new system into England.¹ Under this new regime each landowner held his property directly from the king and owed allegiance to the king. There was no subinfeudation as the continent knew it with its maze of confused and often conflicting loyalties. The effect of this arrangement in augmenting royal power can

¹ As stated above, economic feudalism was rather common in Saxon England; political feudalism was not.

readily be seen. As a further safeguard William kept a large percentage of the land in his own possession thus making it unlikely that any single noble or group of nobles would be strong enough to attack him. Finally, William gave no vassal many estates in any one region. Their holdings were artfully scattered so that they would find it difficult to rally their forces for rebellion. This careful system eventually broke down, but before it did it had given the English kings the most closely united royal power in Europe.

The Conqueror continued the practice of regularly assembling his vassals in a Great Council, very similar to the Saxon witan. This body was too unwieldy and impermanent to be efficient and William instituted a smaller group, really a committee of the Great Council, to advise and assist him. This body was permanently in session, advising the king, sitting as a supreme court, and aiding in the administration of finance. One result of this innovation was a strengthening of royal power, an end also achieved by remodeling the institutions of local governments. The royal power was exercised, as in Saxon times, by sheriffs whose authority was increased. The Norman sheriff was empowered to administer justice, collect taxes, and levy troops for and in the name of the king. The shire and hundred moots were continued, backed now by royal power and serving as instruments of kingly authority.¹

Although William had welcomed the support of the pope in 1066 and although he was eager to develop the Church, he had no intention of yielding to the papacy or of allowing England to become a theocracy. He flatly declined to become the pope's vassal or to let the pope interfere in English affairs. No papal legate was permitted to enter the country without William's consent: no papal decree was allowed as valid unless first approved by the king; and no royal official might be excommunicated without royal concurrence. It will be seen that William sought to produce a national church first and a strong church second.

In the long run, the cultural effects of the Norman invasion were fully as important as these political and ecclesiastical changes. The Normans brought with them their own language, customs, laws, standards of learning, schools of art and architecture, methods of fighting, styles of armor and of dress, in short, their own habits of

¹ A symbol both of William's efficient thoroughness and of the scope of his power was the *Domesday Book*, the report of a very exhaustive survey of the land and its peoples which the king had made in 1086.

*Rex ten in dñio Srecha. De firma regis. E. fuct. Te se defit
 p xxv. hñt. Nephel getsauep. Tpa é. xvi. cap. In dñio fcom
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 reu de rege cū dimid hñta melemofina. Ibi v. feru. / u. mo
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DOMESDAY BOOK

Following his conquest of England, William the Conqueror had a great survey of the realm conducted in order to ascertain and record the royal fiscal rights. The Domesday Book, written sometime after the survey had been completed, contains a partial record of this great undertaking. The accompanying illustration is of a specimen page from the Domesday Book.

life. Since the conquerors made up only about one percent of the total population it is evident that this new way of life did not at once displace the old. But the Normans though a minority were the dominant group both socially and politically and they set the standard. Very slowly, old and new merged to form an amalgam which was neither Saxon nor Norman but English. The closer contacts—personal, social, political, and economic—with the continent which also resulted from the invasion had their effects too. Trans-channel trade increased and new towns arose, becoming centers not only of industry and commerce but of intellectual and artistic advance as well. The Norman Conquest reoriented England, detaching it from its long connection with Scandinavia and bringing it within the orbit of the more progressive regions of Europe.

Following the accidental death of the Conqueror in 1087, England was for thirteen years subjected to the vicious misrule of his eldest son. This much-hated monarch met with violent death in 1100 and his younger brother seized the royal treasury and assumed the crown as Henry I. To placate the outraged barons, Henry issued the Coronation Charter, sometimes called the Charter of Liberties, in which he promised not to continue the unjust practices of his brother. He frequently broke his word, but the Charter was nevertheless important because it was a legal, written recognition by the king that his power was limited. Henry further safeguarded his

throne and gained much popularity by marrying a princess of the old Saxon house of Wessex.

Henry's gift to his country was the centralization of the government. The permanent committee of the Great Council, first used by William, was made into the King's Council (*Curia Regis*) and from the beginning guidance in its various duties was entrusted to three officials. The *justiciar* served as the viceroy, ruling when the king was absent from the island; the *chancellor* had charge of correspondence and the issuing of royal documents; and the *treasurer* controlled the finances. The other members of the *Curia Regis* performed such functions as were needed, serving now as judges and again as members of the Exchequer or financial body.¹ The *Curia* followed the king on his travels about the country and Henry oftentimes sent some of the members to serve as judges in the various shires thereby introducing the principle of circuit courts. These emissaries served also as royal spies and agents of royal power and thus increased the centralization of government. Despite a clash with the Church which he apparently won, and a successful fight to the finish against a powerful and rebellious noble, Henry's reign, in the words of an ancient chronicler, ". . . made peace for man and beast."²

In foreign affairs, however, matters were not so quiet. Henry had taken Normandy from his brother, Robert, in 1106 thus becoming vassal of the French king, Louis VI. Strained relations between the two led to intermittent war for two decades, and the situation was further disordered by numerous rebellions in Normandy. It was to strengthen his position that Henry married his daughter, widow of the Holy Roman Emperor, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. To them was born in 1129 a son, named Henry for his maternal grandfather, and destined to become one of the most important of English kings.

When Henry I died, the English barons ignored his little namesake and chose the chivalrous but weak Stephen as their king. Throughout the nineteen years of his reign he remained inferior to his electors and England fell again into disunity and anarchy. Symbols of the royal impotence were the so-called Adulterine Castles which the more powerful nobles built in defiance of the royal

¹ The name "exchequer" came from the checkered cloth which these officials used when calculating the tax income turned over by the sheriffs. Some such expedient was necessary because of the difficulty of calculating with Roman numerals.

² Quoted in Hall, W. P., and Albion, R. G., *A History of England and the British Empire*. Boston, 1937. P. 81.

order. These robber barons laid England low with their rapine, slaughter, and pillage.

B. THE FEUDAL EMPIRE

While political developments in England and France moved in the direction of royal centralization, Germany slowly succumbed to the atomizing influences of feudalism. In part this was due to local traditions peculiar to Germany. From early times, the German people had developed a strong attachment to their local tribal units. Strenuous efforts to break this down during the Carolingian era ultimately resulted in failure, and during the ninth century power reverted in fact as well as in name to the dukes of the tribal or stem duchies such as Saxony, Franconia, Thuringia, Swabia, and Bavaria. It was upon these rather than upon a common German kingship, artificially superimposed, that typical German loyalty was bestowed. The powerful force of such traditions constituted a serious barrier to German political union.

Equally important in feudal Germany was the fact that the German crown was unable to establish the principle of hereditary succession. Efforts were certainly made to achieve this objective, but lack of male issue at critical times and royal ineptitude combined to forestall success. In contrast to England and France, therefore, the ancient practice of royal election persisted with unfortunate results. Electors were always able to exact favors, and these favors usually took the form of immunities and royal pledges to respect local independence. Under such circumstances, royal attempts to consolidate and centralize the powers of the crown could always be powerfully resisted.

To make matters more difficult, the Crown lands of German kings, the real sources of their power and wealth, were scattered throughout the realm, not compactly united as was the Capetian domain in France. It was difficult, therefore, to administer and exploit them effectively, except by infeudating them. This was nearly the equivalent of giving them away, for as has already been explained it was never possible to count for long upon the loyalty of dependent vassals. The real consequence of these bestowals of administrative rights was to increase the feudalities rather than reduce them and thus to hasten rather than to retard the processes of political decentralization.

The full effects of the decentralizing tendencies within the Ger-

man nation were not felt until the end of the twelfth century. Prior to that time strong royal leadership held them in check and in fact succeeded in making Germany the most powerful political force of the time. This achievement was largely the work of the Saxon dynasty (918-1024) which secured the crown shortly after the collapse of the Carolingian monarchy at the beginning of the tenth century.

The German or eastern branch of the Carolingian family had become extinct in 911 and the German dukes, rather than turning to the western or French branch, resorted to the time-worn practice of electing as king one of their own number. Their choice fell upon Conrad, Duke of Franconia (911-918), whose brief reign was characterized by constant conflict between the rival dukes and the crown. Significantly enough, upon his death Conrad's most vigorous opponent, Henry I "the Fowler," of Saxony (919-936), was elected his successor. With him began the great Saxon dynasty which was responsible for giving Germany a measure of political unity as well as for the creation of the German Holy Roman Empire.

Henry was the product of German feudalism and as such was ready to forego the broader responsibilities of kingship. He refrained from transgressing upon the domains of his rival dukes and he shunned alliance with the Church, the only strong force of the times which would have facilitated centralization. His chief preoccupation was with his own duchy. Yet, in the pursuit of its interests he wittingly or unwittingly lifted the crown from obscurity and prepared the way for the enlargement of its prerogatives. In this connection, his struggles with the barbarians upon the frontiers were of considerable importance. The Wends, menacing Saxony from east of the Elbe and the Saale, were driven back (928) and three fortified frontier districts (Marks) were set up to discourage further invasion. Similarly, the Danes were forced to retire from their advanced positions about the mouth of the Elbe, and the Magyars, whose depredations were especially troublesome, were decisively defeated (933). These campaigns were apparently undertaken by Henry exclusively with the interests of Saxony in mind, but their beneficial results were felt well beyond that duchy. To that extent, they enlarged the prestige of the crown. It should be added that Henry did acquire Lorraine for the German crown and that in that instance, at least, he deliberately pursued a policy which was royal and national rather than ducal and tribal. Beyond this, there is little evidence that Henry consciously endeavored to increase the royal powers.

Largely for this reason, the jealous German nobility, on the occasion of Henry's death, gladly acknowledged the succession of his son, Otto.

Otto I (936-973), called the Great, failed to live up to the expectations of his electors. Unlike his father, he openly manifested ambition for the powers and dignities befitting the royal office. An elaborate coronation ceremonial was staged at Aix-la-Chapelle, Charlemagne's former capital, in which the nobility great and small played distinctly minor roles. This pageantry was more than symbolic. In Otto's opinion, the rival dukes were to serve the Crown, not to act as its equals.

Attempts to enforce this concept led to a series of rebellions which were put down with the greatest difficulty. After several years of such conflict, Otto conceived the idea of parceling out the duchies among members of his family, in the belief that intimate dynastic connections would put a stop to local and tribal individualism. In this fashion he brought Bavaria, Swabia, and Lorraine, beside Franconia and Saxony which he held in his own right, into the royal orbit. But his victory was more apparent than real, for even the members of his own family soon identified themselves with local traditions. The result was a renewal rather than a cessation of conflict. Consequently Otto turned to other measures. To reduce the prerogatives of the dukes and counts he despatched royal officials, the counts Palatine, to oversee Crown property within the provinces, thus depriving the local authorities of some of the powers they had customarily exercised. And to humble them still further, he sought the moral and material support of the Church.

It was not difficult for the Crown and the Church to reach an understanding since each seemed certain to benefit from it. The great ecclesiastics, on their side, had become increasingly alarmed at the aggressiveness of the local nobility who confiscated their properties and encroached upon their powers, and as members of the nobility themselves they were anxious to enlarge their holdings. An alliance with the Crown held out the dual prospect of profit and protection. As for Otto, the co-operation of the Church seemed equally promising. Since there was no system of taxation, it was vitally necessary that he mobilize the resources of his scattered domains for any struggle with the nobility. It was logical to turn this task over to the clergy, both because they comprised a class of educated and trained administrators and because it was impossible for them to transmit their offices and holdings, as could the lay lords,

in hereditary fashion. For these reasons Otto and the German Church struck a bargain by which the churchmen supplied material and military assistance to the Crown in return for administrative rights over the royal domains. The relationship thus established represented a type of ecclesiastical feudalism, with the churchmen bound as vassals to the Crown.

Under this arrangement the Church in Germany soon became secularized. Because it was Otto's chief concern to acquire military support and reliable administrators, he exercised extensive control over episcopal elections and appointments and went so far as to invest bishops-elect with the symbols of both their secular and spiritual powers. After all they were the chief support of his monarchy and it was natural that he should employ such means to insure their loyalty. But this often meant that German bishops were chosen for their prowess at arms or their political acumen rather than for their spiritual devotion and moral purity. Even though Otto and some of his successors took pains to appoint men capable both in secular and spiritual affairs, the moral decay of the German church was certainly accelerated.

There is little question that the Crown profited most from the alliance at the beginning. It secured the services of able and trained officials and an adequate supply of military assistance to conduct its struggle with the nobility. And it reaped this advantage without being forced to sacrifice control over the royal domains since ecclesiastical properties and offices were not inheritable. So long as the Crown effectively used its powers of appointment, so long as it refrained from injudicious and indiscriminate concessions, so long, in other words, as the Church was kept in a state of dependence it was sure to remain the bulwark of the German monarchy. Such it was during Otto's time. But lavish grants by his successors of lands, immunities, jurisdictions and sovereign rights eventually made the churchmen independent of the royal bounty. When that time arrived, the Church, no longer needing the State, became its enemy and hastened the collapse of the monarchy. This fact must be clearly recognized from the beginning if the history of Germany and the Holy Roman Empire is to be understood.

While Otto was negotiating his alliance with the Church the barbarian menace upon the frontiers revived. Danes, Slavs, and especially the Magyars took advantage of the ducal rebellions which Otto's centralizing policies had produced. Paradoxically, this operated in Otto's favor, enabling him to unite the rebels against the com-

mon enemy. In 955 the Magyars were beaten once and for all and were compelled to capitulate. Immediately thereafter the eastern frontiers were provided with new defenses, completely reorganized, and prepared for a great eastward movement of German civilization and Christianity. The Danish Mark was given three new bishoprics; five marks were created along the Slavic frontier, and six new bishoprics were established there. This was a clear manifestation of the close co-operation of Church and State and a procedure of decisive importance in spreading Christianity and Germanism into eastern Europe.

A similar interest in frontier defenses induced Otto to intervene decisively in Burgundy, which he transformed into a virtual protectorate. More important still, it encouraged him to undertake several expeditions into Italy. Since Charlemagne's death Italy had been in a chaotic state, torn by internal feuds and ravaged by Magyar invaders and Saracen pirates. Both foreign and native adventurers attempted to profit from this situation. In Otto's day a unique arrangement led to the establishment of a joint kingship under the Italian Marquis of Ivrea, Berengar, and the heir to Provence, Lothair. The latter died in 950 under suspicious circumstances, leaving his wife Adelaide, daughter of the King of Burgundy. Justly fearful that the latter would interfere in Italian affairs, and suspicious lest the Dukes of Swabia and Bavaria do the same, Otto decided to intervene himself. By the simple process of marrying Adelaide and forcing Berengar to become his vassal, Otto composed the Italian difficulty to his own advantage.

Established in Italy, Otto was drawn irresistibly toward Rome, in much the same way as King Pepin of the Franks and Charlemagne before him. The Papacy, bandied about among local aristocrats and surrounded by enemies, stood badly in need of help. Just as Pope Stephen, under somewhat similar circumstances turned to Pepin, so now Pope John XII appealed to Otto. In 961 Otto heard the Pope's appeal and entered Rome as the Pope's guardian in January of the following year. After restoring the Donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, he was able to secure consent by the Pope to royal approval of papal elections, a privilege comparable to that which Otto already enjoyed in the selection of episcopal officials in Germany. That he meant to use this right in the same fashion can scarcely be doubted. In February, 962, shortly before his departure for Germany, the Pope crowned him Emperor. Thus after the lapse of three-quarters of a century the Empire which Charlemagne had

created was restored once more. But it bore little resemblance to the Carolingian original. Both France and the Spanish March had meanwhile been lost and little had been added to the old German portion on the eastern frontiers. Including Lorraine, it stretched eastward roughly to the Oder and to Hungary and from the North and Baltic Seas in the north to southern Italy in the south.

The revival of the Empire was an event of great significance to medieval Europe, particularly to Germany and the Papacy. For good or evil the destinies of these latter were henceforth indissolubly linked. In theory, harmoniously joined to co-operate in the political and spiritual administration of Christendom, in actual fact neither felt able to fulfill its mission without subordinating the other. Force of personalities or chance circumstances determined which was to hold the upper hand at the moment. When pontiff and emperor were equally able and ambitious a bloody struggle usually resulted. In the final analysis, neither the Empire nor the Papacy was to profit; on the contrary, both were to be irreparably damaged. Certainly for Germany, the value of Otto's revival of the Empire was questionable.

In his own time, however, there can be no doubt that Otto the Great kept the Church, from the Papacy down, under his control. Thrice he intervened decisively in papal affairs, appointed two popes, and wreaked vengeance upon the Roman mob which resented his high-handed action. The dominion which he thus managed to establish over the Church lasted approximately a century. Otto's son and heir, Otto II (973-983), as well as Otto III (983-1002), and Henry II (1002-1024), the last three representatives of the Saxon line, adhered more or less to the great Otto's policy. Otto III, a religious fanatic and dreamer, even attempted to restore the seat of the Empire to Rome where, in conjunction with the popes he appointed and patronized, he attempted to realize the ideal of joint spiritual and political jurisdiction over Christendom. The more practical Otto II and Henry II concentrated their attention mostly upon cementing the bond between Church and State in Germany. Incidentally, also, these two sovereigns pursued the policy of imperial expansion which Otto the Great had begun. Attempts were made to conquer the whole of southern Italy from the Byzantines and although these were unsuccessful the frontiers of Germany were pushed further east along the Baltic.

After the death of Henry II, last of the Saxon line, the German electors chose as his successor Conrad II (1024-1039), Duke of Franconia. First of the so-called Salian house, Conrad was a man of

unusual abilities and one of the greatest of German kings. He feared that continued generosity toward the Church might lead to trouble and consequently halted the extension in that direction of Crown lands and regalian rights. At the same time, to hold the jealous nobility in check, he courted the favor of the lesser nobility by recognizing the hereditability of their estates. That this weakened the authority of the dukes over their subordinates and made them less able to resist the crown is quite apparent, but it must also be remembered that in the long run it hastened the feudal dissolution of Germany by increasing the number of virtually independent sovereignties. During Conrad's time this danger did not appear and he succeeded in transmitting to his son, Henry III (1039-1056), a kingdom and a crown which had very nearly reached the meridian of power.

Though well-trained for his office, Henry III lacked the wisdom and foresight of his father. He was sincerely religious and, ironically enough, became an active exponent of the Cluniac reform movement, soon to be described, which aimed among other things at depriving the imperial authorities of their control over the German church. In consequence, he reversed his father's basic policy of alliance with the lesser nobility and returned to the Ottonian practice of generosity toward the Church. At the same time he used his influence to place reforming popes upon the papal throne and sought to introduce reforms into the German church. The churchmen gladly accepted his generosity but resented his interference, while the lesser nobility became disgruntled by their loss of good fortune. The inevitable result was a serious diminution of the royal prestige and widespread popular unrest. Henry left to his six-year-old son, Henry IV (1056-1105), a kingdom seething with rebellion among the nobility, and a papacy strengthened by reform to the point at which it was able to challenge the imperial authority. The serious consequences for the German crown of injudicious grants of privileges and authority to churchmen and secular nobility were soon thereafter to be felt.

C. THE FEUDAL CHURCH

It should already be clear that the Church did not escape from the anarchical forces of the feudal era. The passing of strong central government and the simultaneous rise of local strong men between the fifth and the ninth centuries had left ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical properties mostly at the latter's mercy. In consequence, at the

very time that the Church seemed about to assert its dominion in Europe, it became even more completely subjected to secular control. Much like the Empire, the Church was localized, and its claims to international supremacy became something of a mockery. But its situation was by no means hopeless, and even during these years of misfortune the forces of ecclesiastical recovery accumulated strength.

The very cornerstone of medieval ecclesiastical and papal power was fashioned in this era of feudal disintegration and a substantial portion of the superstructure erected. It was in the ninth century that there appeared both the falsified "pseudo-Isidorian Decretals," with a full statement of church supremacy, as well as the Pope, Nicholas I (858-867), capable and astute enough to use them. The Decretals were a remarkable forgery of decrees of early popes and church councils compiled by an obscure Frankish cleric named Isidore Mercator. These asserted that the pontiff was supreme within the ecclesiastical organization and its sole legislator; they reduced the power of archbishops by denying them original jurisdiction in their courts and by making illegal their independent assembling of synods; they declared the bishops equal in authority to the archbishops; they denied laymen the right to sit in church councils; they categorically stated the supremacy of the Church over the State; and, finally, they condemned secular interference with ecclesiastical affairs as a rank usurpation of authority. These decrees were fully accepted, embodied in canon law, and were established as one of the bulwarks of priestly power. The fact that they were compiled by a Frankish clergyman who gave expression to the desire of bishops to free themselves of archiepiscopal domination is less significant than that they asserted the unity of the ecclesiastical organization and its dependence upon Rome. The Decretals helped to centralize the Church and enhanced the Papacy's temporal powers.

It is unlikely that Nicholas I knew of these Decretals until the last few years of his life, but his pontificate was marked by a vigorous application of their fundamental tenets. In the matter of papal jurisdiction over ecclesiastical subordinates the most spectacular example of the Pope's policy was the successful chastisement he administered to the greatest archbishop of France, Hincmar of Rheims. Like many other leading churchmen Hincmar, who governed his province as an independent sovereign, exercised administrative jurisdiction over subordinate clergy and bishops alike. In pursuance of these duties, he deposed an upstart bishop. The latter immediately appealed to Rome, claiming that Hincmar's act was illegal according

to the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. Pope Nicholas showed no hesitation in supporting the deposed bishop and, by threat of excommunication, was able to force the powerful Hincmar into submission.

Nicholas was no less forceful in dealing with important secular authorities. Lothair, King of Lorraine, had leveled a charge of misbehavior against his wife, secured a decree of annulment from subservient French bishops, and subsequently married again. Deeply offended, the discarded wife appealed to the Pope, through Hincmar of Rheims; the Pope reversed the French bishops, ratified the marriage, and brought pressure to bear to compel Lothair to take back his wife.

The cases of Hincmar and Lothair are merely typical examples of the extraordinary power which a strong papal personality such as Nicholas was able to wield in the generally chaotic state of the ninth century. They are clear indications of the fact that the head of the Church could exercise dominion over both laymen and churchmen if circumstances favored and if the occupant of the papal throne were conscious of his vast powers. After Nicholas, however, for several centuries neither the conditions of Europe nor the quality of his successors made the continuance of his policies practical.

From top to bottom the Church fell under the atomizing influences of feudalism. Petty feudal lords asserted and exercised the right of selecting the parish priests who served upon their estates, and had no hesitation about taking for themselves the profits of the local church. High episcopal officials such as abbots, bishops, and archbishops were generally selected from the greater feudal families and devoted themselves to enlarging their personal wealth. As a rule they were nominated by secular princes whose chief interest was not in filling the offices with men of merit but with men who would willingly perform feudal services. Even the Papacy fell into the clutches of powerful families about the city of Rome; and when freed from these it was brought under the domination of the feudal kings of Germany. It is understandable, under these circumstances, why the virtues of apostolic Christianity were often forgotten by the clergy. Like the lay lords, they were shortly consumed by a lust for power and possession. The evils which thus crept into the church organization seemed likely to be perpetuated by the practice of clerical marriage, which became common in the ninth and tenth centuries, and the consequent transmission of property and offices by right of inheritance. This threatened to dissolve the Church as well as to destroy the last vestige of ecclesiastical independence. There

were unmistakable signs in Germany, France, and even England that the feudalization and secularization of the Church might end with its disruption.

However, the Church successfully emerged from this critical state. With all the signs of its disintegration, there was still much to hold it together. First, it was surrounded by a great and revered body of doctrine which all men believed and had learned to regard as divinely inspired. Deeply rooted in the thoughts of men, this gave the Church a cohesive power such as no other institution possessed. Moreover, the uniform use of Latin in religious ceremonies and the existence of a well-developed body of ecclesiastical law helped to preserve unity. But undoubtedly the most important factor was the papacy and the traditions of "eternal Rome" which clung to it.

Regardless of its moral decline, the papal office continued to hold vast resources of reserve strength. The mass of common men kept faith in its divine mission and looked to its leadership for the removal of churchly abuses. There is little evidence that the Papacy during the feudal era lost the respect of the people, and there is certainly none to indicate a diminution of its spiritual powers. On the contrary, the scope of its influence steadily widened. It had long been the customary practice of the popes to demand and secure from all new religious establishments recognition of the ecclesiastical headship of Rome. This policy continued to be employed during the feudal era. The Bohemians and many other Slavs Christianized by the great Slavic missionaries Cyril and Methodius,¹ the new Christian settlements in Denmark and Scandinavia, those established by the Germans along the Baltic, and the Hungarians who became Christian under King Stephen, accepted the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome. There was thus no question of the continued recognition of the pontiff as the spiritual leader of the Church. No matter how little or how badly some of the popes of this era exercised their prerogatives, the fact remains that the Papacy continued to be the chief centralizing agency of the Church.

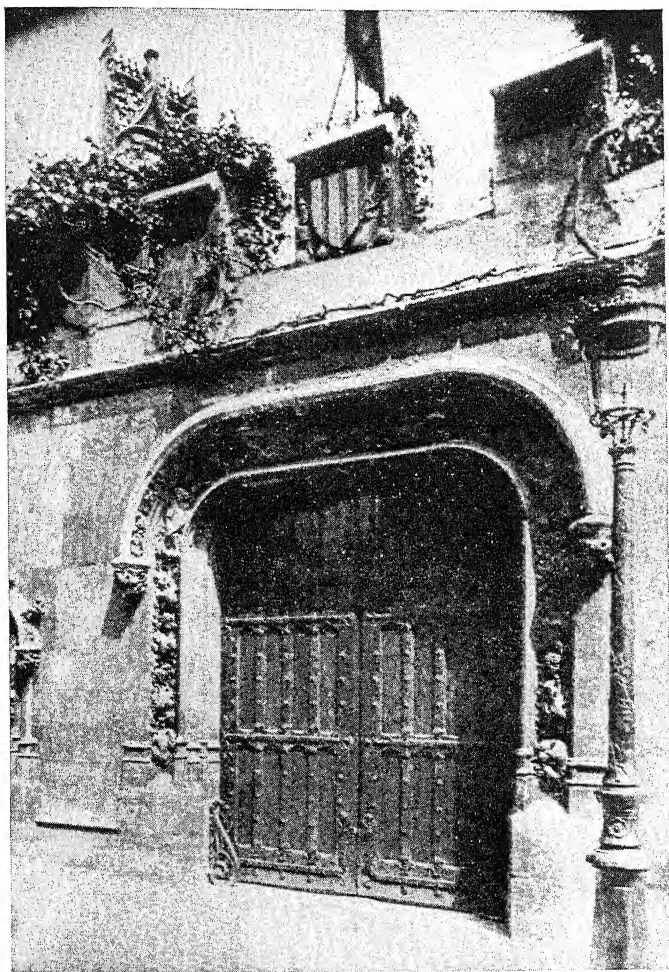
Feudalism did not therefore destroy the unity of the Church though it endangered it by threatening to secularize the greater episcopal sees, and by encouraging the processes of moral decay. None were more conscious of this danger than the churchmen themselves, many of whom remained immune to the most demoralizing

¹ Like Ulfilas among the Goths, Cyril and Methodius created a written alphabet for the Slavs so that they might partake of Christian doctrine. This alphabet, known as Cyrillic, is the basis of the modern Slavic languages.

influences of the times. Among these there slowly took shape, in the ninth and tenth centuries, a reform movement which aimed at the elimination of dangerous and debasing ecclesiastical abuses. Developing simultaneously in scattered parts of Europe, this eventually accumulated sufficient strength to produce a violent upheaval within the Church. Reduced to fundamentals, the program of all the reformers was to free the Church from dependence upon feudal political control and also to centralize the ecclesiastical body under the Papacy. Neither seemed possible without the other.

Leadership in this reform movement was gradually assumed by the monastic order of Cluny. Founded in 910 through the generosity of Duke William of Aquitaine, this institution had a remarkable constitution. It was guaranteed perpetual freedom from secular control and was made to recognize only the pope as its superior. Equally as important, it was established that any institutions adopting its rule must submit to the authority of the abbot of the mother monastery at Cluny. In this fashion the Cluniac monasteries, which swiftly reached the number of over three hundred, preserved a unity and an independence of external interference which enabled them to play a dominant role in the struggle with feudal influences. The order adopted the Benedictine rule and achieved fame for its piety and purity as well as for its learning. Championing reform, the Cluniacs directed their attention chiefly at the elimination of four major abuses: simony, which was the buying and selling of church offices; clerical marriage; lay investiture; and secular interference with papal elections. This "platform," as it has often been called, was never precisely formulated by the Cluniac monks, but it naturally evolved from the very nature of the reform problem which they aimed to solve.

In the beginning the Cluniac reformers were chiefly concerned with the regeneration of monastic life, but it was impossible to keep the movement within the bounds of the cloister. It struck a responsive chord among pious Christians and members of the order were soon placed in responsible episcopal offices, carrying with them their reforming zeal. The secular clergy, therefore, as well as the monks, were brought within the scope of Cluniac activities. It was this which gave the reform movement its great importance and stamped it as revolutionary. Comparatively harmless when applied to the regular clergy, it was certain to produce an explosion among the secular clergy and the lay nobility who dominated them. Denunciation of clerical marriage ran counter to the common practice of parish priests



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

HÔTEL DE CLUNY, PARIS. 1498.

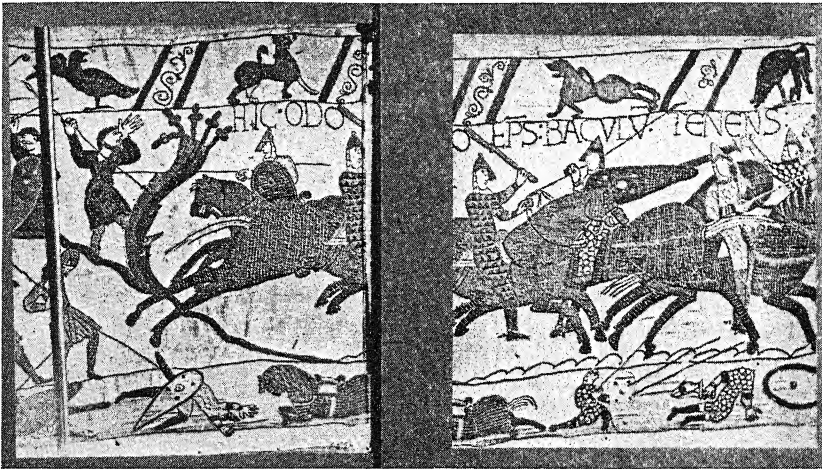
Since a lodging near the palace of the king was indispensable for high clergy as well as for great secular lords of the provinces, the powerful abbey of Cluny in Burgundy had constructed on lands owned by them in Paris a hostel for the reception of abbots of the order and their guests. The site had been acquired in the fourteenth century. In 1844 the hostel became the Cluny Museum of Medieval and Renaissance Art.

everywhere in Europe, while insistence upon canonical elections and investiture of authority aroused the wrath of the feudatories, and particularly the kings of Germany, England, and France. Yet despite the natural objections which these raised, the reform movement spread and, paradoxically enough, enjoyed for a time the patronage of German Emperors who should have been the first to extinguish it.

By the middle of the eleventh century the reformers won the powerful support of the Papacy, largely as the result of the personal influence and unrelenting toil of the monk, Hildebrand. Born to an obscure though prosperous peasant family of Tuscany, Hildebrand was reared in a Roman Cluniac monastery under the strict surveillance of his uncle. After receiving minor orders, he was attached to the papal curia and, by virtue of his extraordinary abilities, was soon made the chief counselor of the popes. In this capacity he labored incessantly to strengthen the Papacy and, through it, enforce the Cluniac reforms within the Church. His first noteworthy success was signalized by the issuance of a reform decree (1059) during the pontificate of Nicholas II, establishing a college of cardinals empowered to elect the popes. This was specifically designed to free the Papacy of obnoxious external interference from both the local nobility about Rome and the German Holy Roman Emperors. It provided that papal candidates be selected from the clergy of Rome, whenever possible, and that the formality of election be conducted there, but only when circumstances assured a voluntary election. This decree laid the basis for the development of papal independence, and prepared it to assume the burden of prosecuting the reform program. Thenceforward Hildebrand, as papal advisor and then as Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085), so completely identified himself with the reform movement and so ably directed it that it is often referred to as the Hildebrandine or Gregorian reform.

The tenacity with which Hildebrand pursued his objectives called forth immediate protests. Many of the clergy, now accustomed to married life, chafed under the papal insistence upon celibacy, and those who had linked their fortunes with lay lords were alarmed at the demands for ecclesiastical purity. More important still was the reaction of the imperial government which out of understandable self-interest sought to obstruct the reformers at every turn. The difficulties which Hildebrand faced were indeed formidable, but in co-operation with the growing reform element among the papal curia, he prepared to meet these rather than surrender. Fearing that the German Emperors might take strong measures in retaliation,

he encouraged the Papacy to seek allies. In 1059 an understanding was arranged with the powerful Normans of southern Italy, recognizing their control over the Kingdom they had seized, in return for the material assistance which they might give the popes. The Duchy of Tuscany also threw its influence on the side of the Papacy as did also a number of the powerful Lombard towns. Meanwhile, the reform program was vigorously carried out. Offending ecclesiastics were called to Rome to make amends or suffer punishment. Excommunications and suspensions from office became more frequent, and, more important still, the Papacy actively intervened in clerical elections to ensure the success of its program. Like the Crown in England and France, the head of the Church had embarked upon a program which was to combat the decentralizing effects of feudalism and to prepare the way for the establishment of a papal absolutism.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

FIGHTING BISHOP, ODO. FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY
(TWELFTH CENTURY ?).

Great ecclesiastics in the middle ages were often renowned more for prowess at arms than for spiritual virtues. This photograph from the famous Bayeux Tapestry shows the brother of William the Conqueror, Bishop Odo of Bayeux (central figure holding a stick) rallying his men. The inscription in Latin reads: "Here Odo, the Bishop, holding a staff, heartens his men."

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The Secular State

A. THE BEGINNINGS OF NATIONAL PATRIOTISM

Although there is no uniform agreement upon their precise definitions, few words of modern vocabularies are so frequently employed as nation, nationality, and nationalism. Like Biblical quotations they lend themselves freely to any variety of interpretations depending upon the peculiar prejudices of each individual. "Nation," for example, may connote a sovereign state inhabited by several nationalities, such as Belgium; it may refer to a political unit of only one national grouping; or, as in the United States, it may imply a distinction between the federation as a whole and each of its forty-eight members. To the sociologist, "nationality" may mean a grouping of people of similar cultural characteristics; but to the jurist, it refers to the state to which one owes or swears allegiance, whether or not he shares the culture of the dominant group within that state. "Nationalism" at one and the same time may refer to the conscious effort of a people of similar culture to attain political independence or to the policies, foreign and domestic, which a sovereign state may pursue in its own interest. Moreover, depending upon the attitude of the individual, "nationalism" may express a sacred and ideal aspiration, or a malevolent force which has gripped the world and threatens its ruin. Obviously there is no common "frame of reference" applying to any of these terms so that whatever definition may be given them must be purely arbitrary.

It is rather generally agreed that whatever nationality may be, it has something to do with those elemental forces of human nature which impel men as social beings to combine in groups for their fullest self-protection and self-realization. From primitive times this gregariousness of mankind has manifested itself in the development of many types of group loyalties. Frequently, as in the case of the

Roman Catholic Church, or in international fraternal organizations, these groups transcend the boundaries of cultural or sanguinary homogeneity. But, for the most part, the nexus of social group organization is cultural identity and real or alleged blood relationship, with the cultural factor definitely the more important. There is no evidence to support the claim that the nation state as a politico-cultural unit is ever racially pure.

If then, as it would seem, cultural homogeneity may be regarded as the essential attribute of nationality, one might define the nation as a culturally homogeneous group which has attained its political and social unity and independence. In this sense nationality and the nation have always existed, from the primitive nomadic tribe to the very modern Third Reich. It is apparent, however, that the practical manifestations of nationality and nationhood are fundamentally different now from what they were in the pre-literary era. Particularly since medieval times, the tendency has been consistently in the direction both of more precise differentiation of cultural groups which vary from each other in such fundamental characteristics as language and tradition, and also in the direction of an amalgamation of cultural units which are closely related to each other and occupy the same general geographic area. It was through the latter process that France developed into a modern nation state, and through the former that the Hapsburg dynastic empire partially dissolved into its component parts at the end of the World War. In other words, modern nationalism is characterized by a keener consciousness of cultural unity by members of the group than was the case in ancient and medieval times. Besides that, each cultural group has come to identify itself with a particular region, its homeland or its *patria*, and within this region has sought the fullest freedom for the expression of its own cultural peculiarities.

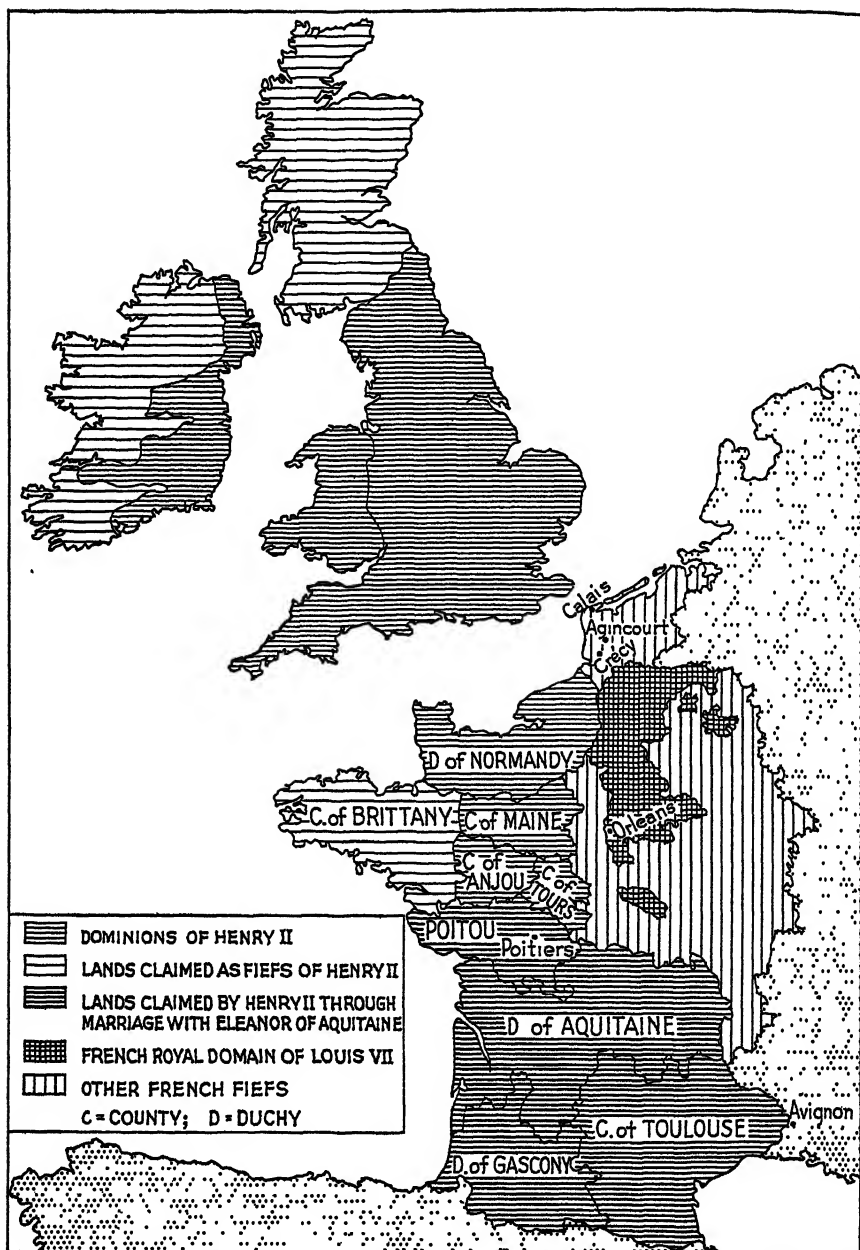
Enough has been said to make it evident that nationality and nationalism are intangibles which can be known only through their manifestations or symbols. Language, literature, customs, traditions, and attachment to a political institution such as monarchy represent the most common manifestations of national consciousness. Moreover, they constitute the agencies through which such national consciousness is attained. At the beginning of the modern era this was particularly true of the growth of monarchies. As in the case of England and of France it was the institution of a national monarchy which brought into focus the various unifying tendencies. The most stubborn opposition to this process came from the paradoxical factors

of feudal particularism and religious supra-nationalism. By deliberately breaking these down the monarch became not only the symbol of the national unit but also the active agent of its creation. As to whether the monarch provided the means by which nationalism evolved or built his policies to conform with incipient and growing nationalism, it is impossible to determine. However, it is probably safe to say that unless some common identity of interests already existed among the people, the monarchical policy of national solidifications would have ended in failure.

Revival of trade and commerce and the simultaneous improvement of communication in the late middle ages served to emphasize the contrast between peoples and hence to stimulate greater consciousness of group solidarity. It would also seem likely that the tens of thousands who went on the Crusades must have returned with a much clearer perception of national differences. The coincidental growth of vernacular literatures would seem to indicate that this was the case. The question might well be raised as to why national unity was not everywhere attained since these influences operated uniformly in western Europe. The answer would appear to be that the decisive factor was the presence or absence of strong monarchy.

B. FRANCE

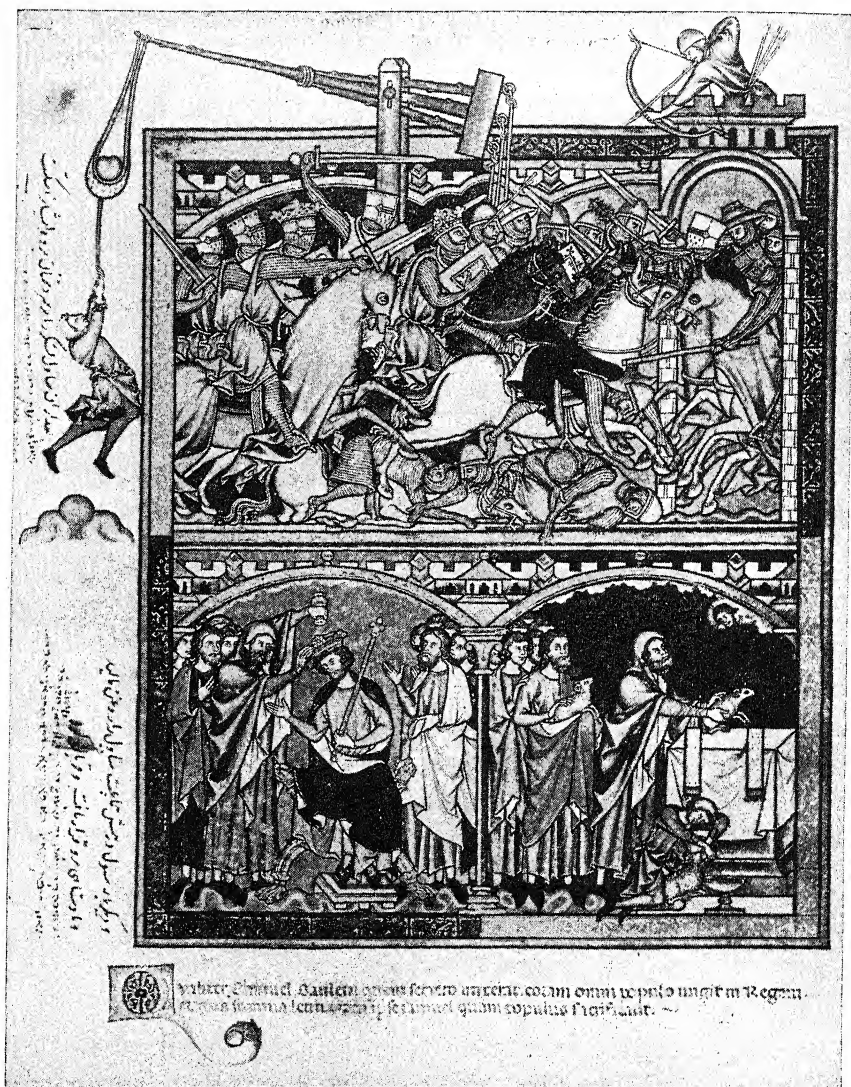
The foundations of French national unity are clearly discernible in the work and accomplishments of the most successful Capetian King, Philip II (1180-1223). This son of Louis VII was handicapped by various physical defects, but he was endowed with extraordinary political sagacity and an unusual capacity for leadership. Weak and unstable, thoroughly unscrupulous, Philip Augustus, as he was commonly called, was the real founder of the national kingship in France. His most conspicuous achievement was the enormous enlargement of his domain which he tripled in size, and made the greatest principality in France. His first acquisition came from a marriage alliance which he contracted with Isabella, Countess of Flanders. Holding the county of Vermandois in her own right, Isabella gave the county of Artois to Philip as a dowry. When she died several years later Philip kept both counties. Artois and Vermandois were not very large, but their acquisition marked a turning point in the fortunes of the Capetian house. Philip's appetite for territory had been whetted and thenceforward the forcible expansion of his royal domain became his dominating obsession.



MAP 13. MEDIEVAL ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN 1154

The choicest prizes among the feudal states which bordered his domain were the possessions of formidable antagonists, the kings of England. It would have been foolhardy to provoke a war for their attainment since the odds of material strength were against the French. But diplomacy and intrigue operated effectively where military action must almost certainly have failed. The Angevin¹ house was torn apart by family feuds which not even the doughty Henry II was able to eliminate. Richard and John, Henry's two unfilial sons, consistently intrigued against their father, and in them Philip found ready allies. By connivance with them Philip was enabled to foment revolution in Normandy and thus gradually to weaken its ties with England. When Henry died the opportunity to further such policies actually improved because of the mutual antagonism between Richard, the new king, and his younger brother. During the period of the third Crusade, in which Richard and Philip supposedly cooperated, the latter retired early from the expedition and forthwith broke his pledge not to violate Richard's territory. Normandy was overrun by a French army. Although subsequently regained by Richard, the English crown's tenure there was irreparably weakened. The extravagant expenditures of Richard and John together with their high fiscal demands still further endangered their position there. By 1200 the Norman plum was ready to be plucked. In that year, John, who had now succeeded his brother as king of England, committed a highhanded act which offered Philip a legitimate excuse to seize certain of John's properties. Contrary to feudal custom John deprived one of his French vassals of his fiancée. The offended lord demanded justice and appealed to Philip, the overlord of John. Such an appeal was entirely justified since according to feudal law the king enjoyed the right to arrange disputes between his vassals. Philip consequently summoned John to appear before the Great Council of France to answer to the charge and when this passed unanswered declared that John forfeited his fiefs. This was an audacious even if perfectly legal step, and made war between the two sovereigns practically inevitable. John prepared to defend himself, but soon found the task overwhelming. By prompt military measures Philip overran Normandy which he annexed together with the counties of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. John subsequently joined with a European coalition of Philip's enemies in a vain attempt to recover his losses. These four fiefs were permanently lost to England, and by their

¹ See page 205 ff.



Courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library

KNIGHTS IN CHAIN MAIL. OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION, THIRTEENTH CENTURY (FRENCH).

The knights here shown on the left are attacking a walled city, defended by knights at the gate on the right and by the archer on the wall. Notice the device moved up to the walls by the attacking forces to hurl stones at the defenders. A stone is about to be released.

acquisition the royal domain had become incontestably the largest and most powerful feudal state of France.

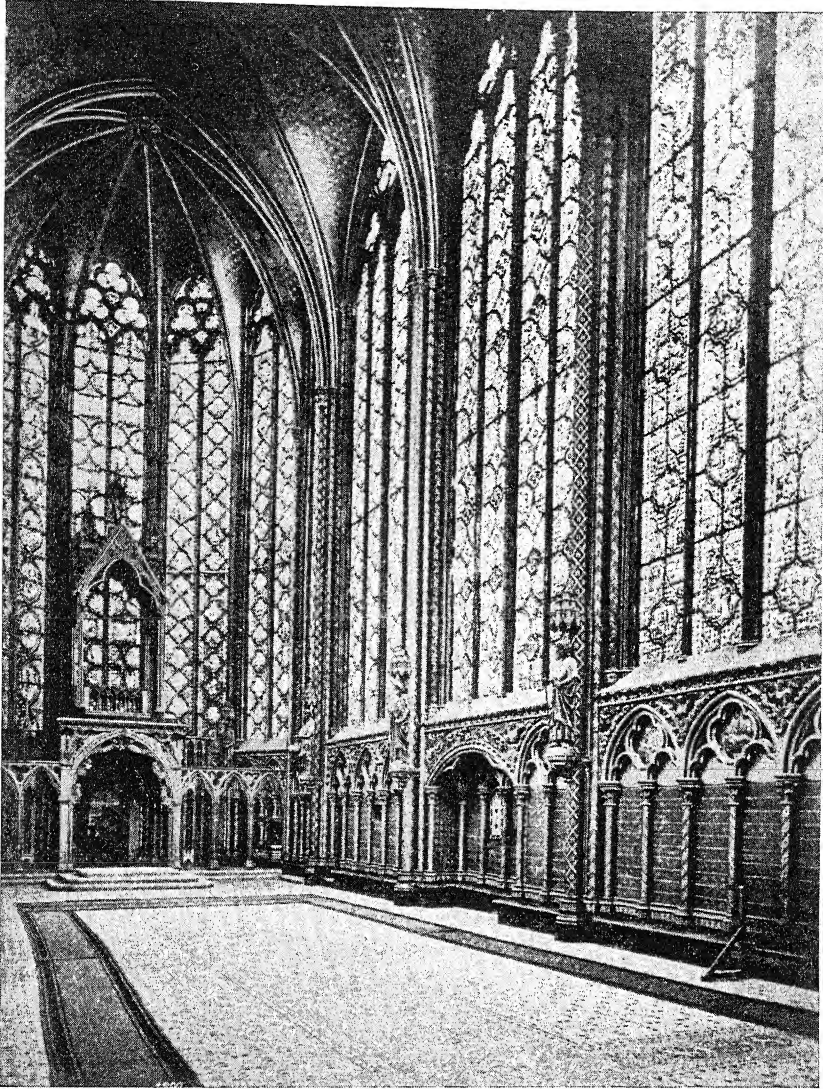
Meanwhile, a beginning had been made toward the addition of possessions in southern France. The Albigensian heresy which flourished in the County of Toulouse had aroused such alarm in papal circles that a crusade to exterminate it had been launched in 1208. Philip Augustus played no direct part in this enterprise, but he and his successors prepared to reap whatever political benefits might be realized. During the brief reign of Louis VIII (1223-1226) fortune favored the aggressive Capetians. Amaury, son of Simon de Montfort who had been the first leader of the Crusade, found himself confronted with a serious uprising in Toulouse engineered by the deposed count, and appealed to the king for aid. Since Amaury was practically without a following of his own, Louis was enabled to extort from him a pledge that whatever territory was recovered should pass to the Crown. Although the king died before the conquest had been completed, a portion of Toulouse was definitely annexed to the royal domain and a substantial beginning had been made toward the acquisition of the remainder. During the reign of Louis IX (1226-1270) the interests of the Crown there were pressed with greater vigor. The Count of Toulouse was compelled to marry his daughter to the king's brother and agree to the ultimate succession of his properties in the latter's line. Several years after Louis IX died, this provision operated to make Toulouse definitely a part of the royal domain. Exclusive of the conquests of English territory made during the next several centuries, the absorption of Toulouse brought the period of royal territorial expansion to a close. Some few minor additions were made, such as the County of Champagne which Philip IV acquired through his wife, but these were comparatively unimportant. Practically the whole of north and south central France had thus been united under the Crown. It would be difficult to overstate the importance of this achievement. Not only had it transformed the royal domain from one of the least significant to one of the most powerful feudal states, but it had also produced a fusion of the cultures of north and south which facilitated the development of French nationalism, and at the same time it enabled these aggressive Capetian kings to back up their claims to real sovereign power with substantial force.

Equally as important, however, was the simultaneous development of strong institutions of central, royal government. To this development practically all of the Capetians contributed their share, but the

most notable achievements were those of Philip II, Louis IX, and Philip IV. At the beginning of his reign Philip II employed the services of administrative officials left him by his predecessors. The most important of these, the *prevôt*, exercised jurisdiction over a small domain, collecting the revenues, administering the local courts, and attending to the Crown's military business. Like most officials of the feudal era, the *prevôts* often acted independently of the king and sympathized with those who opposed the tendencies toward royal centralization. For this reason Philip created a number of new administrative officers, the *bailli*, whose primary function it was to supervise the *prevôts*. Owing their office to the king's favor and subject to frequent transfers from one area to another, there was little likelihood that the *bailli* would interfere with the royal prerogatives. Should this occur, however, the offender could be promptly removed, for the *bailli* were paid for their services in cash from the royal treasury and not in fiefs.

The most notable development in the machinery of government took place during the reign of Louis IX. A man of deep piety and sincere faith, though never a slave to the clergy, Louis justified his canonization as a saint. Besides desiring the recovery of the Holy Places for the Christian world, the chief concern of his life was to provide his people with efficient and just government. Since the number of *bailli* had increased considerably as the result of the steady enlargement of the domain, he deemed it expedient in the interest of honesty to create new administrative officers with power over them. These were known as the *enqueteurs*, with duties very much like the *bailli* of Philip's time, but on a much larger scale. While improving the local government and implementing the powers of the Crown in this fashion, Louis was not neglectful of the need of establishing adequate central administrative agencies at his court. His predecessors had relied upon the feudal Great Council or *curia regis* for aid in these matters but that body, which was never wholly satisfactory, was altogether inadequate in Louis' time. In consequence he encouraged the division of this organization into separate bodies to each of which was delegated specialized functions. Thus there gradually evolved from the *curia regis* three more or less distinct agencies: the King's Council, to advise the sovereign and look after ordinary matters of administration; the Chamber of Accounts, to handle the finances; and the *Parlement*, a judicial body which functioned as a supreme court.

The development of the judicial powers of the king was an espe-



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE SAINTE CHAPELLE, PARIS. 1248.

Saint Louis of France acquired from Baudouin II, Emperor of Constantinople, fragments of the "true cross and crown of thorns" and wished to build a chapel that would be a precious reliquary for these. This upper chapel with its high, slender arches filled in with beautiful stained glass windows gives the effect of a delicate case of sparkling jewels.

cially noteworthy feature of the reign of Saint Louis. It has already been observed that throughout the whole history of feudal France the king was presumed to be the source of all law and justice. It was not, however, until Louis' time that this acquired real meaning. Partly by virtue of his personal character which inspired his subjects to repose faith in his justice, and partly by his unswerving determination to require them to recognize his judicial rights, Louis greatly enhanced the prestige and the business of the royal courts. Naturally the conditions of the times facilitated this extension of the royal justice. The gradual growth of systematic bodies of law, Roman and Feudal, made the people seek out those courts where they were administered. Moreover, the rapid expansion of commerce and trade, accompanied by the growing importance of the middle class, necessitated the development of a common, uniform, and efficient jurisprudence. By the end of Louis' reign the claim that the king was the fountain of justice was no empty boast.

The culminating point in the development of royal absolutism in medieval France was reached during the era of Philip IV (1285-1314). Personally attractive but unscrupulous, neither his contemporaries nor posterity has been able to determine whether Philip or his competent counselors deserve the credit for the achievements of his time. At all events, Philip brought to logical completion the centralizing policies of his predecessors and made himself the first absolute king. He increased the number of royal administrative officers, and systematized their labors; he broadened the activities of the royal courts, which he supplied with professional lawyers trained in Roman law; and he defined more clearly the functions of the King's Council, the Chamber of Accounts, and the *Parlement*. More significant still was Philip's creation of a national system of taxation. Most of his predecessors had relied chiefly upon the income from the royal domain, the occasional fees paid by vassals, and the fines collected in the courts. These revenues were inadequate to provide for the mounting expenses of government. Philip consequently devised a number of indirect taxes to be collected on merchants' goods, on property, and on incomes. Furthermore, he compelled the nobility to commute their obligations of service to money payments, thus striking a severe blow at the feudal system. The significant fact about Philip's taxes is that they were levied upon everyone, including the nobility, the peasants, the bourgeoisie, and the churchmen. This is indicative of the growing national character of the monarchy which now laid

claim to uniform jurisdiction over all subjects within its domain. The right to such jurisdiction was not left unchallenged either by the feudal barons or by the Church. But so complete was Philip's power in these matters that he could and did resort to the most arbitrary fiscal measures with impunity. On more than one occasion he bled the Jews of their wealth; on a questionable charge of heresy he suppressed the order of the Knights Templar and absorbed their properties; and he was able to tamper with the coinage, presumably for his own advantage, to such an extent that he fairly deserved his title of "False Coiner." Never was France so heavily taxed



Courtesy of the New York Public Library

PHILIP THE FAIR OF FRANCE

or as frequently victimized by unexpected royal fiscal exactions.

The nationalization of the royal system of taxation was accompanied by the establishment of a national army and the assembling of a national assembly. Philip's policy of encouraging the nobility to commute their services to money payments made it necessary for him to substitute enlistments of free soldiers for the customary feudal levies. These he paid from the royal treasury and made completely responsible to the Crown, a program of incalculable importance for the Crown in its policy of eliminating feudal particularism. The summons of a national representative assembly by Philip was largely the outgrowth of his contest with Pope Boniface VIII over the taxing and judicial prerogatives of his ecclesiastical subjects. To sound out the sentiments of his people on this matter Philip required that his vassals, a selected number of his rear vassals, members of the clergy, and representatives of the corporate towns meet at Paris in 1302. In its general structure this body to which was later attached the name of the Estates General,¹ much resembled the early parliaments of England. But there were certain significant differences which it is well to bear in mind in view of the fact that the Estates General never attained the power or importance of its English counterpart. In the first place, the French assembly was a feudal assembly con-

¹ There were three *estates* classified as clergy, noble, and commons.

structed along much the same lines as the older feudal great councils. It is true that the rear vassals were represented, but Philip was scrupulously careful to secure the consent of his vassals in each case for summoning them. Moreover, the representatives of the Third Estate acted in the capacity of agents of chartered towns which in France were corporate feudal bodies. Besides this, it is of some significance to note that the Estates General lacked any members who corresponded to the English squires. Partly because it was constructed as a feudal body to fulfill the usual feudal obligations of advising with the king, and partly because it was not buttressed by any traditions as was the Parliament in England, the Estates General never took root in France. In times of stress during the Hundred Years' War, as will be seen, it made a serious effort to capture financial control from the Crown but failed. In Philip's time and later, the Estates General was regarded as nothing more than a consultative body which the king might assemble if he wished. Its greatest significance, perhaps, lies in the fact that its creation and the nature of its deliberations in Philip's reign are a clear reflection of the national character of the kingship. Even the clergy voted with the nobility and the townsmen to support the king against Pope Boniface VIII.

The growth of the institution of absolute kingship in France, which had been so marked during the reign of Philip IV, was disastrously checked shortly after his death when France became embroiled in a long and devastating war with England. These two states had long been at loggerheads over their respective territorial and economic interests in continental Europe and had become rivals for the control of the rich fisheries of the North Sea waters. The steady expansion of the French royal domain brought the dispute to its critical stage. The English kings still held among their possessions the great Duchy of Aquitaine, which encompassed most of France south of the Loire and east of the Rhone Rivers. The crux of the situation here lay in the fact that the English sovereigns were the vassals to the king of France for this territory, a relationship which placed the English at a decided disadvantage during the period of French royal aggression. Besides, Aquitaine was of some importance to the English commercial interests who profited from the export of wine from that area. Naturally, French merchants coveted this lucrative trade, while the Crown hoped to acquire the port of Bordeaux which had proved a profitable source of revenue to its English rivals. Even more important than the rivalry over Aquitaine

was that which developed over Flanders. Here England had no political aspirations but very strong economic interests. Flanders at this time was the great manufacturing center of woolen cloth and was the chief market for the sale of English raw wool. The mutual dependence of these two states made Flanders the most vulnerable spot at which the French kings could strike at the English. In 1328, as the result of a political disturbance, King Philip VI of France, acting in his capacity as the overlord of Flanders, intervened to re-establish order, and at the same time used this opportunity to cripple English trade. At his instigation all of the resident English merchants were arrested. This had a paralyzing effect upon English trade and provoked the immediate retaliation of Edward III of England, who now forbade the exportation of English wool to Flanders. This measure, in turn, had disastrous results for the Flemish cloth manufacturers who were completely dependent upon the English raw wool, and it led to an uprising against French influences in the County. By 1340, the Flemish cloth manufacturers and laborers united with the English wool producers and the Crown against the king of France.

Almost at the same time the Franco-English disputes over the fishing grounds of the Channel and the North Sea reached an acute stage. In the year 1340, Philip VI organized a fleet to sweep the English fishers from the sea. King Edward III undertook retaliatory measures at once and soon succeeded in defeating the French.

While this conflict was developing over fisheries, the wool trade, and Aquitaine, the English kings were afforded an opportunity to lay claim to the crown of France. Philip IV's three sons, who succeeded him to the throne, each died without male issue thus giving rise to a puzzling problem of succession. If inheritance were allowed to pass through the female line, Edward III of England could make a good claim upon the throne since he was born of a French princess; but such procedure was overruled by the Estates General which directed that the succession must pass to the nearest male heir. For this reason, Philip of Valois, cousin of Charles IV (1322-1328) last of the sons of Philip IV, became Philip VI of France. The Capetian line had thus ended and the dynasty of Valois begun. It was in the interest of Edward III of England to protest the legality of this procedure and assert his own right to the crown not because he expected to obtain it but because by throwing doubt upon the legitimacy of Philip VI he could detach from him the support of some of his more powerful vassals. It should be remembered that Edward's claim to the French Kingdom was only an incident in the struggle.

By well-established tradition, this Anglo-French conflict, which began in the fourteenth century and continued throughout the first half of the fifteenth century, has been labeled the Hundred Years' War. This term is misleading in almost every respect. The basic rivalries which produced hostilities were of much greater duration than a century, while the actual period of conflict was much shorter than a hundred years. It is customary to date the beginning of the war from the naval battle of Sluys in 1340 and its ending with the withdrawal of England from the whole of continental France, except Calais, in 1453.

During the early stages of the war the decisive advantage lay with England. Smaller than her rival both in size and in population, England was nevertheless able to throw more energy into the contest. For the average Englishman who depended for his livelihood upon fishing or upon the production of raw wool there existed a direct, personal interest in the outcome of the war. The summons of the Crown for fighting men therefore received widespread popular support, and a truly national army was created. After centuries of feudal warfare it was something of a novelty to assemble knights and peasants, urban workmen and bourgeoisie in the same military camp; it was even more revolutionary to flout the tradition of the mounted warrior by conscripting soldiery who could fight only on foot. However, from these raw recruits the English command formed highly efficient infantry units, armed with a long bow against which the best armored knight of Europe was no match, and drilled in tactics which completely baffled the French feudal levies. It was by virtue of this superiority of her smaller army that England was able to inflict the most humiliating defeats upon the French at Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356). These were the most decisive engagements of the early period of the war, and four years after the latter a temporary peace was arranged at Brétigny (1360). By this agreement, the English crown renounced its claims to the throne of France and to the former English provinces north of the Loire in return for the promise of full sovereignty in Calais and the provinces south of the Loire.

After the peace of Brétigny, France slowly but steadily recovered from her first reverses and gradually gained the ascendancy. In large measure this turn of fortune must be attributed to King Charles V (1364-1380). Following the mediocre Philip VI and John the Good (1350-1364), Charles found his country in a desperate plight and in a rebellious mood. Nevertheless by enlisting recruits for his army from among the free lance soldiery who had been thrown up by the

years of strife, and by resorting to tactical retreats designed to wear down his English rivals, he was able to parry the enemy and inflict upon it a number of minor catastrophes. After being defeated at La Rochelle the English were glad to negotiate a new truce with France which lasted for a period of thirty years.

War broke out again because conditions in France seemed to provide the English with the long-awaited opportunity to deal the fatal blow. After the death of Charles V there followed an era of dynastic turmoil and civil war, brought on by the unfortunate personality of the new king, Charles VI (1380-1422). A mere boy upon his accession, Charles was harassed by too many self-seeking uncles who sought to use his minority for their own advantage. Intrigues greatly enfeebled the government and when the hapless Charles finally went mad in 1392 France was literally at the mercy of the English. The two chief contestants in this bitter feud of royal uncles were the Dukes of Burgundy and of Orleans. When their rivalries had divided the country and plunged it into civil war (1407), King Henry V of England felt that the hour of fortune had struck. A fresh expedition to the continent was launched and in 1415 at Agincourt, as in the previous century at Crécy and Poitiers, the English armies won a brilliant victory. The continued successes of the English thereafter soon brought the paralyzing conflict between the contending factions in France to a close, and in 1420 Henry was enabled to negotiate the Treaty of Troyes with the Duke of Burgundy by which the latter recognized Henry as King of France. Henry set out to win by conquest the whole of what he had thus been guaranteed but died while campaigning in 1422. From the English side Henry's achievements marked the greatest of their successes, but of all it was the most ephemeral. Although ably led after Henry's death the English were pitted against hopeless odds and their expulsion was merely a question of time.

After so many devastating invasions the "nations" of France were at last ready to submerge their differences in order to unite under the Crown for the destruction of the English. Before the fifteenth century, except for the Estates General, there had been little evidence that the people of France recognized an identity of interest among themselves, but after Agincourt there were many indications of a rising patriotism. Apparent in the literature of the times, it was even more clearly reflected in the personality and achievements of Joan of Arc. Born at Domremy in northeastern France this "maid of Orleans" envisioned herself as the saviour of her country and at the

age of seventeen joined with the army to lift the prolonged siege of Orleans. A little more than a week after her arrival, Orleans was freed and the Valois claimant to the throne, Charles VII, son of Charles VI, was able to advance to Rheims where he was crowned king. Joan's exploits continued for a few months but she was eventually turned over to the English by whom she was tried as a witch and burned at the stake. But by the time of her death the English were already in retreat. In increasing numbers all classes flocked to the support of Charles VII and the French Crown was enabled by 1453 to eliminate all traces of English political influence in France, except for Calais. Without a treaty of peace the Hundred Years' War had ended, leaving France a nearly united but thoroughly exhausted state.

Prolonged fighting and the devastating incursions of English troops brought untold hardship and misery to the mass of the French people. Artisans of the towns and cities suffered from unemployment and impoverishment, while the peasants were oftentimes compelled to leave their lands untilled or see their crops requisitioned by rapacious soldiery and freebooters. Nor was this the end of their difficulties. In the middle of the fourteenth century many fell victim to the deadly bubonic plague, imported from the east. Perhaps half of the population of Europe was swept away by this dreadful malady. Though this produced a scarcity of labor which might have benefited the wages of those who survived, it could hardly contribute to any real material improvement in view of the general derangement of economic life and the unwillingness of the government to allow wages to rise above the pre-plague level. Faced with all of these distressing conditions, the masses were still further victimized by the heavy financial burdens of the war, the greatest portion of which they were forced to bear. It is not extraordinary therefore that the period of the fourteenth century was for France one of social unrest and upheaval.

There had been peasant outbreaks in various quarters during the thirteenth century, but it was not until the period of the Battle of Poitiers that these developed into serious proportions. Driven then by heavy demands resulting from the war, the peasantry of the *Île de France* rose in furious violence against their landlords. Burning châteaux and assassinating their oppressors, these rioters for a time held the whole of central France in their grasp, but their revolt was soon suppressed with a fury equal to their own. Known as the *Jacquerie*, this formidable peasant uprising might have produced sig-

nificant results had it been closely co-ordinated with a simultaneous uprising of the mob in Paris.

Many of the townsmen, particularly the lowly artisan class, were in as difficult straits as the peasants, and were quite as ready to follow any inspiring demagogue. Under the leadership of Étienne Marcel, head of a merchant's gild in Paris, the mob was organized for revolution in 1356. Seizing the government of the city and forcing the Estates General to acquiesce in his leadership, Marcel was able to force the regent (Charles V) to make extensive concessions. Certain of the king's counselors were to be punished, taxes were to be levied equally, the national income was to be expended only with the consent of the Estates General, and the king was to govern only with the aid of a council, half of whose members were to be drawn from the commons, and whose membership was to be chosen by the Estates General. Charles V submitted to these demands under duress, but after he fled successfully from the capital he managed to return with a loyal army which put the revolutionaries to the sword.

For the brief period of Marcel's success, the Estates General exercised powers comparable to those of Parliament in England. But it was impossible to make these gains permanent. Discontented as many were with conditions in France, there were few who were ready to trifle with the institution of monarchy. The throne was still widely respected and whatever blame fell upon the government was attached to his counselors rather than to the king. At all events, Charles V was accorded popular support after his flight and had no great difficulty in bringing his revolutionary enemies to terms. The failure of Marcel to win a decisive voice in the government for the Estates General abruptly terminated efforts at this time to fix constitutional limits upon the Crown, though the Crown still appealed to the Estates for aid in financial matters. This practice had been frequent since the beginning of the Hundred Years' War, the king sometimes assembling the national estates for this purpose, but more frequently calling upon the local estates. Even this dependence disappeared before the Hundred Years' War had ended. In 1439, the Estates General passed the Great Ordinance giving the Crown sole authority to levy military forces and the right to meet the expenses of this by collecting a permanent tax, called the *taille*, from all cultivators of the soil. This freed the Crown from the necessity of appealing to the Estates. Moreover, since the nobility, as proprietors rather than cultivators of the soil, were exempt from the *taille*, they did not need the protection of the Estates General against the arbitrary exactions of the

Crown. This was in direct contrast to the situation in England where the nobility used Parliament to inhibit the powers of the king.

Meanwhile, the Crown gradually recovered from the disasters of the war, restored its prestige, and enhanced its power. While the English were making their last efforts to maintain a foothold in France, the throne was occupied by Charles VII (1422-1461), a frail, cowardly, poverty-stricken, and indifferent sovereign, who had the great good luck to reap the fruits of victory to which he contributed little. Nevertheless, before the end of his reign the *Parlement* of Paris had been reconstituted and a significant military reform introduced which definitely strengthened the Crown. With the aid of the *taille* and the financial assistance of some of the greater bourgeoisie, Charles destroyed the private military companies which had fought for France during most of the Hundred Years' War and established a royal army, stationed in the towns and dependent upon the royal treasury. With this army Charles managed to suppress a rebellion of the chief nobility of the realm.

Louis XI (1461-1483), the crafty and unfilial son of Charles, greatly advanced the fortunes of the Valois dynasty, further centralized the government of the state, and prepared France again to assume a leading role in the affairs of Europe. His greatest achievement lay in his acquisition of the great Duchy of Burgundy which had grown to the point where it threatened to establish its independence. This state had been created in 1363 by King John the Good. During the course of the next century it was enlarged to include the rich County of Flanders and a number of adjoining provinces and gave promise of developing into a prosperous kingdom. By diplomacy, intrigue, bribery, and force Louis XI contrived to win this choice prize in 1477. Immediately thereafter he laid claim to all of Burgundy's dependencies, and successfully occupied a number. Except for Flanders and Brittany, he left France practically united, having the distinction of adding more to the royal domain than any sovereign since Philip Augustus. Flanders never was acquired, but Brittany fell to the Crown during the reign of Louis' successor, Charles VIII (1483-1498). Of all of Louis' acquisitions perhaps the most significant by reason of its influence upon subsequent French international relations was the County of Anjou and its dependencies, including a claim to the throne of Naples which once had been occupied by the House of Anjou.

Taking advantage of the divisions and keen rivalries among the states of Italy and responding to an appeal from citizens of Naples

who disliked their king, Charles VIII descended upon Italy in 1494 to make good the Angevin claim. After a triumphal march through the peninsula, the Neapolitan kingdom capitulated almost without a blow. But the prize was not easily held, for the jealous Italian states swiftly intrigued against Charles and forced him to withdraw from the peninsula. Louis XII (1498-1515) renewed the attempt to secure domination of Italy, devoting his attention chiefly to realizing claims which he made upon the Duchy of Milan. At first successful, he too was outwitted by the crafty Italians, aided by the governments of both Spain and Austria who wished to reap the Italian fruits for themselves. These campaigns in Italy by the French kings mark a definite turning point in French history. They are indicative of the fact that the Crown at last felt secure enough at home to take the risk of adventure abroad, and they represent the first step in a prolonged attempt by the French Crown to secure political domination over Europe.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the French Crown was in an almost unassailable position. The great feudal barons had been deprived of their independence and were compelled to submit to the administration of their territories by the agents of the king. For many, the only means left for recouping their material losses was to curry the favor and patronage of the king. The churchmen had likewise been brought under the close scrutiny of the royal government. The Estates General was allowed to languish. Only once during the early years of the reign of Charles VIII did it show signs of making demands upon the Crown, but then as before and later it proved powerless. It was almost a hundred years thereafter before the Estates met again. In the meantime when the Crown wished for advice, it appealed to carefully picked assemblies of notables, and otherwise governed France without reference to any constitutional authority other than itself.

C. ENGLAND

England, like France, was favored during the twelfth century with a strong and able monarch who did much to weld his people into a nation. Following the reign of the weak Stephen, the English throne passed to young Henry of Anjou, first of the Angevin kings who ruled over England for two centuries. In addition to being King of England, Henry II (1154-1189), by virtue of marriage and inheritance was ruler of over one-third of France. It was a tremendous

task to govern this huge empire, but Henry's ability and vitality were equal to the demands upon them, and he maintained his power successfully throughout most of his reign. Of his various accomplishments the most significant and the most lasting was the regeneration and extension of royal power through the planned development of a body of uniform law.

The exigencies of the situation dictated that this law be royal. Saxon law was primarily local and was administered by popular and baronial courts. In addition, there was Roman law as administered by the church courts. Only one power, the king, could hope to bring order out of this confusion. In so doing, Henry made use both of the still extant shire moots of the Saxons and of his grandfather's policy of sending his own officials to serve as judges in local trials. Henry divided the kingdom into seven districts or circuits with three judges assigned to each. Largely because these justices were unable to serve all sections of England, Henry also established a permanent royal court which sat at Westminster. From this court of five judges there evolved three courts each with separate jurisdiction. The Court of Common Pleas heard civil cases involving disputes between individuals. This court, which appeared after Henry's death, served as a sort of umpire in quarrels between citizens and marks the completion of a long-evolving distinction between criminal and civil law. The Court of the Exchequer dealt largely with disputes over taxation which involved the Government as one party. The third, the Court of King's Bench, adjudicated criminal cases and symbolized the acceptance of the theory that crimes were committed against society rather than against individuals. Although these changes came after Henry's death they were the direct outgrowth of his deliberate development of royal judicial authority.

Henry was also responsible for the introduction of the jury system. In his day a jury was not a group of judges but a body of witnesses and investigators who were expected to discover and report upon offenses against the law. This method of fact-finding had its origin in an ancient Germanic custom which reached England by way of the Normans. Henry's chief reason for adopting it was to free men from fear of reprisals. It was at that time customary for the injured party to institute legal action against the offender and it often happened that the victim hesitated to do so because of intimidation or fear of revenge. By vesting this responsibility in a group of "good men and true," the king sought to expedite justice and bring to terms any persons who might become so powerful as to threaten

the royal authority. Our modern grand jury, the most powerful legal weapon within the grasp of the citizen, is the direct descendant of this practice begun by Henry. The petty or trial jury was a later innovation which did not appear until the thirteenth century.

Henry's new legal system proved popular partly because it was more just and partly because it operated more quickly. Its rapid extension brought with it another development, English common law. Its very name implies that it was in use throughout the realm but it differed from other uniform legal systems in that it was more popular in origin. When deciding difficult cases Henry's judges and their successors commonly were guided by decisions rendered in previous cases of a similar type. These "precedents" gradually hardened into what amounted to a supplementary body of law and many of them were eventually enacted into statute law. It is estimated that about three hundred million people are still ruled by this great body of common law which has been continuously growing since the twelfth century.

The extension of English common law and royal jurisdiction caused a conflict with the Church. The twelfth century witnessed a vigorous extension of Canon law and the Church as its leading user and protagonist was eager to extend its competence. This ran directly counter to Henry's attempt to unify the English legal system and so extend the royal power. To have admitted Canon law would have destroyed this objective by admitting the equality of ecclesiastical courts. The climax and symbol of this struggle came in the clash between Henry and Thomas à Becket whom the king had appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, apparently in the belief that Becket would further the royal interests. The churchman, however, felt that his first loyalty was to the Church and fought Henry at every turn. Enraged, the king voiced the wish that Becket were dead. Some of his knights took Henry at his word and murdered the Archbishop at the altar of his cathedral. Henry, who had never intended such an ending, was bitterly repentant but the damage was done. The major significance of this incident is that it reflects the struggle between the English common law and Canon law with victory going to the former.

In addition to the extension of the legal system there were other strings to the royal bow. The Adulterine Castles were destroyed and their masters reduced in number and authority. The feudal levies were replaced by an irregularly collected tax, called *scutage*, which

enabled the king to hire mercenary troops who were dependent upon him. The king likewise used his growing power to collect monies from towns and manors and from wealthy individuals. These exactions, known as *tallage*, were not taxes in the modern sense since they were based solely on the principle of charging all the traffic would bear. Incidentally, both *scutage* and *tallage* were first collected by Henry I. Henry II further built up the military forces of England by reviving and extending the old Saxon practice of requiring all freemen to have arms and serve in the militia. It is a sufficient proof of Henry's justice and popularity that he thus dared to arm a large body of his subjects.

Deserted and betrayed by his sons, Henry died an embittered man, and the crown passed to Richard (1189-1199). A romantic figure who won the nickname of the "Lion-Heart," Richard proved a very poor king, spending less than ten months of his entire reign in his realm. It was a tribute to his father's success that the royal ministers were able to carry on the government while the king was gallivanting on Crusades.

John (1199-1216), who ascended the throne upon the death of his older brother, is generally regarded as the most detestable of all English kings. Courageous and able, John was also indolent, wantonly cruel, and utterly unreliable. Before his reign was over he had alienated all of his subjects, high and low. The dominant features of his reign were three quarrels, all of which he lost. The first with Philip II of France was essentially due to the French king's policy of expansion though the pretext was John's violation of feudal law. John was too lazy to rouse himself and too unpopular with his barons to command their aid so that within the space of five years he lost to Philip all the Angevin holdings in France save the Duchy of Aquitaine, later called Guienne. The consequences of this were enormous for both France and England. The great increase in the territories of the former strengthened the prestige and power of the French monarchy. The ultimate effect on England was to make it no longer an insular appanage of a continental state, but a state in its own right.

This defeat was still stinging when John became involved in a dispute with the powerful Innocent III. The story of this will soon be told and it is sufficient to remind the reader that John finally gave his kingdom to the Pope, receiving it back from him as a fief (1213). The apparent ignominy of this action was partially offset by the shrewdness of John's diplomacy. As a papal fief, England

was temporarily safe from French domination.¹ John had chosen the geographically more remote enemy as the lesser of two evils. The loss of his legal independence was the price he paid for this dubious security.

As part of the settlement with Innocent, John was forced to accept Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. From the day of his arrival, this churchman made himself the leader of the growing opposition to the king. Poor and rich, noble and ignoble, all had felt the lash of John's cruelty and for the first time the majority of Englishmen were on the side of the great barons. Heedless of this growing discontent, John sought to conquer Philip Augustus. The defeat of the English tyrant brought matters to a head. United by their hatred of John, and led by Langton, the barons converged upon London. The king had no alternative but to yield and in June of 1215 he affixed his seal to the Magna Carta, or Great Charter. The sixty-three "chapters" of the Charter cover subjects ranging from feudal dues to weights and measures. Its actual provisions were less important than the later misinterpretations of them. The document was essentially a feudal contract, drawn up by and in the interest of the great barons and signed by the king under duress. Magna Carta did bind the barons to extend to their vassals the rights they themselves received from the king, and it also promised all its "liberties" to every freeman, but the vast majority, the serfs, did not share in its bounties. It has been calculated that the provisions of the Charter applied to only about one Englishman in every five.

From the standpoint of later developments, the two most important "chapters" were those which declared (1) that no "scutage or aid" should be levied without the general consent of the kingdom, and (2) that no freeman should be arrested save by the judgment of his peers and in accord with the law of the land. The "general consent" mentioned by the first of these two provisions originally meant the consent of the great barons but it was later interpreted to mean "no taxation without consent of parliament." The second provision expressed a contemporary feudal reaction to the extension of royal law, but a later time held it to be a guarantee of trial by jury for every offender. More important than either of these specific provisions, however, was the dual implication that the king was subject to certain laws and limitations and that if he failed to observe them

¹ Innocent had suggested to Philip that he invade England and the French monarch prepared to do so. The Pope did not really desire such an event but he did wish to scare John into submission. When John acceded to Innocent's demands, the latter forbade the French king to invade a papal fief.

his people had the right to force him to do so. Judged with this in mind, the Magna Carta deservedly ranks as one of the greatest documents in the history of the English peoples. Imperfectly observed and then long forgotten it emerged in the seventeenth century no longer a feudal contract but a guarantee of the liberties of the people against the encroachments of despotic rulers.

The reign of John's son and heir, Henry III (1216-1272), was notable for economic and social advancement and for the emergence of Parliament. Towns which had been slowly developing since the eleventh century assumed a new importance in the thirteenth century. True, London had a population of less than forty thousand and the average town only about five thousand but the wealth and strength of the townsmen steadily increased. Many of the towns had secured, usually by purchase, a royal charter guaranteeing them certain rights and a considerable measure of freedom. The Church, too, flourished in the thirteenth century and did significant work in furthering education. Particularly efficient in this work were the Dominican and Franciscan friars whose early devotion to the poor won them wide popularity. Members of these orders were prominent in the great universities, Oxford and Cambridge. Two Franciscans, Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon, were the leading English scholars of the day. The churchmen brought with them Gothic styles in architecture, then reaching its height in France. From that country also came the practices and tastes of chivalry, including various literary forms. The earliest example of English lyric poetry, the *Cuckoo Song*, dates from the reign of Henry III.

Henry chose as his model the pious and pliant Edward the Confessor, and, like him, came largely under the domination of foreigners who flocked to the kingdom from France and from Rome. Under the influence of these alien parasites, Henry pursued impractical and expensive policies which united against him many of his subjects. In their efforts to check the king, Englishmen made use of the ancient institution of the Great Council, composed of prelates and nobles. Sometime during the reign the name *Parliament* was applied to this group, and, quite early, commoners began to attend its meetings. Such meetings were irregular and informal and the commoners, chiefly lesser knights and townsmen, had neither organization nor any real voice in affairs.¹ Finally, in 1265, after six years of civil war, Henry's brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, gained a

¹ Russell, J. C., "Early Parliamentary Organization." *American Historical Review*. Volume XLIII, Number 1. (October, 1937.) Pages 1-22.

temporary ascendancy. To consolidate his strength, he called to a meeting of Parliament his partisans, including knights from each shire and two representatives from certain towns and boroughs. This summons, by recognizing the right of commoners to sit in Parliament, gave them a rallying point and enabled them to organize as a group. Montfort's Parliament of 1265 was a partisan body and is not usually regarded as having been the model for later parliaments.

That honor was reserved for the Parliament summoned in 1295 by Edward I (1272-1307). Long enshrined as the "Model Parliament" this body contained in addition to the abbots, barons, and bishops: two "knights" from each of the forty shires (counties), two "burgesses" from each of 114 chartered boroughs (towns or cities), and representatives of London. This was far from being a representative group since the serfs were not included, nor was it a democratic group because the upper classes were predominant. It differed from the Parliament of 1265 in that it was less of a partisan, more of a general body and, moreover, was called by the king. It was this last feature which led successive generations of the legally minded to regard it as the first of the parliaments. In 1295 and for some time thereafter, Parliament, like the Estates General, met in three sections: lords and clergy, knights, and burgesses. Later, however, the lower clergy dropped out, and formed their own assembly, known as the *Convocation*. The prelates remained with the lords temporal to guard their own interests though they also attended the Convocations. The knights, after some hesitation, joined with the townsmen to form the *Commons*. Since the knights were more powerful than the burgesses this was highly important. Had the knights chosen to ally themselves with the greater lords, the Commons might have been submerged.

The reign of Edward I is memorable also for his wise reforms. Chief among these was his use of *statute law*. Issued by the king with the assent of Parliament, statutes were regarded as superior to other laws. Many of Edward's statutes were codifications of the common law which had been growing since the days of Henry II, but some of them incorporated new and advanced conceptions. Edward furthered the development of common law, also, by perfecting the system of royal courts. For the defense of his realm, Edward improved the national militia and to supply his growing financial needs, he instituted an import tax, the first English customs duty.

It was hardly surprising that so strong a king should have sought

to extend his possessions. Wales, to the west, refuge of the ancient Britons, had become a menace because of the many Welsh raids upon the border. Edward, failing once, tried again and by his second campaign reduced the Welsh to submission (1284). Wales was divided into shires, on the English model, and English laws and customs were introduced.¹

When feudal disputes divided Scotland into warring factions, Edward saw his chance to bring that land under his sway. Not content with the nominal suzerainty over Scotland which his diplomacy won him, the king sought to make his authority real. The rebellious Scots were defeated in battle but soon rose in revolt, a cycle of events quickly repeated. Edward's efforts to subdue the northerners were cut short by his death, and his successor, Edward II (1307-1327), let slip the gains his father had so painfully made. The third Edward (1327-1377) was more vigorous but his attention was focused elsewhere. It was almost three hundred years before the Scots finally gave way. In the meantime Scotland remained a foreign menace to England, the more so because she so often allied herself with England's greatest rival, France.

The long-standing hostility between these two powers has already been described.² Significant also was the fact that England was aggressive. Welded into a compact and efficient state by Henry II and Edward I, England had all the chauvinistic pride of a young and vigorous nation. Her leaders sought triumphs; her merchants, trade; and her soldiers, loot.

It was with eagerness then that Edward III urged his claim to the French throne. It was a poor excuse but it seemed to offer a chance to remove the menaces of the Franco-Scottish Alliance, and the French designs on Flanders, and to settle old scores. The Hundred Years' War was really divided into two periods, each of which began with an invasion of France by England and ended with the eviction of the invaders by the patriotically inspired defenders. To some extent the internal development of England reflected the varying fortunes of war.

Pride, when they won, and the threat of French power, when they lost, helped rouse Englishmen to a consciousness of their nationality. The process was by no means completed, but it was well begun. The continual expense of the war markedly increased the

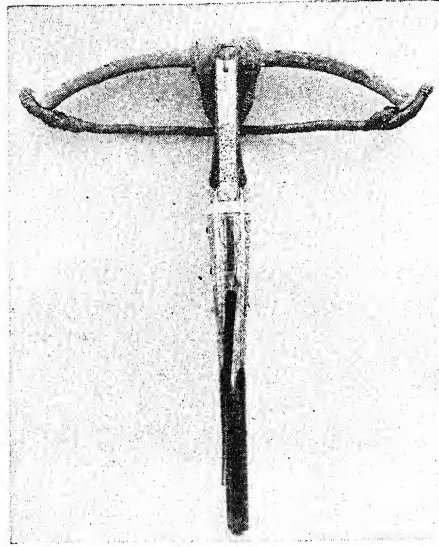
¹ The land was not incorporated with England until 1536, but it was under English domination after the thirteenth century.

² See pp. 198-202.

powers of Parliament since kings were driven to make concessions to it in order to secure its aid and assent in raising funds. A case in point is the "Good Parliament" of 1376 which successfully insisted upon an accounting by the king and upon the reform of certain abuses before it granted a subsidy. It was this slowly accumulating power over public funds which eventually raised Parliament to a dominant place. That development still lay far in the future, however. The English kings long remained supreme. With the final loss of her continental possessions England gave up all idea of further expansion upon the continent. This was very important for it first forced her to develop her own resources and thus strengthened her so that she was later able to win an empire across the seas. The return of her soldiers when the long wars finally ended created new problems since it was difficult to make a place for these men in civil life.

Less spectacular, perhaps, but equally important changes took place during the period spanned by the war. Most notable was the gradual decline of feudalism. This was, in part, due to the effects of the war. The military successes of the yeomen gave them a higher standing in the world, and the use of guns tended to reduce all men to a common denominator. Of great moment also was the Black Death which in 1348-1349 swept through England killing almost half the population and dislocating the social and economic order for almost two generations. The resulting acute shortage of labor enabled the serfs to bargain for their services. Legislative attempts to check such impertinence served only to bring open rebellions like that of Wat Tyler's in 1381. That revolt failed but the manorial system was doomed. The growth of trade and towns and the rise of a money economy rendered it anachronistic.

The greater part of the fifteenth century was filled with family feuds and dynastic wars for the possession of the Crown. The struggle eventually narrowed down to two great families, the House of Lancaster and the House of York. The vicious fight between them, known as the Wars of the Roses since York took as its badge a white rose and Lancaster a red rose, ended only with the appearance of a new line of kings, the Tudors. Life must have gone on and important changes must have taken place during this period for the England of 1485 was different in many ways from the England of 1400. But the records left are few and scattered so that much of the story remains obscure.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

A CROSSBOW OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. 1489.

This crossbow, made of whalebone, illustrates one of the principal weapons of medieval warfare. Various types of projectiles were used with the crossbow, some of them being capable of penetrating armor. This bow was owned originally by Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary.

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The Ecclesiastical State

A. THE EXPANSION OF CLERICAL AUTHORITY

Few aspects of medieval life seem so unusual to moderns as does the politico-religious character of the Church. Modern occidental churches perform no civil functions, with the possible exception of throwing their influence on the side of law, order, and nationalistic citizenship.¹ The formulation, promulgation, and administration of law; the collection of taxes and the disbursement of funds; the police protection and military defenses of the people are all left to the State. Even political activity on the part of the clergy is frowned upon and sometimes forbidden. Modern men have been taught to conceive of the Church and the State as distinct and separate entities, pursuing different aims, performing different duties, exercising different powers, and deriving their authority from different sources. So deeply rooted is this concept that it is hard for us to realize that the medieval Church was, functionally, both Church and State. The ancient Egyptians with their priest-kings, and the imperial Romans with their emperor-gods would have understood the situation easily. The early Christians, however, would have found comprehension difficult. Momentarily expecting the Second Coming, few in numbers, and of slight influence, they would have scorned the idea of exercising temporal power as vain, sinful, and preposterous. Medieval men, in contrast, accepted as a matter of course the assumption of civil responsibility by the Church. In their day, ecclesiastical rulers promulgated, and ecclesiastical courts administered civil and criminal law just as they did canon or church law. Clergy served as gov-

¹ Numerous vestiges of the civil authority once wielded by the Church still linger, especially in Catholic countries. Education, long an ecclesiastical monopoly, is still influenced by the Church. Another familiar instance is marriage, regarded unofficially by many and officially by all Catholics as binding only when performed by ecclesiastical officials.

ernment officials: collecting taxes, leading armies and executing the orders of secular rulers, while laymen on the other hand often participated in the administration of the Church. The explanation of this situation lies in the then prevalent concept of society, in the impotence of secular authority and its consequence, the extension of clerical powers, and the feudalization of the Church.

The Roman Empire had given rise to the theory that ideal existence was best found in a universal and all-embracing super-state, which transcended local boundaries and encompassed all peoples. Anyone beyond that pale was of no account since the more abundant life could not be his. At its apogee, the Empire very nearly fulfilled this ideal which persisted long after the imperial failure. Men looked back with longing to the "good old days" whose virtues grew as knowledge of them decreased, and ascribed much of their "goodness" to the universality of the Empire. Indubitably, the Church was the greatest and most consistent exponent of this ideal which it had, in truth, incorporated into its doctrine. The Church claimed to be the one catholic organization of the world, the sole repository of truth and the *sine qua non* of salvation. Non-Christians were eternally damned by the very fact of their non-conformity. Successive secular rulers sought to emulate the Church and one after another strained every resource to realize the ideal of a united Europe. Some had a considerable success, more failed, but all tried to match the catholicity of the Church with the universality of the State.

Long practice and tradition accustomed medieval theorists to the idea of a super-state, but the thing from which the ideal derived its greatest force was the common acceptance of salvation as the end and aim of life. Every institution was evaluated according to the degree to which it contributed to the winning of salvation, and both Church and State were held to be essential for this purpose. Corollary to this concept was the theory that all power stemmed from God and that it was exercised by two coincidental authorities: the one, spiritual; the other, temporal. Since both were God-given and since both contributed to the same purpose, there could be no fundamental distinction between them and no clear definition of their functions. The one was represented by the pope, the hierarchy, ecclesiastical courts, and canon law; the other, by the emperor, his officials, his courts, and his law; but both were held to be merely different aspects of one power. It seemed, therefore, per-

fectly in accord with the ideal if the Church acted for the State and *vice versa*.

The increasing assumption of civil responsibilities by the Church from the fourth century on was due in large measure to the exigency of circumstance. The decay and final collapse of the Roman administration presented a dilemma to the only remaining authority, the churchmen, who were forced either to take over the government themselves or to witness the collapse of law and order. They chose the former alternative, as the lesser evil. The parallel between the organization of the Church and the Empire made the transition relatively easy, as did the fact that the clergy had for some time enjoyed great reputation and power. The tendency begun by Constantine's gifts of secular power and furthered by the actions of Leo I reached full stature with the assumption of temporal functions by Gregory I. The barbarians found the Church already acting as a state and saw no reason to change the situation. The personal, informal, and decentralized character of the power of the Germanic kings made the impersonal, formal, and centralized organization of the Church a vital aid in the maintenance of law and order. Charlemagne, Otto I, and Henry IV, to mention only three of the later emperors, habitually depended upon the Church for this service, and commonly entrusted bishops with the discharge of secular duties. Conversely, since they regarded the Church as being as much their charge as the state, they frequently administered the Church through lay officials.

This practice of interchanging the functions of clergy and laymen was furthered by the feudalization of the Church. Heir of many, the Church had become the largest single landowner in Europe. So great were its holdings that many of them were given as benefices to laymen, thereby making the Church a feudal overlord. At the same time, churchmen commonly accepted benefices from laymen and, in so doing, became vassals. The result, to modern eyes, was a disorderly confusion in which laymen became quasi-officials of the Church and churchmen assumed the manners, duties, and rights of feudal nobles. To protect its holdings, if for no other reason, the Church was forced to become a temporal power. Moreover, these multiple possessions made the Church enormously wealthy, and wealth, then as now, brought power. The great Voltaire, with good reason, once referred to the ninth century as "The Age of Bishops." Civil authority reached its medieval nadir in that century, and the Church remained the only competent European power. Bishops sup-

ported and controlled large armies, protected and administered their holdings, and, in general, behaved like kings and emperors. The climax of papal power came later, but the reasons for it and the process were essentially the same. In brief, the medieval Church resembled a modern state far more than a modern church.

B. EMPIRE AND PAPACY

The increasing assumption of secular responsibilities by the Church and its widespread dependence upon temporal lords threatened its demoralization and disintegration. The devoutly religious had recognized these dangers long since and had therefore lent encouragement to the Cluniac reformers whose purpose was to free the Church of secular control. By the middle of the eleventh century, as has already been observed,¹ the Cluniacs had won control of the Papacy and had even secured the active aid of sincerely religious German emperors, such as Henry II and Henry III. It is unlikely that either of the latter foresaw the political dangers which must follow for the German monarchy from the encouragement of ecclesiastical reform. Yet those dangers were not to be minimized. Since the days of Otto the Great, the existence of a dependent clergy had been the principal bulwark of the monarchy. To free the clergy of that dependence, as the Cluniacs intended, was certain to deprive the monarchy of its chief support and expose it to the none too tender mercies of the jealous secular aristocracy. It was logical, therefore, that imperial efforts to thwart the Cluniac reformers should be made sooner or later. And it was equally logical that the Church should capitalize upon the successes already achieved and seek to bring its entire program to completion.

The issues involved in the conflict were not limited, however, to the mere preservation of monarchical authority on one side or the institution of needed reforms on the other. Inevitably, the question of ultimate jurisdiction and power was also raised. The Church had already asserted supremacy over temporal affairs and the Empire had already exercised supremacy over the spiritual. Which of these could make good its claim? This problem, the central political problem of the middle ages, soon overshadowed and long outlived the immediate issues raised by the Cluniac reforms. And the struggle in which Papacy and Empire engaged ultimately weakened both beyond repair.

¹ See pp. 182 ff.

The exhausting contest upon which these two institutions embarked began during the reign of Henry IV (1056-1105). A mere child at the time of his accession, Henry was victimized during his minority by the greedy lay and ecclesiastical nobility who employed this opportunity to insure their absorption of the royal rights. It was hardly to be wondered at that Henry, an able and ambitious king, should have himself resorted to unscrupulous measures to repair his losses when his majority had been attained. Where this involved the Church it precipitated a two-fold danger. The greater ecclesiastics resented their losses and joined hands with the disaffected lay lords, while the sincere and devout were shocked at the abandon with which Henry bought and sold Church offices to replenish the royal treasury. After all, Henry who was not imbued with the religious zeal of his father, was merely returning to the Ottonian policy of regulating the Church in the interest of the State. But in his time the moral sanctions for such procedure had lost their force. Moreover, the greater lay and ecclesiastical nobility were determined to see him fail, and the reformers were anxious to see him do the Church no harm. The latter appealed to the Papacy for support and were soon assisted by the aggressive nobility.

Conflict between the reformers and the nobility on the one side and the Crown on the other was not long delayed. Saxony openly rebelled in 1073 and was scarcely subdued two years later when the Papacy took sides with Henry's enemies. Hildebrand, who as a very influential member of the papal curia had already directed much of the reform movement, now occupied the papal throne as Gregory VII (1073-1085). A man of great courage, strong conviction, and obstinate determination, he was not one to shrink from the possible danger of bloody conflict to achieve his objectives. Convinced that he was the instrument of God on earth and accountable to none other, Gregory naturally regarded disobedience to his will as a direct offense to the Almighty. No pope ever conceived for himself so exalted and yet so onerous a role. None ever claimed for it greater powers. He believed himself to be the sovereign of the ecclesiastical world and superior to all temporal authorities. These beliefs were not the products of fanciful imaginings but the settled convictions of one who was certain of his divine mission and prepared to fulfill it.

From the very beginning of his pontificate, Gregory required the strict enforcement of reforms already introduced and took active measures to deal with those abuses which had been left untouched. The most difficult problem still to be solved was that concerning lay

investiture. It has already been observed that this was common everywhere in Europe and that it was undoubtedly responsible for many of the evils within the Church. By virtue of its importance, prevention of lay investiture should have been among the first objectives of the Cluniac reformers, but the difficulties of achieving this result had operated in favor of delay. Princes and kings regarded the choice of their episcopal vassals as their prescriptive right, and, in the case of Germany, any tampering with this seemed to threaten the very foundations of the state. There was, therefore, little hope of ending this greatest of all evils unless the Papacy possessed both the necessary strength and a leadership sufficiently courageous to use it. Gregory supplied these.

At a Synod of Rome (1075) Gregory embarked upon the bold and dangerous course. A decree was issued threatening with deposition all ecclesiastics who received their offices from the hands of lay persons and implicitly denying any rights in ecclesiastical matters to temporal authorities. Though Gregory accompanied the decree with an appeal to temporal lords for loyal co-operation with the Church, it was generally regarded by them and especially by Henry IV as little less than an ultimatum. Henry neither replied to the Pope's appeal nor showed any inclination to respect the decree. For this he was reprimanded by Gregory and threatened with excommunication. Nothing could have been better calculated to arouse Henry's anger, flushed as he was with his recent victory over the Saxons and convinced of the absolute propriety of his own acts. He promptly assembled a council of German bishops (January, 1076) who, being fearful themselves of the reforming Pope, joined the Emperor in demanding that Gregory relinquish the papal throne. Gregory replied by excommunicating the Emperor, deposing him from office, and absolving his subjects of their oath of allegiance to him. This was a high-handed act but it conformed with Gregory's contention that the spiritual arm was superior to the temporal. The issue between the Papacy and the Empire had now been joined.

Henry could scarcely have imagined the distressing consequences of the papal retaliation. The disaffected elements in the Empire now had a convenient moral excuse to challenge the central government, and within a short time Henry was faced with a general rebellion. In October, 1076, the princes in collaboration with papal agents demanded that Henry recant his denunciation of Gregory and advised him to have the ban of excommunication lifted by February

of the next year if he wished to keep the royal title. Failing in this, a new king would be elected in his stead. Henry's situation was desperate.

Secretly leaving Germany early in 1077, accompanied by his family and a few trusted friends, Henry hastened to Italy in search of the Pope. Gregory meanwhile had proceeded northward on his way to meet with the rebellious German princes. But when he learned of Henry's coming he secluded himself in the impregnable castle of Canossa. There Henry finally appeared in the guise of an abject penitent, barefoot in the snow, and appealed to the Pope for forgiveness. The plea was one which the head of the Church could not ignore, much as he might have wished to for political reasons. After three days of deliberation, Gregory finally capitulated and lifted the ban of excommunication. Often referred to as the symbol of papal prowess and imperial degradation, this Canossa incident was hardly so spectacular. It was not even a defeat for Henry; rather, it was a diplomatic victory which had the effect of keeping Gregory out of Germany and of dividing Henry's enemies against each other.

Peace with the Pope having been made, a considerable portion of Henry's opposition melted away. The more courageous lay princes persisted in their course, however, and in March, 1077, carried out their earlier threat of electing a new king. Their choice was Rudolph, Duke of Bavaria. Gregory's hopes revived with the receipt of this news, for Henry had hardly been restored to good graces before he reverted to his earlier anti-papal policies. Standing on the ground of spiritual supremacy over the temporal, Gregory now asserted his



HENRY IV OF GERMANY, HUGO OF CLUNY, AND COUNTESS MATILDA OF TUSCANY. SKETCH FROM THE *LIFE OF MATILDA*, BY THE MONK, DONIZO.

According to the story, Henry IV was left by Pope Gregory VII to wait three days in the snow outside the castle gate at Canossa before the Pope would hear his plea for forgiveness. This sketch shows Henry IV, divested of his royal robes and privileges, on his knees before the castle gate (indicated by the arch below at the right) pleading with the Abbot Hugo of Cluny and the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, to intercede with the Pope on his behalf. The gestures of the Countess and the Abbot are meant to indicate that they are engaged in animated conversation.

right to mediate between Rudolph and Henry. By taking three years in which to make up his mind, Gregory helped to perpetuate civil war in Germany and then, finally, announced himself in favor of Rudolph, excommunicating and deposing Henry for a second time. This was a blunder. Rudolph received little popular support in Germany so that Henry was free to retaliate swiftly and decisively. At his bidding the Archbishop of Ravenna was elected by the German and north Italian clergy as a rival pope. Three years later this rival pope was installed at Rome after the Emperor entered the city in triumph. In a last effort to defend the Holy City against this invasion by Henry's army, Gregory called to his aid the Papacy's Norman allies of southern Italy. But the Normans merely turned a papal misfortune into a miserable disaster. By the time they arrived the Germans had already departed and the Normans gave themselves over to looting and sacking the city. They made Gregory a prisoner and carried him into exile where, at Monte Cassino, he died the following year.

Seemingly, Gregory had been defeated, but subsequent events were to prove that he had greatly weakened the Empire while reinvigorating the Church and restoring its moral prestige. He had fought victoriously against clerical marriage and by stern measures as well as by precept and example had revived the ecclesiastical virtues. He had strengthened the Papacy for defense against its secular enemies. Even more, he had had the temerity to depose the most powerful sovereign of Europe, and had demonstrated the effectiveness with which a strong pope could assert claims to world dominion.

The investiture controversy did not end with Gregory's death though it changed in character and eventually merged with the broader conflict over temporal and spiritual powers. The willingness of Gregory's immediate successors to abandon some of his claims to temporal domination, the mutual exhaustion of both parties to the conflict, and the rise of the crusading spirit at the end of the century all helped to produce a compromise settlement. In 1122 during the reign of Henry V (1106-1125), Henry IV's son, a settlement was reached in the Concordat of Worms, devised by the German clergy and papal legates. This required canonical elections of episcopal officers but allowed the king to be present at the election; and it provided that the bishop be invested first with his secular functions after which he would be consecrated and invested with his spiritual functions by the archbishop. By placing secular investi-



GREGORY VII FLEEING ROME. SKETCH FROM THE CHRONICLE OF OTTO OF FREISING, FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

In the upper panel at the left may be seen Henry IV (holding the mace and wearing the imperial crown) and Clement III, the new pope whom Henry had installed to replace Gregory VII. The king and the pope are seated, while between them a soldier stands guard. The mailed knight at the right, probably a Norman, reaches through the door and seizes Gregory prisoner. In the lower panel at the left Gregory is seen among faithful clergy in exile, and at the right on his deathbed in Salerno.

ture first, considerable power over the churchmen was still left to the sovereign.

The long contest preceding this settlement had unfortunate consequences for the German monarchy. Disloyal and aggressive nobility took advantage of every opportunity to profit from the Crown's misfortunes. Paradoxically, the Crown in order to defend itself relinquished domain lands and regalian rights to the lesser aristocracy to buy their support and thus divested itself of still more of the substance of power. More than ever the Crown had become the pawn of its numerous enemies.

Neither the lay nor ecclesiastical nobility wished to permit the

Crown's recovery and since the Salian emperors had been ardent centralizers, united at the death of Henry V to elect a less ambitious sovereign. After some manipulation, their choice fell upon Lothair (1125-1137), Duke of Saxony. Loyal to the Church, he was the first German king to request papal approval of his election and, acquiescent to the nobility, he refrained from tampering with their interests. He hoped to prepare the way for the succession of his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, but the latter's strong personality and large resources influenced the princes to elect another candidate, Conrad III (1137-1152), Duke of Swabia and first of the Hohenstaufen line. From the point of view of the electors, a better choice could hardly have been made. Harassed by Henry the Proud and his son, Henry the Lion, Conrad was powerless before the feudal nobility. Moreover, he was foolhardy enough to participate in the disastrous Second Crusade. He gave up the thought of imperial coronation and thus had the distinction of being the first German king since Henry the Fowler who did not wear the imperial crown. At his death even many of the selfish nobility had had enough of royal incompetence and were prepared to choose a man of determination who could revive the prestige of the Empire. Such a one was Duke Frederick of Swabia, nephew of Conrad, who received the unanimous vote of the electors. An attractive personality, Emperor Frederick I (1152-1190), better known as Frederick Barbarossa for his red beard, was one of the most talented of German kings.

Frederick owed his election chiefly to the fact that he happened to combine in his person the blood of the two most powerful families of the Empire: the Welf of Saxony and Bavaria, and the Wai-biling or Hohenstaufen of Swabia. For a number of years bloody rivalry between these two had engulfed Germany in civil strife which it was hoped Frederick might now bring to an end by virtue of his dual heritage. During the time of Lothair, Henry the Proud, the Welf Duke of Bavaria, had had the good fortune to enlarge his holdings through acquiring Saxony, thus elevating his house to the point at which it was able successfully to defy the imperial authority. Justly fearful of him and incensed at his refusal to make obeisance, Conrad III deprived Henry of both of his duchies. This was the signal for open war. Henry the Proud and his able son, Henry the Lion, successfully challenged the Crown and by the time of Frederick's election had repaired their losses and actually extended their dominions east of the Elbe. This struggle between Welfs and Hohen-

staufens gradually assumed a significance wider than the interests of the two families directly involved.

As the enemies of the Hohentstaufens, the Welfs came to be regarded as the champions of feudal particularism, while the Hohenstaufens appeared to be the defenders of centralized royal power. The degree to which the nobility divided their support between these two rivals produced within the Empire two more or less distinct political parties: the Welf or Guelph, representing the feudal interests; and the Waibiling or Ghibelline, representing imperial centralization. Since the Papacy always favored decentralization, the Welfs came to be considered the defenders of the papal claims as against the imperial; conversely, the Ghibellines were regarded as anti-papalists and pro-imperialists. The lines of demarcation between these rival groups were not, however, so clearly defined, and members of the one group or the other shifted allegiance with startling inconsistency. This is well demonstrated by the fact that petty nobility, those who should have been the most active exponents of the Welf cause, were mainly responsible for placing power in the hands of the Waibiling, Frederick I. The reasons which prompted their choice, the touchstone of German politics during this era, were their own private interests. They had more to fear from Henry the Lion, a wealthy and aggressive duke, than from Frederick.

At the beginning of his reign, Frederick arranged a truce between the two rival factions. Henry the Lion was confirmed in his possessions of Saxony and Bavaria and was given additional concessions in other parts of the Empire. Appropriate grants of territory were likewise made to Henry's rivals and the Hohenstaufen holdings were enlarged. Having thus established a balance among the temporal feudalities, Frederick was able to turn his attention to the Church. By insisting upon the full exercise of the imperial rights guaranteed by the Concordat of Worms, he was able to ensure to the Crown the support of dependent and militant bishops. The result of these achievements was a quarter of a century of unaccustomed peace during which the royal office rose to new strength and prestige. Unfortunately for the German Empire, this peace was broken shortly before Frederick's death. The Welf-Waibiling feud flared up anew and to destroy his rival, Henry the Lion, Frederick not only drove him into exile but also confiscated and distributed his properties. The lesser nobility and the churchmen, whose aid Frederick solicited, profited most from the division of the spoils. The Hohenstaufen

monarchy had been saved, but by a method which strengthened rather than diminished the power of the feudal nobility.

During the years of peace in Germany Frederick was able to devote his attention to the larger imperial interests. He believed the Empire was designed by God to complement the universal Church and that therefore it should serve as the agent to effect the political unification of Christendom. Likewise, influenced by the reviving studies of Roman law, he conceived for the imperial authority nearly unlimited sovereign authority in the areas of its jurisdiction. Inasmuch as these sovereign rights had lapsed from disuse in the Italian portions of the Empire, Frederick felt it necessary to devote his energies to their restoration there. The attempt to fulfill this ambition was to absorb most of his attention and, in the end, was to cost the Empire and the German monarchy dearly.

The towns of northern Italy had for years enjoyed practical independence and they were prepared to resist German interference, although they were ready to recognize the nominal authority of the imperial crown. Moreover, the papacy feared further extension of Hohenstaufen power, especially in Italy, for the obvious reason that it might endanger papal supremacy as well as papal independence. The combined opposition of these two enemies was to prove Frederick's undoing.

On the occasion of his first visit to Italy (1154) to receive the imperial crown Frederick was given warning of the difficulties he was soon to encounter. The Lombard towns received him coldly, and he found the pope, Hadrian IV, so touchy on the ceremony of meeting that a break with the Papacy was just barely avoided. Pope and Emperor mutually mistrusted each other and after the latter had departed from Rome with the imperial crown both of them indulged in heated recriminations.

Meanwhile, Frederick had entered into open conflict with the Lombard towns. Returning to Italy in 1158, he forced the leading city of Milan into submission and then assembled a Diet at Roncaglia, composed of representatives of the towns and professors of law from the University of Bologna, to consider the extent of imperial and communal rights. The decisions reached favored Frederick's imperial as against the communal claims. All regalian rights such as the collection of tolls and the coinage of money were to revert to the Emperor, unless proof could be supplied that they had been legally bestowed in the past. Moreover, the Diet affirmed that the Emperor might appoint governors of the cities. These decisions

were too sweeping, and the townsmen stoutly refused to comply. In this opposition the townsmen were able to count upon papal support, for the decisions of Roncaglia were expected to apply to the Papacy as well.

Frederick met opposition with force. Crema and Milan were reduced to ashes and the remainder of the Lombard towns were terrorized into submission (1162). Yet, despite these measures, Frederick's position in Italy grew steadily worse. The townsmen continued resistance in various forms and papal hostility grew. When Hadrian IV died, Frederick hoped that he could resolve the latter problem by installing a pope of his own choice. A group of submissive clergy did, in fact, elect his candidate, but the anti-imperial cardinals also elected another. These two popes mutually excommunicated each other and appealed to Christendom for support. Frederick's dominating position in the peninsula at the moment enabled him to establish his candidate at Rome for a brief period, but the anti-imperial pope, Alexander III, was still able to command the largest following among the people as a whole and was, therefore, able to make a mockery of Frederick's superficial success. In co-operation with the Lombard towns, Alexander helped to create the Lombard League, organized to engage in open resistance to the imperial authority. Frederick took the offensive against this League in 1174 but the war went badly and in 1176 he was decisively defeated at the Battle of Legnano. This was a victory both for the Lombard towns and for Alexander III. Frederick was compelled to revise his whole Italian policy.

To restore the peace in Italy, Frederick abandoned his pope and negotiated an understanding with Alexander III in 1177. At the same time a six years' truce was arranged with the Lombard League, a truce which ended with a definitive peace signed at Constance in 1183. For all practical purposes, the Roncaglia program was now abandoned. Sometime earlier Frederick had also come to an understanding with Norman Italy and the year following the Peace of Constance he betrothed his son, the future Henry VI, to Constance, heiress to the Norman kingdom. The establishment of such friendly relations with southern Italy foreshadowed a new imperial assault upon the peninsula. The Papacy was therefore relieved when Frederick decided to lead German crusaders to the Holy Land and remove himself temporarily from the Italian scene. While engaged in this enterprise, Frederick accidentally fell into a stream and was drowned (1190).

Frederick's death caused little political disturbance in Germany for his son, Henry VI (1190-1197), who had served as co-emperor for some time, was able to succeed automatically to the imperial powers. Differing in character from his father in almost every respect, Henry was a keen, visionary, and able statesman, though a cruel and vindictive taskmaster. By skill and good fortune he managed to raise the Empire to the peak of its greatness in the span of seven years. Oddly enough, most of this accomplishment resulted directly or indirectly from his Italian policy.

Henry's primary concern at the beginning of his reign was to make good the claims which his wife held to the crown of Norman Italy. This was no easy task for the haughty Normans had elected a king of their own choosing and had secured an alliance with the Norman king of England, Richard the Lion-Heart, to defend their choice. Luck favored Henry in the struggle which ensued for he was able to make good not only his claims to the Norman throne but also to seize Richard himself as prisoner. The English king was released only after he had bestowed his kingdom upon Henry and had then taken it back as a fief of the Empire. With this addition, the Empire could nearly claim universality in the western world. Henry seems to have hoped that he might also add the Eastern Empire to his dominions. At all events, his preparations for an expedition to the East after 1195, while obscured as preparations for a Crusade, lend support to this view. Misfortune, however, cut short this last and grandest design. While attempting to quell a rebellion in Sicily (1197) he fell ill and died.

Henry VI's death was a major catastrophe for the Empire and the German monarchy. A strong hand was needed to keep what he had won, but his only son, who might have succeeded him was merely three years old, and the choice of a successor was thrown into the hands of the selfish nobility. The Waibling faction favored the selection of Philip, brother of the dead monarch, while the Welfs preferred Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. Agreement could not be reached on a candidate, each faction electing its own, so that Germany was exposed to a renewal of civil war. Under the circumstances it fell easy prey to the masterful pope, Innocent III (1198-1216) who took this opportunity to bend the imperial office to his will.

Asserting his right to review imperial elections, Innocent declared in favor of Otto, chiefly because he was in opposition to the Hohenstaufen family which had already caused the Papacy so much grief.

Not until Philip was assassinated (1208), however, was Otto able to make good his claims to authority. Then, in recognition of papal support, he acknowledged the wide territorial, legal, and fiscal claims which Innocent had made. But this submission was merely an expedient since Otto, for all his promises, never showed any intention of abandoning the imperial prerogatives in Italy. When convinced of Otto's insincerity, Innocent took advantage of a rebellion against him and prevailed upon the German electors to choose Frederick II, son of Henry VI, as their king. Otto was forced to withdraw from the imperial office in 1214. Once more the Papacy had been victorious, although the victory was of short duration.

Frederick II (1214-1250) was unquestionably the most unusual personality of imperial history, the brilliant though enigmatic genius of his times. Following his father's untimely death Frederick, at the age of three, became King of Sicily under the regency of his mother; and later, when his mother died, he was placed under the guardianship of the pope, Innocent III. Thus early in life Frederick became a pawn of inestimable value in the game which the Pope played for control of the Empire. It was in this guise that he was sent to Germany in 1212 to win the throne from Otto of Brunswick. A youth of eighteen, he carried his new responsibilities in Germany with dignity if not always with wisdom. As a foreigner, he conceived a keen dislike for German politics and he sought to sever his personal connections with it at the earliest opportunity. He therefore virtually abandoned the imperial powers there to the great ecclesiastical and lay princes, endowing them with the regalian rights of coinage, administration of justice, and the exploitation of markets. This naturally hastened imperial decentralization. Quite unwisely also, Frederick ignored the towns which elsewhere became the strongest allies of royalty and turned them over to the feudal nobility. Having thus weakened the Crown, Frederick bestowed it successively upon two of his sons and left Germany.

On his return to Sicily Frederick received the imperial crown from Pope Honorius III (1216-1227), promising in return to go on a crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem. This pledge he was soon to regret. Meanwhile, he devoted his attention to the reorganization of the government of his kingdom. Building from materials left by Norman predecessors, Frederick constructed one of the first strongly centralized and efficient absolutisms of Europe. He created a national army, paid from the royal treasury; he set up an administrative bureaucracy manned by laymen; he created a parliament with repre-

sentatives from various social classes; and he established one of the most enlightened legal codes of the middle ages. The government of Sicily was the surest testimonial to Frederick's political ability.

Devotion to Sicily did not, however, prevent Frederick from pursuing the imperial will-o'-the-wisp in Italy. In large measure, he revived Frederick I's Roncaglia program and sought to force the Lombard towns into submission. As on the earlier occasion, the Lombard League was reorganized to offer resistance, and the papacy combined with the imperial enemies. It was in this connection that Frederick was to have some reason to regret his promise to go on a crusade, for the Papacy now used every means to hold him to his pledge. When persuasion failed, Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) issued a ban of excommunication against him in the first year of his pontificate.

Unperturbed by the ban, Frederick departed for the Crusade in his own good time, and instead of fighting the infidel, negotiated with him. The pope was aghast at such audacity but was powerless to do anything about it since Frederick was soon back in Italy with a fine army at his disposal. The ban of excommunication was lifted and Frederick took up his aggressive policies in northern Italy where he had left them a few years before. The armies of the Lombard towns were met and defeated and for the moment it appeared that the imperial claims to sovereignty in Italy were to be made good. But as with his predecessors, Frederick was to find that victory evaporated just when it seemed fully in his grasp. The defeated Lombard towns continued to resist and successive popes directed their spiritual weapons against him. Innocent IV (1243-1254), an uncompromising opponent of imperial plans, conducted a European campaign against Frederick and was finally able to turn the tide. During the last three years of his life, Frederick met with a series of disasters at the hands of his Italian enemies.

With Frederick's death the most brilliant era of the medieval Empire closed. A scientist of parts who studied zoology as a hobby, a linguist of uncommon attainments, a patron of arts and letters, he was a man with talent, but withal a failure politically. In fairness, it may be questioned whether anyone else in his position would have succeeded. He left the Empire weakened and Germany hopelessly divided.

Innocent IV returned to Rome when Frederick died and set about eliminating all traces of the hated Hohenstaufen house, a policy which was diligently pursued by his immediate successors. Manfred, Frederick's son who succeeded to the Kingdom of Sicily, was eliminated

by Charles of Anjou, at papal instigation. Conrad IV, who had been made king of Germany, died a natural death, and his heir, ignored by his enemies in the elections which followed, was later beheaded. After 1256 Germany was left without a king for seventeen years, the prey of greedy ecclesiastics and nobility. The era of strong German monarchy had ended with the Hohenstaufens and the era of feudal particularism had begun in real earnest. Though the Empire survived in name for more than five centuries it was already ruined beyond repair. Napoleon's destruction of it in 1806 was merely a belated recognition of accomplished fact. It cannot be denied that the Papacy with the aid of the feudal nobility had won a decisive victory although, as time was to prove, at a spiritual cost which was much too exorbitant.

C. THE PAPAL MONARCHY

Despite occasional reversals of fortune, the Papacy rose to a commanding position in Europe during the period which paralleled the rise and fall of the Hohenstaufens. The explanation of this lies not alone in the recovery of moral prestige which resulted from the Cluniac reforms nor even in the ultimate victory over its German enemies. It was also the product of strong leadership and, especially, of the part which it played in uniting Christendom in the Crusades for a common struggle against the Moslems.

In the broadest sense the Crusades were the most important phase of medieval Christian expansion. Long before the twelfth century, hardy missionaries had slowly widened the frontiers of the faith in eastern Europe along the shores of the Baltic and the banks of the Danube, in Moslem Spain, and among the islands of the western Mediterranean. As has so frequently been the case in modern times, the work of these zealous missionaries was warmly seconded by secular princes and feudal lords, whose ambition for new lands could not be completely satisfied at home. The steady growth of population between the ninth and the twelfth centuries¹ made this latter problem ever more acute, while it naturally intensified the restlessness and discontent of the peasant masses. Landless nobility, adventurers, and serfs all found in the forward march of Christian civilization a field of occupation and the prospect of rich rewards. The genius of the papacy lay in the fact that it was conscious of this universal striving and directed it to a practical end, the recovery

¹ It has been estimated that the population of Europe doubled during this era.

of the Holy Places. In this all could engage with perfect good faith, from the criminal who sought escape from punishment, and the feudal lord who coveted new lands, to the simple, the pious, and devout who hoped to realize the "will of God." As often happens in contemporary life, an able leader, in this case the pope, expressed the vague dreams of many, clothed them with the necessary idealistic garb, and by skillful propaganda guided medieval men into a path of action which he could control. It is this churchly domination which makes the Crusades unique. Without the Papacy, Europe doubtless would have expanded but not, of course, in the same way.

Strictly speaking, the crusading movement was the result of the feud between Christianity and Mohammedanism, although a number of other factors were likewise involved. From the days of Mohammedan westward expansion, Moslem and Christian civilizations had clashed on many fronts, from Byzantium in the east to Cordova in the west. Fortune frequently shifted sides but, on the whole, prior to the middle of the eleventh century, Christendom had made the most consistent gains. The Christian states of Spain had widened their frontiers to include most of the peninsula, Pisa and Genoa had driven the infidel out of Corsica and Sardinia and even threatened the Fatimite stronghold of Egypt, while the Byzantine Empire had managed to recover sizeable portions of Asia Minor. Internal political strife among the Mohammedans had been largely instrumental in making possible these successes. In the eleventh century, however, the Mohammedans of the east experienced a significant revolution which not only temporarily halted political decentralization there but likewise brought a fanatical revival of religious fervor. For many years a barbaric oriental people, the Seljuk Turks, had been penetrating through Persia into Mohammedan lands. As with the Germanic peoples of the Roman Empire, it was found expedient to absorb many of these Turks, who came gradually to fill the ranks of the army and the civil service. In 1057 they conquered Persia and their leader forthwith became the temporal sovereign of the Bagdad Caliphate. Primarily militaristic and, like new converts, fanatically religious from the first, these Turks set out to regain the territory lost to Christian Byzantium. Within thirty years they managed to recapture all of Asia Minor up to the Dardanelles, including Palestine and the Holy Places.

For many years before this Jerusalem had been in Moslem hands and Christians had suffered no interferences when they made pilgrimages. Christian hostels had been established, Charlemagne hav-

ing provided for one, and Europeans had been in the habit of going in considerable numbers. There are few accurate statistics relating to these pilgrimages, but one shortly before the crusading era, composed chiefly of Germans, is supposed to have reached the figure of 7,000. It was not sheer curiosity which encouraged men to make such an arduous journey; for many it was a religious necessity. To pray before some especially hallowed shrine had long been regarded as particularly pleasing in the eyes of God. Many believed that by miraculous intervention they could be cured of infirmities or rendered immune to disease and sickness. Beyond that, the clergy promised more immediate rewards: complete release from temporal punishments due to sin. Naturally, the ancient city of Christ's martyrdom was considered as having the greatest value among all the various meccas of Christian pilgrims. In consequence, anything which seemed likely to render visits to Jerusalem impossible was certain to create popular alarm. It appears that the Seljuk Moslems had little or no intention of closing Jerusalem to Christian Europe, but erroneous interpretation and deliberate propaganda produced the belief that such was the case.

The first to play upon these latent fears was Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118), Emperor of the Byzantine Empire. Succeeding to the throne after a demoralizing defeat at the hands of Moslem armies, Alexius was hard pressed to find friends who would help him repair the ruins of his crumbling state. Whether or not he appealed to western Christendom is still a moot question, although he might easily have welcomed it in the first part of his reign. But clearly he did not stand desperately in need of help when it was finally proffered to him. Nevertheless, Alexius had been in communication with the papacy and it is probable that he inspired the head of the Church with the idea of mobilizing Christendom for the recovery of the Holy Places.

A council of the Church at Clermont (1095) in southern France offered Pope Urban II (1088-1099) the opportunity to reveal his maturing plans. Exactly what moved him to action on this occasion is uncertain, but at least it does not seem that it was because of an urgent appeal from Alexius. In all likelihood, Urban had been deeply moved by rumors that the infidel had profaned the Holy Sepulcher. Very probably he believed that Christian pilgrims had been and would be maltreated. At all events, there is no doubt that his religious sensibilities had been deeply shocked. But there were probably other circumstances which impelled him to take action. It

would be no credit to Urban, a man of unusual abilities, to assume that he was not keenly conscious of the many advantages which would accrue to the church and the Papacy from the program he was about to propose. He must have been aware of the fact that it would divert the aggressive Normans and the ambitious Holy Roman Emperors from their attempts to absorb the properties and prerogatives of the papal chair. He must have hoped that a crusade would serve as the agency to reunite the Church of the East with that of the West. There is no question that he believed it would serve as a safety valve to release the accumulating energies of feudal Europe. While not solely influenced by such material considerations as these, Urban surely could not have been immune to them.

The speech which Urban delivered at Clermont was one of the few remarkable addresses of history which provoked prompt and decisive action. After reminding his audience of the infidel's depredations in the Holy Land, he urged all Christian men to take up the cross of Christ for its defense and recovery. The benefits that would thus be assured he portrayed in lavish hue. The land-hungry would find themselves richly recompensed in a country which Urban asserted was flowing with milk and honey. The criminal could make amends for his sins; the belligerently inclined could devote their military talents to a good and useful purpose; and the adventurer would find a field for new enterprise. If these would go, moreover, they could count upon the protection of the Church, which would temporarily release them of their obligations should they be indebted, and protect their properties in their absence. Little wonder that the assembled representatives at the Council reacted with unaccustomed enthusiasm to the papal address and rose to a man when he had finished, shouting, "God wills it." Urban had struck a responsive chord.

The Council adjourned, the pope and his more enthusiastic hearers hastened to preach the crusade among the people. Approval was almost universal and many were too impatient to wait until the autumn of 1096 when Urban planned the undertaking. The first mobilizations were completed in the spring of that year and set out in undisciplined and disorderly array at once. Germans of the Rhine country were the first to depart, followed shortly thereafter by Frenchmen of southern France and Normans of southern Italy. Without common leadership these various bands converged upon Constantinople from different directions during the summer and autumn of 1096. The Byzantine authorities became increasingly dismayed. Not only had they not been expected, but what was worse

was the fact that these Crusaders gave every appearance of being rabble in arms, disorderly and unruly. Moreover, among them were the Normans, long enemies of the Empire. To defend its citizens against these freebooters and to maintain its rights over the territories of Asia Minor which they might conquer required no little skill and diplomacy on the part of the government at Constantinople. But Alexius was equal to the task. Commanding the facilities needed by the Crusaders for transportation to the Holy Land, and having them temporarily at his mercy for the necessary supplies of food, he was able to force the leaders to swear to him a personal oath of allegiance and pledge that whatever conquests they should achieve would be made in his name. In return, Alexius promised that the Empire would also take up the Cross and would furnish the Latin armies with supplies and reinforcements.

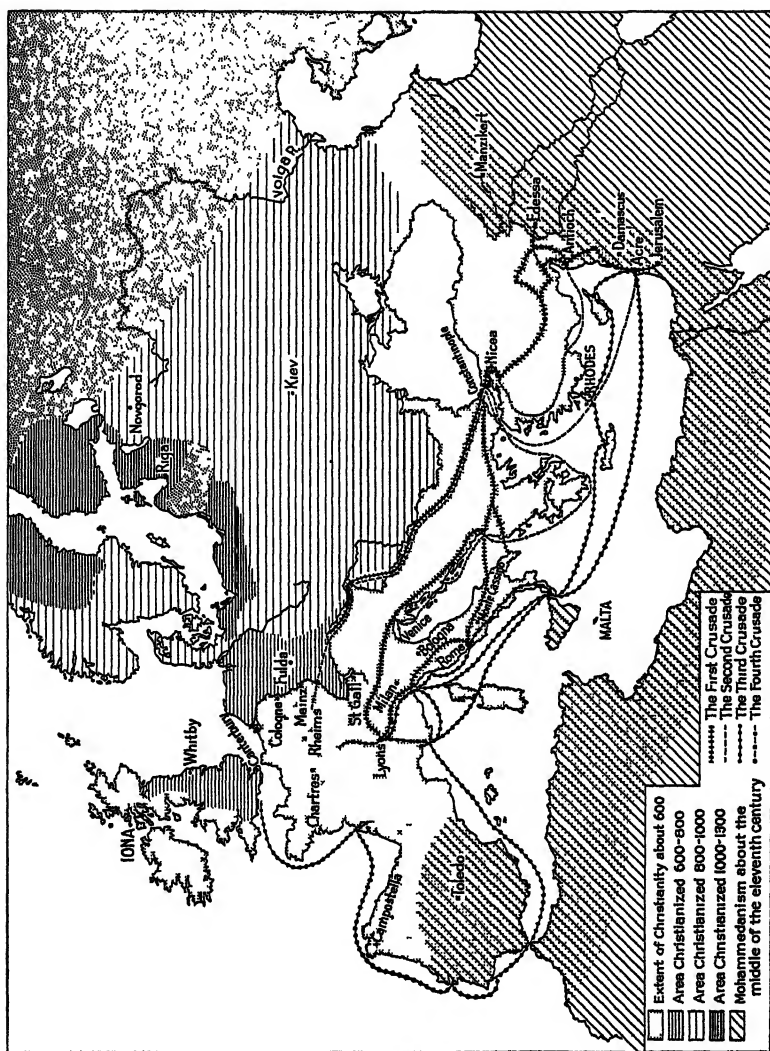
The Crusaders crossed to Asia Minor in the spring of 1097. At Nicea they fought their first engagement, and after heavy losses succeeded in investing the city. No sooner had victory been attained, however, than a dispute broke out over the question of distributing the spoils. This was a foretaste of what was to prove the greatest danger and deterrent to Christian success. Baldwin, leader of a body of fighters from Provence, demanded the territory for himself and, meeting with strong opposition, retired from the main body to carve out a kingdom about the Armenian city of Edessa. Thus depleted in numbers the Crusaders advanced upon the strongly fortified city of Antioch in October, 1097. The city was ably defended, and the Christian troops might easily have failed had it not been for the treason of a Turkish soldier who opened the city to Latin arms and brutality. Even so, the Christians found themselves hard pressed after Antioch had fallen for the Moslems reorganized their forces and proceeded to besiege the city. Cut off from supplies and relief the Christians seemed condemned to destruction when the "discovery" of the Holy Lance¹ revived their courage sufficiently to launch a furious and successful attack against the besiegers. When victory had been assured, a dispute arose among the Crusaders over the division of the spoils. Bohemund eventually won possession of the city and principality of Antioch and withdrew his forces from the Latin army. Thus only the barest remnant of the original body of Crusaders was left to march on to the original objective of Jerusalem. After a ten days' siege the poorly defended city fell, and the Holy

¹ So-called because it was, allegedly, the lance which pierced the side of the crucified Christ.

Sepulcher was restored to the Christians. Jerusalem was transformed into a kingdom and Godfrey of Bouillon, the most faithful and devout of the crusading leaders, was named its king.

The news of these victories was received with widespread rejoicing and thousands of pilgrims hastened to capitalize upon the advantages thus guaranteed. But it was not long before the ephemeral nature of the victory was fully revealed. Divided by conflicting ambitions, the crusading leaders had neglected to unite for defense against the infidel, who swiftly recovered. Without colonists and reinforcements the original Crusaders had more than enough difficulty defending themselves, and the Christian West, ready to profit from the gains but slow to send support, offered little help. A variety of military orders such as the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (Hospitallers), the Knights of the Temple (Templars) and the Teutonic Knights, were organized to provide relief, but most of these, like the original Crusaders, were more concerned with personal aggrandizement than with the common welfare. In consequence, the reorganized Turks managed gradually to recover their losses and by 1144 had succeeded in capturing Aleppo, Antioch, and Edessa.

This unfortunate turn of events aroused western Christendom to new efforts, and in 1147 a Second Crusade was preached. Led by Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France, this undertaking failed almost before it had begun. Hopelessly at odds over the eventual spoils, the Crusaders were further hampered by the jealous fears of the Christians already established in Palestine. This Second Crusade had to be abandoned. The Moslems were naturally pleased with its failure and, under the leadership of Saladin of Egypt, made further capital of Christian weakness. During the next quarter of a century most of the possessions of the first Crusaders were reconquered and by 1187 Jerusalem itself was again in Moslem hands. A Third Crusade was immediately organized under the direction of Europe's three greatest sovereigns: Frederick Barbarossa of the Holy Roman Empire, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard the Lion-Heart of England. As usual, this enterprise lacked unity of direction, and was badly divided by mutual jealousies. Philip Augustus, at odds with Richard, withdrew from the Crusade before the enemy had been attacked. Frederick Barbarossa was accidentally drowned and his following melted away with his death. Only Richard was left to pursue the hopeless task. Against him the Moslems had no great difficulty and the Christians were compelled to accept a truce of



MAP 14. EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE CRUSADES

three years, with some trading privileges in the coastal towns, and the privilege of visiting Jerusalem unmolested.

These uniform failures reflected the declining interest of European society in the movement. This was even more clearly manifested in the Fourth Crusade, preached by Innocent III. Ostensibly undertaken with the purpose of subduing the Moslem stronghold in Egypt, this Fourth Crusade was diverted by the commercial city of Venice to the satisfaction of its own material interests. As the greatest shipping center of the western world, Venice was requested to arrange for the transportation of the Crusaders and their equipment to Alexandria. When it occurred that the number of volunteers failed to meet expectations the Venetians insisted that they could not undertake their portion of the bargain unless those Crusaders who did arrive first helped them fight the Byzantine Empire, which had recently canceled the Venetian trading monopoly at Constantinople. Despite the objections of Innocent, the Venetian proposal could not be rejected so that Christian Crusaders, organized to fight the Moslems, found themselves fighting the Christian eastern Empire. The Byzantine Empire was defeated, Constantinople invested, and when that had been achieved neither the Crusaders nor the Venetians had a desire to invade the Moslem stronghold of Egypt. The Fourth Crusade was a complete fiasco.

The crusading fervor of the early twelfth century had disappeared and although excursions to the Holy Land were still encouraged there were few who responded. Such crusades as materialized were undertaken chiefly to satisfy the private and materials interests of the Church and were confined, paradoxically enough, largely to Europe proper. The Papacy employed the crusading movement as a powerful weapon against its ecclesiastical and secular enemies. It was used to exterminate heresies, expand Christianity among the heathens, and subdue recalcitrant princes who defied the papal claims to universal dominion.¹ Palestine and the Holy Places ceased to be the object of European solicitude.

From the point of view of military achievement the Crusades were a complete failure. Nevertheless they hold a place of peculiar prominence in the history of civilization. In a measure they were the cause, though perhaps more often the reflection, of profound cultural, economic, political, and religious transformations in medieval life. The Crusades quickened the curiosity and stimulated the

¹ The threatened crusade against John of England and the crusade against the Albigenians are examples.

interest of literally thousands of pilgrims who came into contact with the more highly developed civilizations of the Levant. It is altogether probable that the learning of the East would have filtered as completely into Europe through Spain and Sicily had there been no crusades, but the results would hardly have been felt so quickly.

The Mohammedan world indeed had much to contribute. Though politically divided it comprised a commercial and cultural unit, bound together by free trade and a common tongue. Rugs, silks, and cotton of Syria and Persia, and the products of the Far East flowed into Spain and Sicily. Spain produced fine pottery and textiles, and the Moors of Africa became famed for their hand-tooled leather goods. Despite the barrier of religion some of this produce had filtered into Europe through Spain and Sicily but, even more, through the Varangian trade route of Russia. After the western Mediterranean was opened in the era of the Crusades the connection became more direct and more important.

Western Christians borrowed heavily from the infidel in navigation as well as in business organization, so much so that the great revival of trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could hardly be accounted for otherwise. The place of Mohammedan trade in the development of the West can still be traced in the vocabularies of European tongues: muslin for the goods of Mosul; damask for the cloth of Damascus; calico for Calicut, to mention only three. It was probably from the Mohammedans that the West learned of bills of exchange and of joint stock companies.

Moreover, the Mohammedans developed scientific agriculture. Arid lands they irrigated; hillsides they terraced and planted with vines; and they developed methods of fertilization. Even more, they imported the orange, the banana, the lemon, sugar cane, spinach, and a variety of flowers, including the rose, into western Europe.

Material prosperity was matched by cultural attainments which, in the world of letters, passed through the required medium of the Arabic tongue. For the most part this was retentive rather than creative, but no less significant for that reason. Having fallen heir to great though decadent civilizations, the Moslem Empire constituted an immense repository in which the most diverse cultures, from Hellenic to Persian, from Greek to Byzantine, were drawn together and preserved. Important classics, including most of the works of Plato, Aristotle, the Neo-Platonists, Hippocrates and Galen were translated into Arabic. So keen was the desire of Moslem scholars for the learning of the ancients that copyists were despatched to

Byzantium and India to fill in the gaps. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the debt which modern society owes for this notable service. It should be remembered that for the knowledge of many classical manuscripts Renaissance intellectuals relied upon Latin translations from Arabic texts.

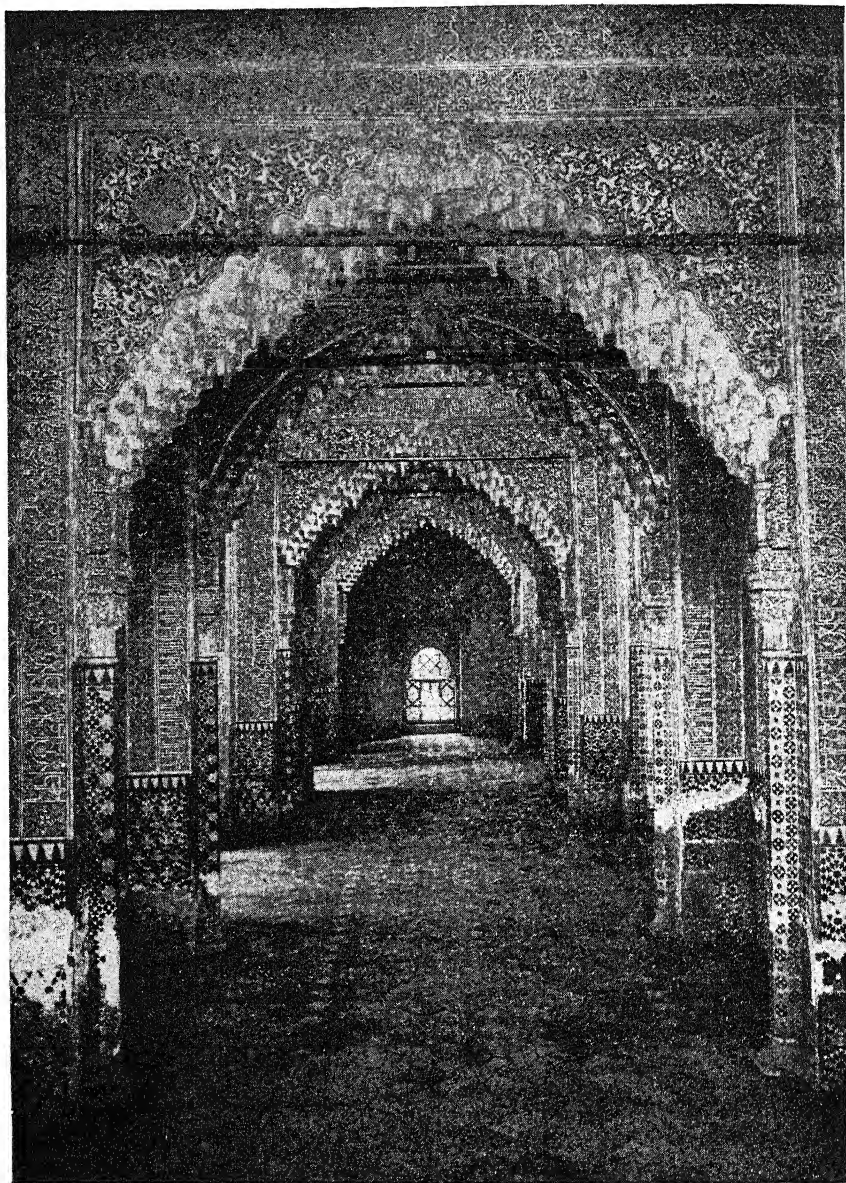
Among the Moslems, the pursuit of science was given high regard. Through wide travel they acquired extensive knowledge of geography, corrected and supplemented the works of Ptolemy, and kept alive the belief in the sphericity of the earth. Their contributions to medicine were especially noteworthy, particularly because of the works of the Persian Hunayn ibn Ishaq (809-877) and of the Egyptian Jew, Isaac Judæus. Not only did these summarize the accomplishments of Greek and Arab medicine and pass them on to posterity, but, independently, they advanced the knowledge of surgery and therapeutics. Much of this influence was transmitted to medieval Europe through Salerno, in Italy, where Moslem traditions of medicine became well established. They were likewise instrumental in keeping alive the interest in alchemy and thus prepared the way for the later development of chemistry. Probably their greatest achievements in science were in the fields of mathematics and physics. In the latter they conducted fruitful studies of tides, waves, and the reflection of light. In the field of optics alone they foreshadowed the most noteworthy discoveries of Europe prior to the eighteenth century. In mathematics their contribution to the West was twofold. They incorporated the Indian system of numerals, including the zero, which in time displaced the cumbersome and antiquated Roman system. Again, they advanced beyond Euclidian geometry and invented analytical geometry as well as plane and spherical trigonometry.

Moslem philosophic speculation likewise deeply influenced western thought. Unlike the Christians, Mohammedans were not perplexed by the problem of explaining the nature of Christ and the Trinity, but they were as deeply concerned with the nature of God and with the question of the ultimate validity of faith as contrasted with reason. One group of thinkers held to the view that faith should not be relied upon when its conclusions were opposed to sound reason. There were likewise exponents of the view that when reason and faith stood in conflict the latter should prevail. Attempts were made to reconcile these views, especially by the Spaniard, Averroës, whose translations of, and commentaries upon, Aristotle were put into Latin and widely used in Europe. There was a dis-

tinct similarity between these speculations of the Mohammedans and the scholasticism of the later middle ages. Perhaps a coincidence, it is more likely that European intellectuals received part of their inspiration from the Moslem world.

Europe also drew heavily from Moslem literature which, in the era of the Abbasids, reached its flower with such notable productions as the *Rubáiyát* of Omar Khayyám. Arabic was the first tongue to introduce the rime into Europe, and its unique treatment of platonic love was largely instrumental in stimulating the songs of the troubadours.

Similarly, Europe probably owes much to Mohammedan fine arts, although the connection is less apparent. Seemingly new and original. Moslem art was actually a fusion of many old techniques and traditions common to the peoples who had been assimilated. During the early expansion there was considerable building activity, guided by the Moslem's natural bent for religious and public enterprise into the construction of schools, hospitals, mosques, and convents. It is in the mosque that one finds the most typical expression of Moslem skill. Requirements of worship determined the general nature of the design, even though local variations of detail were the general rule. Since the faithful had to be cleansed before prayer, a place for ablutions was always provided, as was also a niche, indicating the direction of Mecca toward which prayers were to be offered. The absence of ritual and ceremonial formalities eliminated the need for much of the interior detail so characteristic of the Christian church. Usually, however, oriental colors, intricately carved wood, and mosaics were used to secure a rich though quiet effect. In some of the larger mosques elaborate experimentation with structural principles led to the use of pointed arches, crudely stained glass, and even ribbed vaulting. It is not unlikely that early Gothic architects were influenced by these models. Mosques were always featured by the towering minarets, used to call the faithful to prayer. The style of these varied with each locality, according to its traditions. It has been suggested that those of Egypt, with their retreating prisms, inspired the later Italian *campanili*. Although carving in stone was widely practiced, sculpture as such never developed into an independent art. The chief reason for this is to be found in the Koran's prohibition of representing man, a prohibition arising from the fear of idolatry. Moslem sculptors, consequently, confined themselves to formal ornamentation, using the acanthus, the vine, and patterns of flowers and fruits. Delicately executed, these often resemble intricate patterns of



Alinari

HALL OF JUSTICE, ALHAMBRA. GRANADA, SPAIN.

The skill of Moslem artists and the wealth of Moslem rulers is reflected in this luxurious palace, built by the later Saracenic rulers of Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The richly patterned walls with intricate, interwoven arabesques and geometric figures, the stalactite decorations on the arches, and the honeycomb vaulting in this photograph of the Hall of Justice reveal Moslem architecture in the most elegant stage of its development.

oriental rugs. "Arabesque" in modern sculpture is an outgrowth of these developments.

Moslem influences upon the development of music were also profound. In all likelihood most of the stringed instruments of the guitar type originated in Arabia. It appears that the Moslems were the first to understand the time value of notes, and it is reasonably certain that they assisted in the development of the musical scale. The first singing troubadours were probably Mohammedans.

It must not be supposed that European contact with this rich culture of the Mohammedan world resulted entirely from the Crusades. But it was then that the processes of absorbing it were greatly accelerated, and the effects were most clearly observable. It was no mere coincidence that a great intellectual revival, so greatly stimulated by Moslem influence, should have paralleled and succeeded the era of the Crusades.

Politically, the Crusades hastened the decline of feudalism. Members of the nobility who participated frequently lost heavily in wealth and power. Often they sold freedom to landless peasants for ready cash and more often still found themselves deprived of their lands and privileges upon their return from the Holy Land. Certainly aggressive princes took advantage of the absence of their great vassals whenever opportunity afforded. For these princes the Crusades were an unexpected blessing. As in the case of Philip Augustus of France, they were used to enhance the prestige of the Crown. It would be incorrect to say that the Crusades were responsible for the development of nationalism, but by helping to clear away a number of the vestiges of feudalism they contributed to it.

For the Church the Crusades were not an unmixed blessing. During the first half of the twelfth century they greatly increased the prestige of the Papacy. It was then unquestionably the leader of Europe, bending kings and emperors to its will, and through its courts administering a broad and common justice. In the end, however, the Crusades caused irreparable damage to the head of the Church. The temptation to preach crusades against immediate enemies was greater than most popes could withstand, and they employed Christian knights for the achievement of their own political designs. Accused of fomenting war through such procedure the Papacy was still further condemned for making financial profit from the movement. For several centuries, remission of temporal punishment was extended to sinners who performed some particularly meritorious or pious act. It became the custom during the Crusades to

extend a plenary indulgence, or full remission of temporal punishment, to all who shouldered the Cross and partook of the hardships of a Crusade. Originally designed to persuade men to engage in the Crusade, this practice was soon abused. From granting indulgences to those who went to the Holy Land, it was merely a step to extending them to those who could not go, but could contribute to the cause. The funds thus collected from these contributors were first used to defray the expenses of Crusades, but later they were used to replenish the resources of the papal treasury. Practices of this sort helped to undermine the discipline of the Church. Even more dangerous, perhaps, was the increasing skepticism with which many came to regard the doctrines of the Church, a skepticism born of reviving ancient culture and strengthened by the direct experience of thousands of Crusaders. After seeing the flourishing life of the East and experiencing the remarkable achievements of Moslem culture it was little wonder that some men came to feel that the Church did not have a monopoly on truth. The Crusades encouraged the growth of an independence of mind which challenged the prejudices which ecclesiastics had fostered. It was therefore no mere coincidence that the Church was seriously troubled with heresies in the thirteenth century. Judged in the broadest sense, the Crusades, far from being a boon to the Church, were a serious danger.

Despite loss of respect, growing skepticism, and declining ecclesiastical discipline, the Church and the Papacy rose to unexampled heights before the era of the Crusades had closed. At no time before or since has it so completely dominated the lives and thoughts of men. It controlled education, administered law, and alone had custody of the means of salvation. It claimed and, in large measure, realized universal political jurisdiction as well. Not only did it influence the nomination and election of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, but it also held an imposing number of kingdoms and principalities in feudal subservience. In a literal sense the Papacy had become, for all practical purposes, the overlord of Europe.

Much of this extraordinary achievement must be attributed to Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), properly regarded as the ablest pope of the middle ages. Born into a prominent family, Innocent was favored with more than the common opportunities. After studying theology at the University of Paris and canon law at the University of Bologna, he took orders in the Church, and at the age of 29 was named a cardinal. His thorough preparation, extensive knowledge, and sound judgment swiftly won him the place of favored papal

adviser, and made him the pre-eminent figure within the curia at Rome. It was not surprising, therefore, that the College of Cardinals named him pope in 1198, when a man of energy and courage was needed.

Conditions in Rome, in Europe, and among the clergy were unfavorable when Innocent's pontificate began. Emperor Henry VI, who had just died, had almost succeeded in bringing the whole of Italy into the imperial grasp and papal political jurisdiction outside of Rome had nearly vanished. The independence of the Papacy was itself in serious jeopardy. Politically, the remainder of Europe was in turmoil. Germany was divided by an imperial election; France and England were at odds over their respective continental territorial claims; Spain was ravaged by feudal wars; and in the east, the Byzantine Empire stood on the brink of disaster. The Church was little better off. Simony, clerical marriage, and moral laxness were everywhere apparent, and many of the great episcopal lords once again openly flouted the papal mandate. There was never a greater need nor a greater opportunity for competent papal leadership: Europe needed an arbiter; the Church needed a master.

Innocent was equal to the task. Convinced of his divine mission and of the propriety of his dominion over prince and pauper, he devoted his vast energies to organizing the clerical hierarchy efficiently, and to making his will obeyed in the turbulent political world. In this, his wide knowledge of church affairs and his legal training proved of inestimable value. It must be remembered, however, that centuries of tradition facilitated his labors. Since the days of Leo I, Christian Europe had grown accustomed to seek leadership in Rome. Gregory I and Gregory VII in particular had enlarged the papal claims and increased its power, while monasticism and the Crusades extended its influence to the remotest hamlets of Europe. Much of Innocent's genius lay in his ability to utilize these traditions of moral, spiritual, and political leadership. A man less able than he might well have failed.

Among Innocent's greatest though least spectacular accomplishments was the perfecting of the organization of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Slowly developing since the time of the Apostolic Church, this was finally centralized and unified in the thirteenth century. Innocent was perhaps the most ardent, most active, and the most successful exponent of the claims set forth by the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals to the supremacy of the pope over all ecclesiastical subordinates. He kept in constant touch with the greater episcopal

authorities, interested himself directly in the character and work of the parish priests, and, through his legates, enforced obedience upon all the clergy. Like the ambitious kings of his times, he demanded unswerving allegiance.

Under such direction, the Church assumed more and more the character of an absolute monarchy, with all authority concentrated in the sovereign pontiff. Like the kings, the pope held complete administrative, legislative, and judicial power. Of course many of the functions incumbent upon the exercise of such broad authority had to be delegated to subordinates. Immediately associated with the pope for this purpose was the body of clergy known as the Papal Curia, composed of the cardinals, petty administrators and clerks. While the advice of the curia was often solicited, its chief function lay in conducting the enormous business of papal government. The cardinals, together called the Consistory, assisted the pope in political matters, and assumed the responsibility for papal elections. Another group, the Secretariat or Chancery, compiled, received, and preserved the numerous documents required for such an extensive administrative machine. Still another group, the Camera or Treasury, handled papal finance. In other words, the Papal Curia was the papal equivalent of a bureaucracy.

Outside of Rome, the pontiff exercised his jurisdiction through various administrative agents such as the papal legates, the archbishops, bishops, and parish priests. Of these the legates were by far the most powerful. Appointed directly by the pope, they were empowered to overrule any of the local clergy. The archbishop was the nominal head of a province, composed of several dioceses or bishoprics, but his title carried with it no more powers than were possessed by the bishop. The latter, after Innocent's time frequently chosen by the pope, administered the religious affairs of a diocese. Beneath him were the members of his curia or cathedral "chapter," and the parish priests. The priest was the least privileged figure in this pyramided system, but it was he who ministered directly to the mass of Christians, and made possible the intricate superstructure of the Church.

Besides this hierarchy of clerical administrators, the Church also possessed a "representative" institution, the church council, roughly comparable to the parliaments of medieval monarchies. Attended by archbishops, bishops, abbots of monasteries, and others, these were not legislative in character. They were called and presided over by the pope, and their deliberations were confined to matters which he

set before them. Nevertheless they did reflect the unity of the Church. There were five such councils during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the last, the Fifth Lateran Council of 1215, presided over by Innocent, being the greatest.

More than a sovereign within the Church, the pope in Innocent's time was likewise a great temporal prince. Pontiffs had long claimed and occasionally exercised jurisdiction over territories in central Italy known as the Patrimony of St. Peter. Possession of them had been guaranteed in the spurious Donation of Constantine, and more directly by the Donation of Pepin, but their boundaries had never been defined nor had sovereignty over them ever been complete. The local nobility there frequently declared their independence and were often encouraged in this by German Emperors who sought to discomfit the popes. Even control over the city of Rome was hard to maintain at times. On the eve of Innocent's election it had fallen to communal revolutionaries from whom the pope was forced to wrest it. One of the primary objects of Innocent's career was to put an end to this anomalous and dangerous position. By alliances, persuasion, bequests, and actual conquest, he rounded out his territories and clearly defined his jurisdictions. He thus laid the solid foundation for the States of the Church, which cut across central Italy from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic. With only minor occasional changes these remained the basis of papal temporal power in Italy until the nineteenth century.

In addition to being a temporal prince in Italy, Innocent was also the feudal overlord of much of Europe. Long before his time the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies had voluntarily recognized the pope as its suzerain, but the feudal relationship thus established lapsed when Emperor Henry VI assumed the royal crown. The latter's sudden death on the eve of Innocent's election gave the pope the opportunity to regain papal suzerainty. He persuaded Constance, Henry's widow, to entrust both her son and her kingdom to his charge, and upon her death despatched papal legates to administer the realm. By 1208 papal dominion in the Sicilies was assured. In the Iberian peninsula his claims to overlordship were almost equally enforced. He labored to establish peace between warring Christian princes there and encouraged them to unite for the reconquest of Mohammedan lands. Since all territory taken from the infidel was claimed by the pope, these princes were persuaded to recognize papal suzerainty. Portugal readily submitted, as did also the kings of Aragon. Leon and Castile were at first reluctant but their princes were forced to capitulate.

No similar claims could be made to France. The French monarchy was already much too strong to sacrifice any of its sovereign authority, and, moreover, in the person of King Philip Augustus, Innocent more than found his match. In England, however, the Papacy enjoyed better fortune. King John, from the time of his accession in 1199, conducted a relentless campaign against the Church. For this the pope preached a crusade against him and asked England's greatest enemy, Philip Augustus, to assume its leadership. Already hard pressed abroad and faced with the rebellion of his barons at home, John preferred an abject submission to the pope to complete disaster. In 1213 he surrendered his crown to Innocent and received it back as the latter's vassal. Thenceforward for a number of years England was administered by papal legates.¹

Innocent exerted a decisive influence in the Holy Roman Empire. The Papacy had long claimed and in some instances had exercised the right of nominating and deposing emperors, but never before were the prospects for complete domination so bright. Emperor Henry VI, it will be recalled, left as his heir to the imperial title an infant son, Frederick, who because of his age was not regarded as an acceptable candidate for the crown. Therefore at the royal election two factions developed, one electing Otto of Brunswick, a Welf, and the other electing Philip of Swabia, head of the House of Hohenstaufen. It seemed entirely appropriate to ask the pope to arbitrate. Innocent was prepared to assume this responsibility but was anxious to take his time in reaching a decision. Weighing the respective merits of both candidates from the papal point of view, the pope finally decided that he preferred the unknown and untried Otto to a member of the Hohenstaufen family which had long been a menace to the Church. However, he did not announce his decision for several years, and, in the interim, while Germany was torn by civil strife, he consolidated the States of the Church in Italy and weaned the churchmen of Germany from the imperial crown. The propriety of this delay may be questioned, but its results were certainly beneficial to the Papacy at the moment. Otto, named sovereign by Innocent (1201), became anti-papal immediately, so that Innocent felt compelled to displace him. He encouraged his Hohenstaufen ward, Frederick II, to lay claim to the German realm. With the aid of Philip Augustus of France and with spontaneous assistance in Germany, Frederick managed to wrest the crown from Otto (1214). By these means Innocent vindicated the papal claim to supervision over the Empire.

¹ See Chapter X.

Toward other and lesser princes Innocent applied equally vigorous measures. A disputed royal succession in Hungary enabled him to keep the Crown of St. Stephen subservient. He availed himself of favorable opportunities to establish claims to overlordship over Bulgaria and Bohemia; by ecclesiastical pressure secured the momentary submission of Poland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; and, through the Crusades, exercised control over the Christian states of Armenia and Jerusalem. While most of these supervisory powers were of short duration, during Innocent's time they were seldom challenged. In temporalities as in spiritualities the pope had become the master of Europe.

For the enforcement of its mandates over secular and ecclesiastical subordinates, the Papacy used none of the customary instruments of force. But it did possess spiritual weapons which were even more effective. The first of these was the ban of excommunication which deprived its victim of the common privileges of the Church, such as the sacraments, usually regarded as essential to salvation, and rendered him an outcast. There were few individuals in the thirteenth century who could regard such a ban lightly, and most of those against whom it was pronounced hastened to make their peace. In the case of obstinately recalcitrant princes, against whom the ban of excommunication proved inadequate, an interdict could be issued. Applied to the land and people of the prince, this required the closing of the churches, the suspension of all sacraments except baptism, penance, and extreme unction, and denied the right of burial in consecrated ground. The mass of devout and credulous peasantry usually found such restrictions intolerable, so that they frequently forced their government to make peace. Besides excommunicating a temporal sovereign and placing an interdict upon his realm, the Papacy also claimed the right to depose him. Deposition meant that the sovereign's subjects were no longer bound by their oaths of allegiance. If none of these measures proved effective, the pope might finally preach a crusade against the offender, and call upon the remainder of Christendom to administer chastisement by armed force.

In addition to these powerful and compelling spiritual weapons, the Church exercised control over peoples through an elaborate system of ecclesiastical courts. Better organized than the secular courts, with systematic gradations which allowed for appeal all the way to the papal court at Rome, these were used by everyone in medieval society. Their jurisdiction in cases involving the clergy was regarded as complete, and they also claimed jurisdiction over the laity in all

matters pertaining to "salvation or damnation of the soul." Among the latter were included cases arising out of the various sacraments. When it is remembered that this enabled the church courts to adjudicate issues arising from the contract of marriage, such as the administration of wills, it will be seen at once how broad was the scope of their authority. Moreover, the Church claimed jurisdiction in matters involving offenses of a moral character such as blasphemy, adultery, and perjury. By broad interpretation the church lawyers were able to and frequently did handle cases of all types, temporal as well as ecclesiastical. The law which they administered, however, was church or canon law, a vast body of written and customary law derived from the Scriptures, the Church Fathers, Church councils, and Popes, and including liberal borrowings from Roman imperial practice.

Besides these ecclesiastical courts which administered justice over an almost unlimited field were the special inquisitorial courts, established to handle only cases involving heresy. These had not existed in the time of Innocent III, but were established shortly after his death when it seemed advisable to free the regular courts of the increasing number of heresy cases. Composed of special judges appointed by the pope and working in co-operation with the local bishops, these inquisitorial courts were unique in structure and function. The judges were to act as missionaries to recover the "lost" and were specially delegated to prevent the spread of the infection of false belief. If persuasion failed, the accused were called to trial, and if found guilty were turned over to the civil authorities for punishment. The methods employed by these courts to secure confessions have made the word "Inquisition" a common symbol of intolerance and persecution.

The effectiveness of ecclesiastical courts and spiritual weapons in ensuring universal temporal and spiritual power depended, in the final analysis, upon the willingness of men to believe in the divine mission of the Church. There were few who doubted it in the thirteenth century. Through years of habit and training, it had come to be believed that salvation was the great object of life, and that this could not be obtained except through the instrumentalities of the Church. Grace, essential to assure salvation, could be secured only through the sacraments; and the sacraments could be administered by none but ordained clergy. Hence the organized priesthood was absolutely indispensable to medieval life.

It will be observed that the fundamental basis of priestly power

lay in the monopoly it enjoyed in administering the sacraments. Defined as the "visible forms of invisible grace," the sacraments¹ were as old as the Christian doctrine, though their number long remained in doubt. It was not until the twelfth century that the sacred number of seven was definitely agreed upon and not until almost three centuries later that that figure was officially established. Among these, the sacrament of holy orders was perhaps first from the clerical point of view, since it alone bestowed the power to administer the other sacraments. This bestowal of holy orders was left entirely to the higher episcopal officials, through whom it was presumed the saving power of Christ passed by virtue of the Apostolic Succession. Once ordained, the priest was, however, privileged and duty bound to administer all remaining sacraments, except that of confirmation, which was specifically reserved for the bishop. By common custom, the first sacrament, baptism, was administered in infancy. This washed away the taint of original sin and prepared its recipient to become a part of the church militant through confirmation in his adolescent years. The latter process not only made him a part of the great Christian brotherhood, but it likewise reinvigorated and strengthened him to resist evil. As members of the church visible, all who had been confirmed were eligible to receive the most important sacrament of all, that of the Holy Eucharist. Allegedly a commemoration of Christ's last supper, this had slowly developed into a rich and miraculous ceremonial. It is significant that the definitive statement of the Church regarding this sacrament was not issued until the Fifth Lateran Council. As then stated, the wine and the wafer used by the priest were miraculously transformed during the ceremonial into "the real presence of the incarnate Christ." The word transubstantiation has been employed to describe this miracle. The wafer and the wine having therefore become the actual body and blood of Christ, the communicant was directly nourished and fortified by the divine presence. It became customary to offer only the wafer to the laity because since both it and the wine were held to possess equally the "real presence," it was thought expedient to guard the wine, now precious blood, against spilling.

Among the remaining sacraments, by all odds the most important was the sacrament of penance, administered to those who had sinned after baptism. By fulfillment of its requirements, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, the sinner gained forgiveness for sin and was thereby again rendered fit to receive the Holy Eucharist and the

¹ Originally this term included all sacred things.

other sacraments. The first element of this sacrament, contrition, required that one feel a genuine sense of sorrow for his sin, and humbly petition God for forgiveness. Besides this, however, other elements were essential: a firm determination not to sin again; confession of the sin to a priest; and performance of the penance imposed by the latter. In the early Church, confession had been public, but this was gradually displaced by private or auricular confession. The latter procedure was definitely enjoined by the Fifth Lateran Council, which also required every Christian to confess at least once each year. The nature of the satisfaction exacted of the penitent was determined wholly by the offense and the personality of the offender, varying from simple prayer to charitable contributions and arduous pilgrimages. It was around this aspect of penance that there grew a variety of abuses, among which the sale of indulgences became the most notorious.

The two remaining sacraments were those of marriage and extreme unction. Marriage could be performed only by the Church and the bonds of matrimony could not be severed. Divorce was not permitted, but marriages could be nullified if upon inquiry they were found to have been invalid. The last sacrament to be administered was that of extreme unction. Coming on the eve of expected death this consisted of anointment with blessed oil, and, if possible, partaking of a sacred wafer.

It will be seen from this how completely the medieval Church dominated the daily lives and thoughts of men. From the time of birth until burial in consecrated ground, the individual was continually under the jurisdiction and close scrutiny of the Church. If he fell afoul of it, the horrors of damnation stared him in the face. Neither could he secure the sacraments, necessary to salvation, nor could he be buried with the blessed. The terrors of hell or a hopeless eternity in purgatory were usually so real that he did not stay long out of the fold. In its power to enforce loyalty, no medieval state could match the twelfth and early thirteenth century Church. Indeed, as has already been observed, the temporal princes of Europe with only a few exceptions were themselves ready to recognize the omnipotence of the Church. The master of kings, the sovereign of ecclesiastics, the "vicar of Christ" for all men, the pope at the beginning of the thirteenth century was incontestably the most powerful personality of Europe.

A century later this power was shattered and the Church embarked upon an era of decline which terminated in revolution and the

destruction of ecclesiastical unity. Many of the factors which produced this result, such as the revival of trade, the quickening of intellectual curiosity, and the rapid growth of nationalism, will be discussed later. For the present it is important only to note the weaknesses which hastened the decline. Among these the most patent was the immorality of the churchmen, partly induced by the corrupting influences of the Crusades. This was fully recognized in high quarters and Pope Innocent III courageously endeavored to stamp out many abuses, but the task was too herculean even for him. Among the genuinely devout laymen it was revolting to feel that their salvation depended upon the intervention of dissolute clerics. Vigorous protests against the most frequent offenders were not uncommon, and when these proved unavailing, as was often the case, the more daring challenged the whole sacramental system. With all of its elaborate organization, the Church was naturally weakened by the misuse of the very instrument which ensured its monopoly of spiritual power.

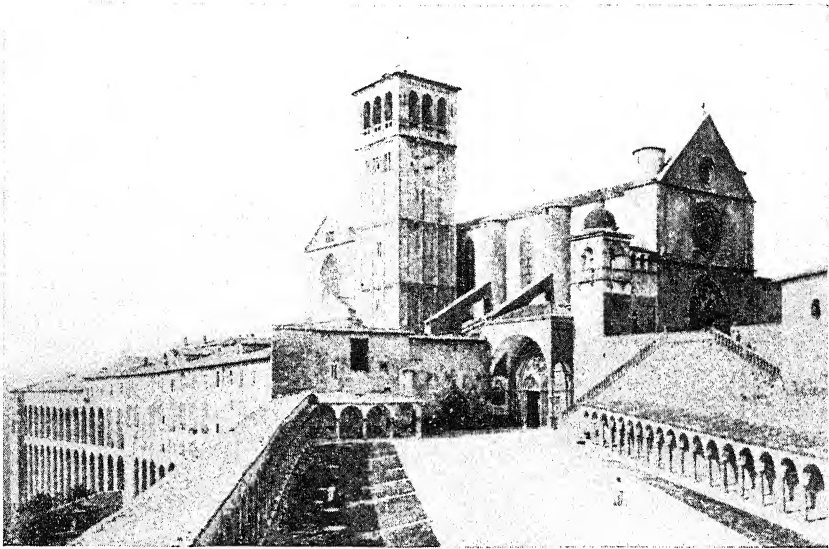
The first serious challenge to the sacramental system and priestly power was made by a pious layman, Peter Waldo, wealthy merchant of Lyons. Moved by the conviction that poverty and simplicity of life were necessary to eliminate corruption, he divested himself of his worldly goods and persuaded others to follow his example. Known at first as the "poor men of Lyons" and later as the "Waldensians" these appealed for papal support, securing it in 1170 with the condition that they pursue their labors under the direction of local clergy. It was impossible, however, to respect this latter request since, in many instances, the local priesthood were either resentful of the Waldensian code of poverty and humility, or sufficiently corrupted to fear the danger of puritanical revival among their parishioners. A conflict, therefore, could not be avoided. Finding it impossible to persuade many of the local clergy to reform their ways of life, the Waldensians openly challenged their right to administer the sacraments.¹ This was nothing less than an attack upon the whole ecclesiastical system. Any good and pious man, they asserted, could be a clergyman and could possess the power to save, while, on the other hand, an evil but ordained priest could perform no such functions. Moreover, the Waldensians proclaimed that the Bible, not the ecclesiastical hierarchy, was the repository of divine truth, and that every good man had the ability to understand and interpret this. These ideas, strikingly similar to the later doctrines of Luther, found fertile

¹ See the discussion of the Donatist heresy in Chapter IV.

soil in southern France, and spread rapidly despite vigorous efforts of the Church to uproot them.

Even more dangerous to the continuing ecclesiastical supremacy was the rise of the Albigensian movement, also in southern France. Similar to the Waldensians in that they revolted against priestly corruption, the Albigensians were in other respects of an entirely different stamp. Imbibing a theological doctrine of oriental extraction which had come to Toulouse by some queer circumstance, these asserted a fundamental principle which was in complete contradiction to western orthodoxy. The Albigensians believed that the dominant principle of life was evil and that the lord of the universe was Satan. Between him and God there existed a perpetual struggle for control over men's souls. The means most frequently employed by the former to gain his ends was sex, so that the perfect one who would attain salvation must diligently avoid sex by scorning marriage and refusing to eat anything produced through sex. They denied physical resurrection at death and, since they could think of no place worse than the world in which they lived, they likewise denied the existence of both purgatory and hell. The soul of the perfect one entered a celestial body; the soul of the lost one entered the body of the animal he most resembled in life. The extraordinary thing about these Albigensians is not their curious, puritanical doctrine, but their widespread popular influence in the County of Toulouse. Although hard to explain on any ordinary grounds, the reason for this is clear. The secular lords of the County of Toulouse who embraced the doctrine did so because they were resentful of the wealth of the Church, the common men because they were resentful of clerical corruption. So strongly entrenched did this movement become that Innocent III was persuaded to preach a crusade against it.

Both the Albigensian and the Waldensian movements developed around doctrines which contradicted the established dogma of the Church. They were therefore regarded as heretical, and, like a virulent disease, had to be exterminated, by violence and bloodshed if necessary. For this purpose the inquisitorial courts were called into being, and loyal Christians were encouraged to fight their rebellious brothers. However, the Church did not rely upon force alone; on the contrary, its first efforts were directed toward peaceful reconversion, which it was always hoped would prove effective. It will be remembered that the Inquisitors were first commissioned to persuade those accused to return to the proper path and only after this had failed



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, PORTICO

The two monastery churches of Assisi, the lower with its entrance in the immediate foreground and the upper with its entrance beneath the rose window to the right, represent one of the earliest Italian efforts to adopt the Gothic style. The building was completed in the middle of the thirteenth century and was later decorated by some of the most famous Renaissance artists, among them Giotto. An interesting feature is the great covered portico constructed to shelter pilgrims who came to worship at St. Francis' shrine. Pilgrim festivals are still held in Assisi.

were they expected to let the inexorable law of the Church take its course.

In its efforts to win back the errant, the Church was greatly aided during the thirteenth century by a noteworthy monastic revival and reformation, itself the product of widespread reaction to clerical corruption. There were indeed always many who believed that the real answer to ecclesiastical evils lay not in the propagation of heterodoxy, but in more pious and devout asceticism. Some who were so moved found a convenient escape in the Cistercian order, founded in 1098, to escape the abuses which had grown about Cluny, and devoted to the prosaic but highly commendable task of pioneering in the clearing of forest and swamp lands. Many others were drawn by the almost irresistible appeal of St. Francis and St. Dominic to practice in poverty and humility the healing art of Christianity's great founder. The former (1182-1226), a native of Assisi and son of a prosperous merchant, was moved in early maturity to renounce his worldly goods and devote his life to ministering to the poor. Interpreting the



A PAPAL BULL

This is a photograph of the leaden seal, known in medieval and ecclesiastical Latin as *bullæ*, which was attached to important papal documents. The heads represent SS. Peter and Paul, and the reverse side bears the name of the reigning pope. By a not uncommon transfer of meaning the *bullæ* gave its name to the document to which it was attached.

gospel literally, he always insisted upon the utmost simplicity. At first thought mad, he was soon hailed as a holy man, and was empowered to form an order embodying his principles. This organization of the Franciscans spread with remarkable rapidity and, during the era of its pristine glory, exerted incalculable influence in reviving the moral strength of the Church.

Less extensive but certainly no less influential was the Dominican order, founded by St. Dominic (1170-1221) of Castile. Unlike St. Francis, Dominic was trained in theology and approached the problem of reform not through the humble and the poor, but through the dogmatic and the intellectual. As a young man, Dominic was deeply alarmed at spreading heresy and made a zealous effort, especially among the Albigensians, to reconvert the errant. To pursue effectually this objective he was constrained like St. Francis to adopt the vow of poverty and humility. A number of like-minded men soon associated themselves with him and in 1216 there was formally organized the Dominican order. Like Dominic, members in this organ-

ization devoted themselves to the task of persuading the wavering. Since much of their work had to be done in the highly cultured County of Toulouse and especially among the intellectual elements there, it was natural that the Dominicans came to lay great stress upon erudition. Largely by reason of this stimulus, the Dominicans acquired distinction not only for their piety but also for their learning, and were usually found among the most distinguished intellectuals of the thirteenth century. Moreover, by reason of their intellectual accomplishments, Dominicans were usually chosen for the responsible posts of Inquisitors.

The Dominicans and Franciscans performed a real service for the thirteenth-century Church by helping to prevent as well as eliminate heresy and by encouraging a popular revival of the ecclesiastical virtues. Unfortunately, however, they were fighting a losing battle. Against many of the secularizing influences of the times they were practically powerless and before these, especially the national states, the international Church was forced to give way.

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The Clash of Authority

A. SECULAR AND THEOLOGICAL CLAIMS

The evolution of an international papal monarchy by the time of Innocent III was a logical consequence of medieval political theory and practice. It had been maintained that Church and State wielded co-ordinate powers, the one spiritual and the other temporal, and that both of these were merely diverse aspects of a single divine purpose. But the neat balancing of functions which this assumed never conformed to the hard realities of medieval life. Both Church and State, as divinely ordained institutions, could and did lay claim to independent authority, and more than that, to supremacy of the one over the other. There was an abundance of historic tradition as well as scriptural and documentary evidence to buttress the arguments of each. Obviously, therefore, their respective spheres of influence could not be clearly delimited. One was always subordinate to the other, depending upon the circumstances of the times and especially upon their comparative strength or weakness. With the Church supreme, secular affairs were made dependent upon the ecclesiastical, and a theocratic state resulted; with the State supreme, the relationship was reversed and a state theocracy appeared. In either case, temporal and spiritual affairs were combined; it was only the emphasis upon one or the other which shifted with changing fortunes. It must be clearly understood that there was little thought of separating Church and State in the middle ages; this was the device of comparatively recent times. The issue was purely and simply that of supremacy, and in Innocent's time it was the Church which made its claims good.

The victory of the Church, however, was not easily won nor was it of long duration. Destruction of the Empire did not settle the issue of power. Indeed, as the conflict developed, the concepts of secular sovereignty were more clearly defined, and political authori-

ties more powerful than the imperial arose in the national states to challenge the Church.

The theories to which the parties to this continuing conflict appealed, as with most political philosophies, were never clearly formulated at any one time. They evolved as the exigencies of the immediate situation demanded. Not until the struggle was far advanced did they become standardized and by that time the issues which they involved were already ceasing to be important. Basically, the thesis of the Church derived from the idea that, since the fall of Adam, all men are born with the stain of original sin, that Christ redeemed man by His death, that He left behind Him a Church, endowed with the custody of the sacraments, that submission to the Church with the pope at its head, was the surest way to salvation. All human preoccupation being reduced to this single end, it followed naturally that the powers of the Church should be absolutely limitless. Every other institution, including the State, which it was maintained God had permitted to exist for what it might contribute to the work of salvation, was of purely human origin and therefore of inferior nature. The Church alone was over and above all men. In consequence its head, the pope, was in duty bound to sit in judgment on all men. The political implications of this rigid logic are so obvious they scarcely need be elaborated. All emperors, kings, and princes, as well as the clergy and lay members of the Church, were *ipso facto* subjects of the pope. This being so, secular authorities were expected to obey the papal will. Further, to make such obedience the more certain as well as to signalize his superiority, it was claimed that the pope acted within his proper right when he elevated princes to their offices and deposed them when they acted contrary to the common interest. It was by such reasoning that the pope was presumed to be not only the head of an ecclesiastical organization but likewise the source of all authority and power.

In the course of time an imposing body of historic and documentary evidence, spurious or otherwise, was adduced to provide the Church's thesis with the required authoritative support. To the legalistically minded the most impregnable of these bulwarks were the Donation of Constantine which, by perversion of the original forgery, implied that Constantine had abandoned the imperial power in the west to the pope, and the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which asserted still more categorically the pope's secular authority. The fact that both of these were pure inventions meant nothing for their fictitious character was not suspected. To those who were moved by tradi-

tion, the Church could point to the fact that it had long enjoyed temporal power and, since the time of Charlemagne, had bestowed the imperial crown. For all the credulous, it could supply incontrovertible arguments from the Biblical text. Thus, for example, Innocent III could account for his omnipotent claims by saying: "For to me it is said in the Prophets, 'I have this day set thee over nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and pull down and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant.' To me it is said in the Apostles, 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' . . ." By an apt use of symbolism, so effective in medieval times, such ideas as these were made understandable to the masses and became part of the popular parlance. One of these likened the Church and State to the soul and body of man, and asserted that just as the former transcends the latter so is the Church superior to the State. Another, invented by the redoubtable Innocent III and even more expressive of the ecclesiastical thesis, likened the Church and State to the sun and the moon. "As God placed two great lights in the starry heavens, a greater light to preside by day and a lesser to preside by night, so he established in the realm of the Universal Church two great powers, one to rule the souls of men and one to rule their bodies. As the moon, inferior in size and quality, draws its light from the sun, so the royal power derives its splendor from the priestly."¹

Secular government was not without defense against these theocratic claims but it found them difficult to meet with equally decisive logic. As between the temporal and the spiritual there was little doubt among medieval men that the latter was superior. Even the skeptical Emperor Frederick II was forced to admit the accuracy of Innocent III's famous simile of the sun and the moon, though he vigorously denied the papal sun's right to absorb the light of the imperial moon. Indeed, for a long time the principal argument advanced in defense of the State, derived from scriptural evidence and imperial Roman practice, asserted not the supremacy of princely over priestly power but their *equality*. God had created spiritual *and* temporal government; each was divine. This being true, the papal contention that ultimate worldly authority rested with the pontifical throne was a falsification of divinely established fact. Church and State being equally divine were independent of each other, even though they were co-ordinate branches of God's government. Ample precedent

¹ Packard, Sidney R., *Europe and the Church under Innocent III*, p. 8.

was adduced to support this view, particularly the fact that the universal empire existed prior to the universal Church, that Charlemagne had had his son crown himself, and that an imposing number of emperors had exercised their divine mission of defending and assisting the Church. It will be noted that this argument merely claimed equality for the secular arm, not supremacy. But equality could hardly be realized without attaining practical supremacy over the Church as well.

The difficulties which secular government encountered in defending its claim to equality in the face of the alleged moral supremacy of the Church were long aggravated by the political realities of medieval life. The Church claimed to be and actually was universal; in theory, the temporal empire was equally universal, but in fact, secular power was distributed among many. Divided against itself, the secular arm was hardly a match for the Church, at least so far as logical argument was concerned. By the thirteenth century, however, a variety of circumstances combined to strengthen, if not the logic of temporal claims, the force of their assertion. For one thing, although the empire had been shattered, royalty in the remainder of Europe, especially in England and France, was rapidly establishing absolute sovereignty. The revival of Roman law supplied these ambitious kings with powerful arguments. This asserted the unity of the State and the absolute power of its sovereign authority over all subjects, ecclesiastical as well as temporal. Beyond all of this, the revival of worldly interests reacted against the other-worldliness of the Church and removed the sting of the ecclesiastical weapons it had formerly used. Royal national government was strong enough to challenge the ecclesiastical claims to political independence and supremacy. Whether logically defensible or not, at least it had the material force to overawe the Church.

The clash of Church and State is the salient fact of medieval political life. Fundamentally reduced to the question as to where final authority should repose, it was everywhere the same, although in various quarters it manifested itself in different ways. In Germany and the Holy Roman Empire all else was at first subordinated to the primary issue of investiture. Did the imperial authority have the right to invest ecclesiastical vassals with their spiritual functions; or could the pope alone exercise this power, regardless of its political consequences for the Empire? Ultimately the real question was whether the Empire could exist independently of the Papacy and, therefore, whether within the political realm its *fiat* was law. In England, the

dominating issue involved the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical and civil courts. Could the former not only exist independently but might they also encroach upon the sphere of the latter? Or, from the point of view of the State, were the royal courts to be supreme in all things clearly involving the common welfare? In France, the dispute revolved chiefly about the question of the power to tax. Could the omnipotent State tax all subjects, including the clergy; or were the clergy, as the immediate subjects of the pope, released from this secular obligation? While the central issues varied from place to place, it must not be supposed that they were not duplicated everywhere. For example, the question of lay investiture which had precipitated the papal-imperial feud was also an important cause of controversy between the Papacy and the national monarchies of France and England.

B. CROWN AND MITRE

While popes and Hohenstaufens conducted their heated struggle, European life was undergoing a profound transformation which in time made the papal-imperial issue anachronistic. The era of the Crusades witnessed a noticeable acceleration of trade and a quickening of intellectual interests. The hereafter became ever more remote in the quest for present wealth and happiness, and the edge of ecclesiastical weapons was more and more blunted. Men were less inclined to accept ecclesiastical domination. In the midst of this steady secularization, national monarchies and national patriotisms gradually took shape. In Spain, in France, and in England, feudal sovereigns allied themselves with these new forces and thereby enhanced their power. The centralization of their authority, their claims to unrivaled supremacy within their domains, and the impotence of their feudal vassals made these kings most powerful enemies of an international papal theocracy.

Among the growing national states, England was heir to the longest traditions of loyalty to Rome. The circumstances of her conversion by the monastic agents of Gregory I and her isolation from the heretical centers of the continent were chiefly responsible for this. William the Conqueror's successful invasion produced a significant change. The English church, like the English government, was brought into direct contact with continental affairs, and, more than that, was employed by the new Norman sovereigns as one means of consolidating their power. Bishops of the conquered Anglo-Saxons

were supplanted by Norman friends; episcopal elections were carefully controlled; investiture of spiritualities by the king was regularly practiced; and, as in Germany, bishops were treated as vassals of the Crown. A contest over the Archbishopric of Canterbury and the eventual elevation of a reformer, Anselm of Bec, to that office signalized the beginning of a struggle over investiture between the Crown and the Papacy which lasted for a decade. Amidst crusading enthusiasms, both sides eventually showed a willingness to compromise, and in 1107 a formal agreement was reached. The Crown sacrificed its former right to invest bishops with their spiritualities, but by keeping the privilege of presiding at episcopal elections and by reserving the right to refuse investment of temporalities to those who failed to do homage to the king, it actually gave up nothing of significance.

Meanwhile, an important change in the relations between Crown and Church, and the respective relations of these with the English people, had taken place. The Conqueror took pains to pack episcopal offices with Norman henchmen, but this apparent administration of the English church by aliens ended as Normans and natives fused into one people. The Church, after a temporary lapse, steadily became nationalized again. On the other hand, the Crown continued to pass into the hands of continental sovereigns whom the native barony and the nationalized churchmen mistrusted. It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to appreciate fully the two great struggles of Church and State in England: that of Henry II and Thomas à Becket; and that of King John and Pope Innocent III.

Henry II was already the ruler of a considerable continental empire when England became his legal inheritance. A resourceful and able man, but subject to violent fits of temper, Henry was accorded slight respect by his powerful British subjects, who had profited by the license of the chaotic age before him. He was a reforming sovereign whose chief intention was to restore order by destroying the independent vassals, and whose deliberate purpose was to strengthen the Crown by establishing an efficient, competent, and all-powerful royal judiciary. The most persistent obstacle in his path was the Church, an *imperium in imperio*, possessed of its own courts and claiming a sweeping jurisdiction over a large portion of the population through its control over the sacraments, and its protection of the poor and the oppressed. So long as the province of the ecclesiastical courts remained thus unbounded, it was unthinkable that the Crown could achieve its goal.

Henry resolved to curb the ecclesiastical courts, and in this de-

termination seemingly had the support of a distinguished and talented man, for some time his chief minister, Thomas à Becket. In all likelihood, Henry made the mistake of many of his contemporaries in considering Becket an enemy of the Church, and for this reason elevated him to the all-important post of Archbishop of Canterbury. Becket, however, took his position seriously, and from the time of his consecration defended the prerogatives of the Church with as much tenacity as Henry demonstrated in his effort to reduce its powers. It was inevitable, therefore, that a clash should develop between them. The incident precipitating it was insignificant but fundamental. Philip de Brois, a clergyman of Bedford, was charged with murder, and required by his bishop, in consequence, to pay a monetary compensation to the victimized family. The king's Justiciary who intervened in the interest of royal justice was insulted and Henry, in high dudgeon, demanded of the bishops that clergy committing such crimes be degraded and turned over to the royal courts for punishment. Becket defended the traditional rights of the ecclesiastical courts to final jurisdiction in all matters involving the clergy. The king called a council at Clarendon (1163) and there established in the so-called Clarendon Constitution the rights of the king's courts. So far as these concerned the Church, they stated substantially that in all civil matters the king's justice should prevail, that the Church must offer no protection to those charged with crime, that no excommunication or interdict be imposed without the king's consent, and that no appeals outside of England by ecclesiastical courts be made except with royal approval. Becket refused to accept these provisions and fled to France. Upon his return he was assassinated by one of Henry's devoted followers, and immediately became a martyr, enthroned in popular imagination and eventually by papal action, as a saint. So profound was the public reaction that Henry himself was constrained to do public penance for the act which he had not committed but which he had inspired. On the ordinary ground that Henry was defending the national interest against a foreign ecclesiastical menace, it would be impossible to explain the popular espousal of Becket's cause. The fact is, that Henry was regarded very much as a foreigner, and the nationalized church, whose leader Becket had been, seemed in this case to be defending the national cause. It is important to note that although Henry was forced to bow to public opinion he did not find it necessary to abandon his program. The Papacy at this very moment, hard pressed by Frederick Barbarossa, could not afford to alienate the English sovereign. In the final analy-

sis, therefore, Henry was able to impose much of his program as outlined in the Clarendon Constitution.

Approximately a half century after this unhappy affair, another severe crisis in the relations of Church and State was precipitated during the reign of King John. This involved a disputed election of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Such disputes were frequent because the question of proper and legal election had always remained unsettled. Since the first see of Canterbury had been occupied by Augustine, who was also abbot of the Benedictine monastery there, the monks of the archbishopric had always asserted their right to select their own superior; but, because the Archbishop of Canterbury was likewise the Primate of England, the king had almost always interfered in the elections. The bishops of the province also asserted their right to have a voice. In consequence, there was usually a bitter contest whenever the archiepiscopal see fell vacant. After the time of the Conqueror, however, the Crown exercised a more decisive influence and generally selected men of ability.

In 1205, the old trouble flared up anew. The monks, aiming to outdo the king, held a swift election after the death of the incumbent and sent their candidate, Reginald, to Pope Innocent III for consecration without consulting the king. The pope was suspicious of irregularity and refused to sanction the monks' choice. Meanwhile, word arrived in Rome that King John had himself set Reginald aside and had forced the election of a candidate of his own choosing. Innocent thereupon declared both elections void and commanded the election of Stephen Langton, an English cardinal then resident in Rome. John, in his turn, refused to accept Langton, and for his refusal was excommunicated. England was placed under an interdict which lasted four years. John availed himself of this opportunity to seize properties of the Church. When, however, Innocent preached a crusade against him and persuaded his great rival, Philip Augustus of France, to carry it out, John was compelled to submit. He gave up his crown to the papal agent and made himself the pope's vassal. This marked a turning point in the relations between the kingdom and the Papacy. No longer able to regard the Papacy and the Church as a natural ally against foreign influence, nor able longer to regard their sovereigns as aliens, the English people became steadily more anti-papal. The policy of Innocent III's successors who sought to use England as a source of revenue for their struggle with the Hohenstaufens hastened this growing antipathy.

The dislike for Rome favored King Edward I who, like his

French rival Philip the Fair, was forced to tax the clergy. It cannot be denied that the taxes proved a heavy burden for the churchmen, already the victims of numerous exactions by the Papacy. There were ecclesiastical protests and partly on the basis of these Pope Boniface VIII issued his famous bull *Clericis laicos* prohibiting secular taxation of the clergy, except by papal consent. The measure angered the king of France, as will be seen, and it called forth a stern reply from Edward. He outlawed the clergy, warning them that unless they contributed to the realm they would be denied its protection. The result was that the ecclesiastics were cowed and the papal bull passed without effect. Having successfully taken this step, Edward next proceeded to curb the power of the Church by regulating its control of property, a policy which was eventually carried much further by his successors. Since much of the revenue of the Crown derived from wardship and escheat, it was dangerous to allow any corporate institution to acquire too much property. To prevent this, Edward had passed the first statute of Mortmain, forbidding the transfer of lands to any corporate institution to the disadvantage of the Crown. Such strong measures against the Church, in defiance of the Papacy, passed without serious protest.

Meanwhile, in France, the Church and the Papacy fared no better at the hands of powerful monarchs. From its founding by Hugh Capet, the Capetian dynasty had had the Church as an important ally against its feudal vassals. This happy relationship proved of inestimable value during the reign of the first really competent Capetian sovereign, Louis VI. It was then that the investiture quarrel between the Empire and the Papacy was still raging, and then also that the crusading movement began. Louis profited from the former by posing as the defender of the Papacy, for which he was given the title "Eldest Son of the Church," and took advantage of the latter by lending his name to the holy cause against the infidel. Though less able, Louis VII continued to reap benefits for the Crown from its alignment with the Church. Partly because of this friendly tradition and partly because of the Papacy's desire to keep France from aiding the Empire a friendly settlement of the investiture problem was made. The Crown's right to preside at episcopal elections, postpone or annul them, was confirmed and it was empowered to withhold the bishop's temporalities unless he swore allegiance to the king. As in England and Germany, the French Crown gave up its claim to invest with the spiritualities.

During the reign of Philip Augustus, however, the French mon-

archy manifested a haughty independence of the Papacy and an ominous intention to reduce its power. Significantly, the monarch had the support of the great churchmen of the realm, a sure sign of the development of a new nationalism. It is important to bear this in mind, for the struggle which began with Philip Augustus was not between the Church and Crown as such, but between a nation state on the one side, claiming complete independence, and an international papacy on the other.

Philip was an astute politician and utterly unscrupulous where the interests of the Crown were involved. Relatively early in his career, he managed to embroil himself with the Papacy because of an uncanonical divorce and marriage. In 1193 he had taken a Danish princess as his wife and finding her completely revolting, set her aside for a more acceptable candidate. The discarded mate refused to leave and appealed to Rome for help. For several years the Papacy remonstrated with Philip and begged him to retrace his steps. This proving insufficient, Innocent III decreed an interdict upon Philip's domains. Immediately many of the greatest clergy came to the king's defense, a number of them refusing to publish the pope's decree. Others who accepted it were handled with brutality by the king. Nevertheless, the interdict proved sufficiently disturbing to bring Philip to terms, and he took back his Danish princess. It was a political gesture, however, not a reconciliation; and Philip, despite the repeated complaints of his wife and the persistent remonstrances of Innocent, continued to ignore his wife. For twenty years the king had actually defied the pope, though he made fawning submission at times, and in his general attitude of hostility toward Rome he found himself supported by the great ecclesiastics. In other matters, Philip co-operated with the Papacy, not out of zeal for its cause but out of self-interest. He secured for himself the privilege of undertaking a crusade against England, though this never materialized; he supported Innocent against Otto of Brunswick and made considerable gains thereby; and, finally, although he did not lead it, he reaped the fruits of the papal crusade against the Albigensians. In Philip, the great pope Innocent III had found his match.

The sinner Philip was followed, after an unimportant interim, by a royal saint, Louis IX. Despite his religious zeal, however, Louis never let the control of the French church slip from his hands. More than that, he prepared the way for the complete dominance of the Papacy by the French Crown. His era spanned the period of the pontifical struggle with the redoubtable Hohenstaufen Frederick II.

The circumstances of this contest ¹ proved profitable to France which, as during the investiture struggle, became the asylum of hard-pressed popes. Indeed, for nearly a half century, most of the papal business was conducted from French soil, and it was not unnatural that leading churchmen felt that France rather than Rome was the better, if not the proper, seat of the Papacy. Partly as the result of this transfer of papal affairs to France, but also because of the intellectual pre-eminence of the French clergy, the greater offices of the Church were to be filled by Frenchmen. It was this development which eventually enabled the Crown to control the Papacy.

One of the most significant events in this connection and one for which Saint Louis deserves a share of responsibility was the elevation of his brother, Charles of Anjou, to the throne of Sicily. It was a French pope, Urban IV, who proffered Charles the kingdom, with the deliberate intention of thus eliminating the last Hohenstaufen of southern Italy. Charles was an able warrior who soon won his kingdom by arms and then, proving himself an equally competent if unscrupulous diplomat, he set out to do precisely what the Hohenstaufens had done: to bring Italy under his sway and to dominate the Papacy. He played his hand skillfully to secure the election of his own countrymen as popes and, after 1276 until his death in 1285, Charles, for the most part, kept the pontifical office under his control. French influence at Rome therefore became further entrenched, although at the same time the revival of conflict over papal elections subjected the pontiff's office to the greedy ambition of local Roman nobility. This native feud swiftly merged with the intrigues of increasingly powerful French prelates to throw the papal office into the hands of the most powerful of French sovereigns, Philip the Fair.

The two most important feudal families of Rome were the Orsini and Colonna. Each of these had influenced papal elections, and exercised considerable control over the College of Cardinals. When fortune favored them with the papal office they made full use of it for the enlargement of their private estates, at the expense of the Church and their rivals. This confusing and dangerous situation became so alarming that the College of Cardinals at the end of the thirteenth century tried to secure men of merit for the pontifical throne. One of these, Benedetto Gaetano, a man of eighty and famous for his learning, was elected pope in 1294. Assuming the title of Boniface VIII, he soon became one of the most notable of one of

¹ See Chapter IX.

the least successful of all the medieval popes. Adopting the policy of the Orsinis and the Colonnas, Boniface initiated his pontificate by showering benefits upon the members of his own family, the Gaetani. The Colonnas feared the rise of this new house and took measures to destroy it. For this the pope preached a crusade against them and declared their lands forfeit. A vicious petty war ensued in the papal states and, while it dragged out, the pope became embroiled with the kingdoms of England and France.

Philip IV was an outspoken anti-clericalist, who was determined to nationalize the Church. The method he employed for this purpose was scrupulously if not honorably legalistic. The Church had always maintained that the right to tax clergy was its prerogative, although in the period of Innocent III it had accorded to princes the right of taxing provided that the money thus gathered were used for purposes in which the Church had a direct interest. On the ground of national self-defense, Philip employed this concession for the Crown's own purpose during his expensive wars with England. Some of the clergy, already heavily taxed, protested to the pope against this new exaction, and Boniface immediately came to their defense in the papal bull *Clericis laicos*. Directed at both the English and the French kings, this reasserted the old argument that the clergy could not be taxed by the state except with papal consent. Philip struck back. Italian banking houses in France were prohibited from exporting money and negotiable securities to Rome, and Boniface, finding his treasury threatened with bankruptcy, was forced to capitulate. He agreed that the king might act as he pleased in case of emergency and, more than that, that it was the king's privilege to determine when an emergency existed. Philip had certainly won the first round.

A few years later trouble broke out anew over the question of the competence of royal and ecclesiastical courts. On questionable grounds, but in perfectly legal fashion, Philip condemned, arrested, and confiscated the properties of a bishop of southern France whom he suspected of treason. Boniface was so incensed that he reissued *Clericis laicos* and followed this with another bull, *Asculia fili*, in which he forcefully reasserted the papal right of intervention. "Let none persuade you . . ." he said, "that you are not subordinate to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, for he is a fool who so thinks. . . ." ¹ Philip replied: "Philip by the Grace of God, King of the Franks, to Boniface who gives himself out for Supreme Pontiff, little

¹ Boase, T. S., *Boniface VIII*. London, 1933. P. 302.

or no greeting. . . . Let your great fatuousness know that in temporalities we are subject to none . . . Such as believe otherwise are fools or madmen.”¹ The issue was joined. The pope called a synod to deal with the king; and the king summoned an Estates General to deal with the pope. The Estates General denounced Boniface, and the latter, unperturbed, threatened Philip with deposition, following this with the most extraordinary statement of papal pretensions in the bull *Unam sanctam*. Making use of an old symbol of the two swords, one spiritual and one temporal, the pope asserted that both swords were in the hands of the Church. “The one sword . . . should be under the other, and temporal authority subject to the spiritual power.” And, then, in a final flourish, the bull ended with the most presumptuous statement of all: “Furthermore we declare, state, define and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff.”

If this remarkable bull shocked many good Christians, it positively infuriated Philip. The king decided to act. One of his trusted lawyers, William of Nogaret, who had been advising him in his struggle with the pope, was despatched to Italy with some of the Colonnas and maltreated nobility of Rome, to seize Boniface and transport him to France. It was Philip’s intention, when this part of his plan had been carried out, to summon a general council of the Church and forthwith depose the Pope. But this was not necessary, for Boniface was so distressed by the action of the conspirators who broke into his palace at Anagni that he died three weeks later. The victory was now complete for the French monarchy. All that remained was to reap its fruits, and this the Capetians managed to do with their usual thoroughness.

C. THE CROWN VICTORIOUS

In the two years following the death of Boniface, Rome seethed with plot and counter-plot as the French agents and the Roman nobles contended for control. French success was signalized in 1305 by the election of a Frenchman, Pope Clement V (1305-1314). Partly because of his subserviency to Philip, partly because papal business made his presence in France wise, and partly because Rome was so lawless and disordered that it was hardly inviting, Clement never went to the Eternal City. Instead, he took up his residence at Avignon and surrounded himself with members of his family

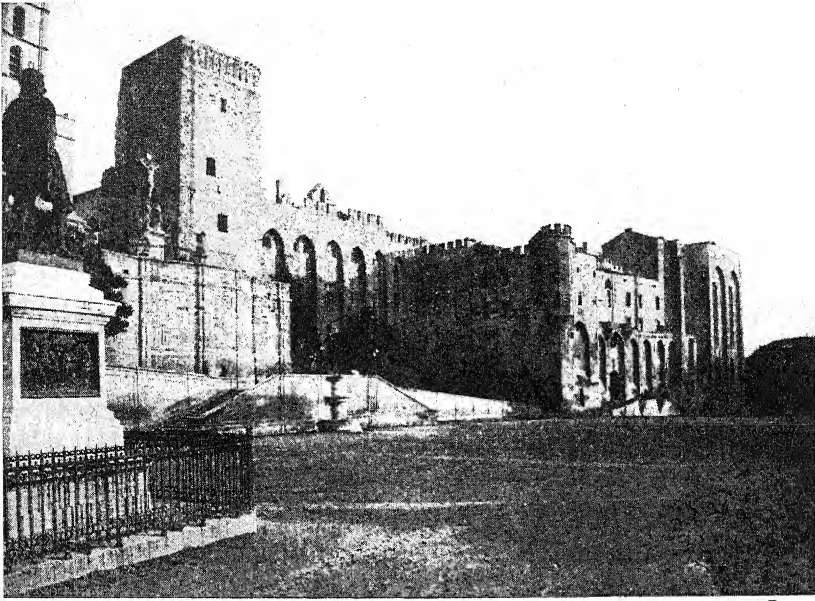
¹ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

and puppets of the king. The Papacy, in a word, became French rather than Italian. The offending bulls were revoked, Philip and Nogaret absolved of all blame for the affair at Anagni, and the claim of the French monarchy to divine origin was recognized. Even Philip could have asked for little more. The dual tradition thus begun of a French pope resident in France was carried on for seventy-two years, and this period of church history, traditionally if inaccurately, is called the Babylonian Captivity. Clement's six successors at Avignon were not mere tools of the French Crown though to non-Frenchmen they usually appeared so. Most of them were able men who sought to carry on the best papal traditions and to reform abuses within the Church. Nevertheless, the appearances and exigencies of their compromising situation weakened both the Papacy and the Church.

The real and presumed dependence of these Avignon popes upon the French Crown alienated many peoples. The English, then engaged in a long struggle with France, sporadically refused to recognize many papal claims and sought to inhibit papal power in England. The German Emperors and some of their subjects also resented this new alignment, the more so since the French Crown supported the Papacy in its struggle against the Empire. Theoretically, the issue between the two was the old one of supremacy, but in reality this issue had lost its meaning. It was absurd for Clement, for example, to seek to pursue the program and policies of Innocent III. The major importance of this quarrel lay in the political theory which it invoked and in its demonstration of the impossibility of establishing a theocratic world state.

On the papal side, the political theorists expressed ambitious hopes and vanished actualities rather than present realities. Nothing could be added to the claims already advanced for the supreme temporal power of the Papacy; they could only be elaborated. Essentially, the theorists on the papal side only embroidered the statements advanced as early as the fifth century by Augustine in *The City of God*. The protagonists of the State, most of them lawyers, had the distinct advantage of being able to mirror facts. Many times they went far beyond actualities in the development of their theories, but their basic principles usually reflected the existing situation. To cite only one instance, the French Crown had proved itself the temporal superior of the Papacy.

Although the separation of the pope from the Apostolic See of Rome through which he theoretically derived his power scandalized



Braun

PALACE OF THE POPES, AVIGNON (1316-1370)

The construction of this great palace was begun by Pope John XXII and was continued for the duration of the Babylonian captivity. Done in the Gothic mode but with stylistic features modified in the interest of greater strength, it took on the aspect of a fortress. After the popes abandoned it, following the Great Schism, it was long used as a barracks and a prison. The town of Avignon in which the Palace is situated was a papal possession from 1348 until 1791, when it was annexed to France by the National Assembly.

many, the Avignon popes successfully defended their spiritual authority and their control of the clergy. In fact, it was a prime necessity for them to do so. Residence at Avignon deprived the popes of their very considerable income from Rome and the papal states. A possible solution of the problem thus raised would have been the practice of stringent economies, but that the popes did not choose to do. The papal court, like the secular courts, was markedly extravagant. The popes built and furnished a magnificent palace for their use, and one cardinal kept so large a retinue that half a hundred houses were needed to accommodate it. To meet these augmented expenses, successive popes increased and extended old taxes and sought out new sources of revenue. All offices, save that of parish priest, were finally reserved for papal appointment. Since each appointee customarily paid a tax, known as *annate*, which was a large portion of the first year's income of the office, and, in addition, made a substantial gift to the pope, this was a valuable source

of income. Another profitable income came from the practice of reserving to the Papacy certain fees hitherto collected by the local clergy. The extension of the jurisdiction of the papal courts not only brought an increase in the fines collected but also added to the papal income the gifts habitually made to the court by both litigants. Fees for dispensations and special privileges further swelled the total. With so many opportunities, graft and corruption inevitably made their appearance. Papal agents and sometimes the popes themselves were guilty of fraud and chicanery. Dismay at such profanation of the sacred office added to the discontent evoked by papal exactions and the Papacy lost prestige on both counts.

Pope Gregory IX at long last went to Rome, thus ending the Avignon Captivity in 1377, but the Church promptly plunged into greater disaster. Gregory died in Rome and the College of Cardinals, composed of twelve Frenchmen and four Italians, was forced to choose a successor. The apparently normal course of action would have resulted in the choice of a French pope and the return to Avignon, but powerful factions, including the Roman mob, insisted upon an Italian pope. The compromise choice fell upon the Archbishop of Bari, a Frenchman serving an Italian province, who was named Pope Urban VI in April, 1378. Urban's arrogance and tactlessness quickly alienated the Cardinals who, having prudently withdrawn from Rome, denounced him and declared his election void on the ground that it had been forced upon them by the mob. In his place, the Sacred College chose the French Bishop of Geneva (August, 1378) who took the title of Clement VII and retired to Avignon. Urban declined to recognize the competence of the College, denounced the Cardinals, and uttered anathemas against his rival. Clement replied in kind and a baffled Europe was confronted with the unholy spectacle of two ambitious men, each claiming to be the true Vicar of Christ, and each denouncing his rival as a Satanic apostate. Each surrounded himself with a *curia* and sought to consolidate his position. Urban was followed by three Roman popes; Clement, by the Spaniard, Benedict XIII, and still the struggle continued.¹

¹ The rival lines of popes were:

Roman
 Urban VI (1378-1389)
 Boniface IX (1389-1404)
 Innocent VII (1404-1406)
 Gregory XII (1406-1415)

Avignon
 Clement VII (1378-1394)
 Benedict XIII (1394-1417)

From the distance of five and a half centuries this Great Schism is not without its ironic aspects, but, at the time, it was exceedingly serious. From the theological side, the question of which claimant was the true pope was peculiarly vital, for salvation itself was held to depend upon following the rightful leader. To an age which relegated the *here* to the position of being only the preparation for the *hereafter*, this problem was of burning importance. In addition, the struggle was further embittered by political considerations. The French (Avignon) pope was, of course, supported by France and her satellites: Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Sicily, and Scotland. That in itself was a sufficient reason for England, Hungary, Poland, Flanders, and the Scandinavian states to align themselves with Urban. The German and Italian princes were divided in their allegiance, though the Emperor backed Urban. Europe now had to support two popes, two sets of cardinals, and two *curiae*, each trying to outdo the other. The situation was intolerable, but the solution was difficult. The answer finally came through the influence of the University of Paris and of two of the political theorists.

Marsiglio of Padua, sometime rector of the University of Paris, and his colleague, John of Jandun, had collaborated upon a remarkable statement of the imperial claims which they entitled the *Defensor Pacis* (Defender of the Peace). In their effort to improve the claims of the secular rulers, they advanced the theory that the source of all churchly power was the whole body of the faithful. The Church was not the clergy but all communicants, and final authority resided with this large body, which was represented by a general council composed of clerics and laymen. The clergy, their theory continued, had no coercive powers; they were convenient but not indispensable since the general council was competent to interpret the Scriptures if need be. The Papacy owed its place to a series of historical accidents and to the fact that the clergy found it convenient; it was in no sense sacrosanct.

Advanced in another cause, this theory which sought to deny seven centuries of papal power seemed to the scholars of Paris to offer a key to the problem. Students in modern universities may well wonder by what right Paris assumed the leadership in this crisis. For over three hundred years, the University of Paris had been not only the virtual intellectual dictator of Europe, but also a potent political force. That its scholars had served the French Crown well is amply shown by the *Defensor Pacis*. Under the influence of this and similar works, the scholars of Paris proposed the mutual abdi-

cation of the rival popes and the selection of a new one by a general council. Moreover in 1398, they, assisted by the king, induced the French clergy to renounce their obedience to the pope. This was a veritable revolution which temporarily established an autonomous national church.

The agitation then fostered resulted in 1409 in the summoning by cardinals of both *curie* to a Council at Pisa. Lacking strong political support, this Council failed. In truth, it served only to further confound the existing confusion. Neither Benedict nor Gregory accepted his deposition which the Council had decreed. Worse still, the Council with a misplaced faith in the efficacy of its depositions had chosen a new pope, first, Alexander V and upon his death, John XXIII. The result was that Christian Europe now had three claimants to the papal crown. The situation was aggravated by the character of John. His reputation was won not as a churchman, but as a pirate and a soldier and he remained a worldly-minded, astute politician interested in the temporalities and not the spiritualities of his office. The resultant loss of churchly prestige was perhaps less important than the impetus given to the conciliar movement, as the practice of submitting church problems to a general council was called.

Basically, the conciliar movement was a struggle against the ancient habit and tradition of an absolute papal monarchy. The schism, the obvious need for reform, and the appearance of threatening heresies combined to make possible this attempt to revolutionize the government of the Church. Secondly, the movement was an evidence of the growing national consciousness of Frenchmen, Englishmen, and others. Compact states, set apart from each other by indigenous laws, language, and customs, owing allegiance to national monarchs, were becoming steadily more important. To the theorists and often to the politicians of these states, the traditional theory of one power seemed incompatible with the actual existence of several sovereign states. The conciliar movement seemed to offer a solution by substituting a council composed of representatives of the various nations for the one international pope. Finally and paradoxically, the conciliar movement was also evidence of a reviving cosmopolitanism and a feeling that problems which affected the whole body of the Church should be decided by representatives of all.

In the prevalent heresies of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the councils were confronted with a problem almost as serious as that of the schism itself. The leader of the earlier heresy

was John Wiclif of England (1320-1384); of the later, John Hus of Bohemia (1369-1415). Wiclif, long a master at Oxford when that university was the champion of liberalism, was neither an original thinker nor an attractive leader. His strength and the strength of his movement came from the cogency of the ideas he expressed and from the spirit of English nationalism with which they well accorded. Wiclif's early protests were aimed at the ownership of property by the Church which he held to be contrary to the teaching of Christ. The remedy he advocated was nothing less than a confiscation of church property by the state—a point of view that was most popular with the king and his lords for obvious reasons. Wiclif's protest against the payment of tribute to the pope, a logical extension of his theory, also agreed with the trend toward English nationalism and was similarly well received. The schism and papal condemnation of him as a heretic drove Wiclif to a more radical position. Basing his theories upon a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, Wiclif vigorously attacked the Church for what he termed its many defections from the path of the Apostolic Church. The clergy were particularly obnoxious to him and he denounced the whole hierarchy as "sinful idiots" and "fiends of hell." He renounced the doctrine of transubstantiation and all of the sacraments, save that of marriage; and he fulminated against the worship of saints, martyrs, and relics. The true authority, he taught, was the Scriptures and to make them available to his countrymen he had the Bible translated into English. The key to salvation, preached Wiclif, lay not with the Church but in each man's personal relation with God and with a human Christ.

The marvel is not that Wiclif suffered condemnation as a heretic but rather that he escaped persecution. That he did so was due to the political power and to the popularity which his nationalistic attacks upon the Papacy won for him. His followers, the Lollards, were not so fortunate. Although they were not responsible they were blamed for the peasant revolts which flared up in England late in the fourteenth century, and their movement was discredited. Persecution eventually drove them out of existence.

Meanwhile, Wiclif's doctrines had been carried across Europe to the University of Prague by one of Wiclif's students, Jerome. Bohemia was ripe for revolt from the Church. The Waldensian heresy had never been extirpated from southern Bohemia and other heresies had also taken root in the country. Moreover, the nationalistic Czechs looked with growing resentment upon the many German clergy who held high office in the Church. This religious and nationalistic dis-

content found a leader in John Husinec (Hus), patriot, preacher, and later Rector of the new University of Prague. Basing his theology upon that of Wiclif, Hus fiercely attacked the evils of the Church and the German clergy. Papal excommunication roused in him a desire not to recant but to clarify his position and to vindicate the religio-national movement which he headed.

His chance apparently came when, largely through the efforts of the Emperor Sigismund, a large and spectacular council of the Church assembled at Constance in 1414. Some seven hundred clergy and scores of laymen—scholars, secular princes, courtiers, and courtesans—composed the Council of Constance at its height. The problems it faced were threefold: to stamp out heresy, to heal the schism, and to free the Church of abuses.

Hus, as the most prominent and dangerous heretic, was called to appear before this august body. After some hesitation, and after taking the precaution of obtaining a guaranty of his personal safety from Sigismund, Hus answered the call. The Council wanted only one thing of him, recantation, and when that was refused, the reformer was handed over to the civil authorities for punishment. The imperial promise was declared to be invalid since it was given to a confessed heretic, and John Hus was burned at the stake. The Hussite movement, however, rose Phoenix-like from the flames of its leader's martyrdom and the Council soon found that it had aggravated and not solved the problem. Successive crusades against the Hussites failed, and the Church was eventually forced to make a compromise settlement with them.

The Council was more successful in dealing with the schism. After outmaneuvering Pope John XXIII and preventing him from winning control, the Council passed the decree, *Sacrosancta* (1415), which declared its powers superior to those of the Papacy. Thus fortified, the Council arrested John and brought him to trial on a long list of charges including adultery, sodomy, and incest. Finding the evidence against him sufficient, the Council forced John to sign his own deposition. Shortly thereafter, Gregory XII was induced to abdicate by offer of an important position in Italy, and finally, in 1417, the deposition of Benedict XIII was declared by the Council. The way finally cleared, the schism was repaired by the election of the Italian cardinal, Otto Colonna, as Pope Martin V (1417). Since the new Pope was hostile to reform and since the members of the Council were hesitant to initiate a movement which would probably

diminish their individual power, no serious attempt was made to relieve the Church of the abuses which burdened it.

As one of its final acts, the Council of Constance provided for the calling of subsequent councils. Pope Martin's whole energy was directed toward restoration of papal power and it was with grudging reluctance that he bowed to the public demand for a council in 1423. The new council which met first at Pavia and soon moved to Siena was never free from papal control and was dismissed, having accomplished nothing. Public opinion, however, again forced him to arrange for a council to meet at Basle (1432). Martin died before the council met but his successor, Eugenius IV, was an even stronger champion of papal power. Vicious quarrels which did not stop with bloodshed broke out between Pope and Council. Eugenius sought and failed to dissolve the Council, but he did succeed in splitting it into factions. The furious Council replied by declaring the Pope deposed and electing a successor. This revival of the schism was too much. The princes withdrew their support from the Council and proceeded to make independent bargains with the Pope. Despite its trials and tribulations the Council remained in session until 1449 but its power had long since gone and with it the reputation of the whole conciliar movement. The failure of the councils to effect reforms, the long habit of a papal monarchy, and the compromises made between popes and princes¹ blasted the hopes for a revision of church government.

The events of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had significant and deleterious effects upon the Papacy and the Church. Although the popes emerged as victors over the councils, the prestige won by their success was soon dissipated. Just as the councils had lost power and influence through their inability to extirpate heresy and reform the Church, so also did successive popes who likewise failed in these tasks. Moreover, the popes more and more became involved in the welter of local Italian politics primarily because of the necessity for protecting the large secular interests of the Papacy. They tended to become less spiritual leaders than worldly politicians, a trend which reached its climax with the Renaissance popes.

The Babylonian Captivity and, more particularly, the Great Schism had cost the Church heavily both in actual authority and in reputation. The spectacle, first of a Papacy apparently subordi-

¹ For example, in 1445 the Emperor Frederick recognized Eugenius as pope and in return was given large sums of money and control of many church benefices situated in Hapsburg lands.

nated to the selfish aims of a secular prince, and later of an unholy competition for a holy office, disgusted and scandalized many. In addition, the increased financial exactions of the Papacy, resulting from the Captivity and the Schism, led to a growing discontent. Morally, intellectually, and financially, the Papacy had alienated many of its subjects.

Finally, the coincidence of weakness in the Papacy and the Church and the growing national strength resulted in a further diminution of ecclesiastical power. In 1438, the French clergy, at the insistence of King Charles VII, had promulgated the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. This virtual declaration of independence recognized the authority of a general council as superior to that of the pope, forbade papal appointment of French clergy, prohibited the sending of annates to Rome, and stated that no papal bull was valid in France unless assented to by the king. The German Diet at Mainz issued a similar declaration in the following year but subsequent agreements between popes and German rulers somewhat vitiated its force. The Church was still a major power and its monarch an important ruler but the international church of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was slowly moving toward the national churches of the sixteenth century.

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The Rise of the Bourgeoisie

A. TRADE AND TRADERS

The identity of the first traders is lost in the mists of the past. We do not know who they were, what they traded, or what led them to make the exchange. We do know that trade must be nearly as old as man. There was trade and there were traders long before written history began. The proof of that lies in the excavations of the archeologists, the studies of the anthropologists, and even in the very ancient written records which assume the existence of trade as habitual. Speculation upon the problems of why and how trade began is fascinating but it must always remain conjecture. We can only guess at the motives which underlay the first exchange. It has been plausibly suggested that trade arose because of the impossibility, even in a primitive society, of attaining absolute, individual self-sufficiency. Another likely possibility stems from the fact that not all men are born with similar talents and abilities. Primitive men must have discovered early that one among their group fashioned the best weapons, that another was most successful in taming animals, that still another was the best hunter, and so on. What could have been more natural than that the hunter should have offered to exchange a portion of his kill for a better weapon? The result of this suppositious trade would have been an improvement in the standard of living of both parties. The hunter would have had a more effective weapon and the weapon-maker, more and better food. A careful analysis of the motives which lead us to enter into our many exchanges will show that this conjecture is not too fanciful. Men still trade to the end that they may live more securely and more comfortably. That factors other than comfort enter in is of course not to be denied, but the general pattern remains the same whatever the specific motivating desire may be.

Primitive trade, however it began, was barter trade, i.e., the direct exchange of goods for goods or goods for services. Moreover, it is highly probable that the early exchanges were all completed on the spot. Only when men learned by experience that they could trust most of their fellows, did they enter into deferred exchanges in which one party gave away his goods in return for the other party's promise to complete the trade by giving his goods at some future time. This economic promise, which we loosely and unthinkingly term "credit," vastly increased the amount of trade. By this device, the hunter, to use the earlier illustration once more, was able to meet his present need for a weapon by pledging his future kill in return. The advantages of this type of deferred exchange are so great that economic promises have become a fundamental part of human life.

The use of money as a medium of exchange is also an ancient practice. In its primary form, money was simply a commodity so universally desired that it could readily be exchanged for any other goods. Many things ranging from oxen to feathers have fulfilled this requirement at various times and have served as money. The device of money, like the economic promise, greatly facilitated trade, and extended its scope.

Trade, at first without, but later with, the devices of money economy and the economic promise, took place among all peoples and in all societies. The volume of trade varied widely, of course, but some trade was never wholly absent for long. The degree of economic development depended upon many non-economic factors such as geography and location, and security against internal disorders or foreign invasions. Peoples who lived along the waterways generally did more trading than those who were hemmed in by mountain barriers. A strong government which could guarantee security increased the amount of trading partly because its citizens felt secure enough to accept economic promises in lieu of completed exchanges. Conversely, trade diminished when the weakness of a government invited disorder, for men would not enter into deferred exchanges which circumstances might make impossible of completion.

The economic development of a society has a profound bearing upon the character of that society. It is going too far to assert that the latter depends solely upon the former but the connection is close. At the very least, the economic condition of a society is a gauge of its state of civilization. The great civilizations of the ancient world—Egyptian, Ægean-Minoan, Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Roman—were

all built by trading peoples. Hand in hand with trade go higher standards of living, greater intellectual freedom and activity, cosmopolitanism and tolerance. The decay of trade is accompanied by the decline of these things. A society deprived of trade rapidly falls into localism and provincialism. That, essentially, is what happened to Europe following the decline of Rome.

B. THE REVIVAL OF TRADE

The severe and prolonged economic depression which was at once a major cause and a major effect of the decline of the Roman Empire culminated in the almost complete stoppage of trade in northern Europe. The political and economic insecurity of those centuries made trading so hazardous as to be unprofitable. In such a time, few men willingly took part in deferred exchanges since conditions rendered their completion so unlikely. This implies that less business was transacted by means of economic promises, or, to use a currently familiar phrase, business suffered from a shrinkage of credit. The result was a lowering of living standards which, in turn, meant a falling off of demand and thus initiated the unhappy cycle of a depression. Completed exchanges also decreased in volume as the insecurity increased. The middle class, badly injured by these changes, were further hit by crushing taxation which virtually drove them out of existence. Men left the cities to seek sustenance and security from the land and the potential market was further reduced. The concomitant diminution of population had the same effect. Moreover, with the disappearance of centralized authority, the ways and means of trade tended to disappear. Roads, no longer kept in repair, became impassable. Brigandage upon the land and piracy upon the sea became rife. Money, which had been acceptable throughout the Roman world when it bore the imperial stamp, became localized and unacceptable in foreign trade.

These events, here compressed in so short a space, were in reality very long drawn out. The barbarization of the Roman Empire did not put an immediate end to trade, nor at once transform Europe from an urban into an agricultural society. Trade declined, but it continued, even through the period of the Merovingian Franks. The change which administered the final blow to trade in Europe was the closure of the Mediterranean by the Mohammedan conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries. That sea had been the main artery of trade for thousands of years. Almost the whole of the com-

mercial life of the west depended upon it. Now, dominated by the Moslems, it became a barrier instead of a highway. Most of Europe, its main artery of trade severed, was reduced to the localization of feudalism. By virtue of their situation on the Mediterranean Sea, Italy and Southern France did not suffer so severe a decline in trade as did the remainder of Europe. Indeed, Mediterranean trade continued throughout the whole period. The expansion of the Mohammedan power resulted in a change in the trading personnel, but the trade itself went on.

Easily one of the most significant developments in the history of western civilization was the slow recovery of Europe from this prolonged economic depression. From this trade revival came the reappearance of cities and towns and the urban culture which was the direct ancestor of ours. Considering the importance of the subject it is unfortunate that lack of records seriously handicaps the historian who would explain this commercial revival. The merchant of those days who was part and parcel of this great change was no more an historian than is his modern counterpart, and the attention of the monkish chroniclers was fixed elsewhere. The result is that the story must be pieced together from many fragments, and must lean heavily upon rationalization and conjecture. One of the very important reasons for the revival of trade must have been the stability imparted to society by feudalism. Stability and security are relative terms and compared to the chaotic disorder of the ninth century, for example, the eleventh century must have seemed quiet and peaceful. Confidence returned with the feeling of security and men once more were willing to venture their goods and their lives in trade. The economic promise reappeared, hesitatingly at first, but in ever greater volume as men discovered that it was safe to trust their fellows. Local trade in such natural products as grain, wines, and salt, which had never wholly vanished, was probably the first to revive and increase. Later, trade between more distant manors or with the commercial centers of Italy and Flanders reappeared and grew. To cite only one example, there was an increasing demand for woollen cloth woven in Flanders. A desultory trade in this had gone on even during the depression of the ninth century; it was now revived and strengthened.

Just as one of the reasons for the earlier trade decline lay in the diminution of population so, conversely, the increase in population in the tenth century and after offers a clue to the revival of trade. The opening up of new lands by conquest, as in the case of the

Baltic crusades, and by reclamation projects such as the drainage of swamps and the clearing of forests made available resources which were capable of supporting a larger population. The relationship is reciprocal, however, since Europe's manpower had to increase before such expansion was either necessary or possible. By the eleventh century the greater numbers were definitely reflected by a rising demand for trade goods with consequent beneficial effects upon commerce.

Such great movements, however, are tediously slow, but Europe fortunately did not have to wait upon them for the complete revival of trade. The deciding impetus came from the regions of Venice and Flanders. The pioneers who made their homes on the marshy islands which later became Venice were forced to seek their livelihood from trade from the very beginning. Their very food was bought with fish and salt they obtained from their great servant and mistress, the sea. From that small beginning grew the great trade of Venice which kept her bound to the Byzantine Empire long after the imperial power had vanished from the rest of the West. In return for wheat, wine, and wood from the hinterlands of the Adriatic and salt from her own lagoons, Venice received the spices and luxuries of the East. These she bartered and sold over an increasing portion of Europe. Already rich and powerful by the eleventh century, Venice continued both to increase her wealth and to expand her power as the century wore on. She drove the pirates from the Adriatic and made herself mistress of that sea, reducing rival communities to economic dependence. Threatened by the Norman expansion in Sicily, she allied with Constantinople to curb it and won as a reward a monopoly of all trade between the Byzantine Empire and the West. Meanwhile, Genoa and Pisa were increasing their riches and power by co-operating with the Normans against the Moslems. By the time of the First Crusade, these two cities virtually monopolized the trade of the western Mediterranean. The growth of Italian commerce was greatly accelerated by the Crusades. Not only did the lucrative tasks of transporting and supplying the Crusaders fall largely to the Italian merchants, but they also profited from the increased demand for eastern goods which had been widely introduced to Europe by the returned Crusaders. Moreover, this increased business produced its own consequences since it forced attempts to expand and perfect the techniques of exchange, including the coinage of money, the extension of deferred exchanges, and the improvement of transport

and communication. When the Crusades were over, the Italian cities held firm control of the trade of the Mediterranean.

More surprising than this recovery of their ancient commercial pre-eminence by the Italian cities was the rise of a rich and profitable trade in Flanders. As in the case of the Italian cities, the prosperity of Flanders was in large measure due to its favorable location. The sea was its highroad to the northern littoral and the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt Rivers which flowed through this region gave it easy access to the hinterlands. In addition, Flanders since Roman times had produced a type of woollen cloth which was much desired. Favored thus by nature and provided by man with an exchangeable product, Flanders attracted the Viking invaders of the ninth century. These northmen had come seeking trade as well as plunder, and once the turbulence of their first advance had spent itself, they settled down to commerce. Some of them, known to the Russians as Varangians, penetrated along the river routes from the Baltic to the Black Sea and developed a prosperous carrying trade within that region. Others occupied themselves with trade along the rivers which emptied into the sea on the Flemish coasts. The Normans or Norsemen built up a brisk commerce between Flanders and Normandy and England and the continent. Still others established themselves in Sicily and participated in the Mediterranean trade. Thus by the eleventh century both the northern and southern coasts of Europe were enjoying the benefits of a growing foreign commerce. From the nuclei of Flanders and Venice, the trade revival spread fanwise into the interior of the continent, gaining strength and momentum as it grew, so that by the thirteenth century all of Europe had come under its influence.

Throughout these centuries of gradual growth, trade was hampered by a variety of obstacles which included legal restrictions, difficulties of transportation, and localism. Years of agrarian economy when trade was of but slight moment had resulted in the wide acceptance of two economic theories which sound very peculiar to moderns, since they cut directly across our habitual attitudes toward profit and the taking of interest. The Church was the chief proponent of these theories but they were long accepted by most laymen also. The first, which probably began as an attempt to prevent the exploitation of the consumer, was the theory of the *just price*. This conceived of prices not as dependent upon supply and demand but as essentially social and moral issues. The *just price*, which was the same both in times of plenty and in times of paucity, was the cost

of the raw material plus a reasonable charge for its manufacture. This concept was the basis for a whole series of regulatory laws such as the prohibition of forestalling, the buying of goods *en route* to market so as to control the market; engrossing, the purchase of goods with the intention of holding them for a rise in prices; and regrating, buying at wholesale to sell at retail. It takes little imagination to see how the idea of the *just price* hindered the growth of trade. The other theory held that since money was a barren thing which could not reproduce itself, all taking of interest was usury which the Church condemned as sinful. This attitude is almost incomprehensible unless one bears in mind that for some centuries money had literally been barren, since it was not much used either in exchange or as a basis for credit. Wealth, if it was not in land, was likely to be hoarded as bullion or transformed into jewelry, or ornaments, or sacred vessels for use in the Church. It was beyond medieval experience for money to reproduce itself and, hence, interest-taking was long regarded as unnatural and immoral. The revival of trade, and especially the reappearance of coined money and of the economic promise, rendered this theory anachronistic. It is apparent that had regulations based upon these theories been fully observed, trade would have come to a standstill. The fact was that an increasing number either ignored or ingeniously evaded such regulations. Typical of such practices were the evasions, sometimes indulged in by the Church itself, of laws concerning usury. Loans were sometimes made for very short periods with fiscal penalties agreed upon for each day the loan was overdue. Both lender and borrower were aware that the loan would not be repaid on the specified date and that the "penalty" was really interest. Another common method was for the borrower to receive only a portion of the stated value of the loan but to repay the full amount. In this case the difference between the amount received and the amount repaid was tantamount to interest. That similar evasions of other legal restrictions were common is attested by the statutes passed to curb them.

The difficulties of transportation were in large measure an outgrowth of failure of centralized authority and of the consequent rise of local governments. The magnificent system of Roman roads was allowed to fall into disrepair in the absence of any authority rich enough or of sufficient scope to undertake their maintenance. The feudal lords normally made some attempt to keep up the roads within their own territories but that was a sorry substitute for an imperial system of highways. An analogous situation would appear if for

some reason all maintenance work should be stopped on the trunk highways and through roads over which we so comfortably speed today. In fact, not until the advent of the automobile were highways built which were comparable in quality or extent to the Roman roads. A similar situation prevailed in the case of bridges and ferries. The medieval traveler also lacked hostels or other roadside accommodations. This want was partially, but insufficiently supplied by the monasteries, manor houses, and castles. Nor were these the only difficulties which confronted the traveling merchant. His goods were subject to numerous tolls and duties of various sorts which were imposed upon him by every authority through whose lands he passed. Typical imposts included: an entrance toll; a transit tax (*passage*); a charge upon each wagon (*charriage*) and upon each pack animal whether human or brute (*peage*); a fee for crossing a bridge (*pontage*) or a ford (*travers*). In addition to these legalized exactions there were illegal exactions somewhat similar to modern "rackets." Unscrupulous lords sometimes forced the traveler to buy "protection" against the desperados (often the lord's own men) who infested the countryside. Other lords, either less scrupulous or more honestly dishonest, robbed the merchant without indulging in the pretense of "protection." Brigandage and piracy were so common that merchants were forced to travel in armed caravans. Finally, the merchant who traveled by water, though he escaped some of the tolls and exactions, ran the risk of shipwreck not only by the forces of nature but also by the hand of man. By customary law, the cargoes of wrecked ships were the property of the owner of that shore where the ship came to grief. Some greedy individuals took advantage of this law and enhanced the normal threat of wind and wave by erecting false signals to lure the mariner to his destruction. Small wonder that journeys were tediously slow or that the ultimate consumer, who, then as now, eventually had to shoulder these risks and charges, was forced to pay a high price for his purchases.

The prevalent localism and provincialism further obstructed trade. There was, for example, no uniform medium of exchange. That explains the appearance of the money-changers who played so important a role in the trade revival. Only an expert could evaluate the many coins which flowed into circulation. The need called forth the service and wherever merchants gathered, there too was the money-changer, ready to exchange the coins of the region for others which were not uniformly acceptable in that place. For this vital service the money merchant, for he was really a trader in the various

forms of money, charged a sum sufficient to yield him a profit and cover the risks he ran. That extra charge was also passed along to the ultimate consumer. Localism likewise made deferred exchanges more difficult to accomplish since men were loath to accept the economic promises of strangers. Until this condition was remedied, exchanges had to be completed on the spot, and men were denied the benefits of fulfilling a present need by pledging a future completion of the exchange. In other words, an adequate system of credit was at first lacking and had to be slowly built up. Provincialism showed itself also in distrust and hostility toward aliens. Since anyone not of the immediate locality was regarded as a foreigner this was a serious handicap. Later this same feeling showed itself in the protective tariffs and other legislation by which cities sought to protect and favor their citizens at the expense of outsiders. Modern tariff and quota systems are, in part, remnants of this medieval habit.

Our knowledge of the various obstacles to trade is more complete than our information as to how these obstacles were overcome. The various stages in the revival of trade are matters of probability rather than of factual knowledge. The first agent in the trade revival was the peripatetic merchant who, his pack on his back, carried the goods of Venice or Flanders into the hinterlands. These adventurous individuals were more than salesmen; they were also the advertisers of a new standard of living. The arrival of the peddler with his collection of exotic goods must have been an event of great moment. It is probable that some of those who had no surplus to trade for peddler's goods when first he came were at pains to build up a surplus against his second coming. The peddlers thus encouraged the transition from an economy of subsistence to an economy of exchangeable surpluses.

Who were these peripatetic merchants? They came largely from the peasant class and more specifically from that part of the peasantry which, lacking land to till, was forced to wander in search of a livelihood. Such a person was Godric of Finchale whose biography has come down to us. Born in poverty to peasant parents, Godric had to struggle for a living even as a boy. He became a beachcomber, wandering along the shores in search of salvageable goods. A fortunate find, or, perhaps, a series of fortunate finds, enabled him to become a peddler. Slowly he added to his resources until he was able to join a group of merchants. Together they traveled from place to place, prospering as they went. In time, they accumulated enough wealth to enable them to charter a ship and engage in trade on the

North Sea. By buying at low prices where the goods were common, then carrying them to a region where they were rare and selling them at high prices, the partners reaped a handsome profit. After some years during which he amassed a considerable fortune, Godric felt called to give his goods to the poor and become a monk. To his later beatification we owe our knowledge of his life, for as St. Godric he won the attention of a monkish chronicler. Had he remained a merchant he would also have remained as anonymous as his companions, since the business man of that day was not regarded as worthy of a biographer's efforts.

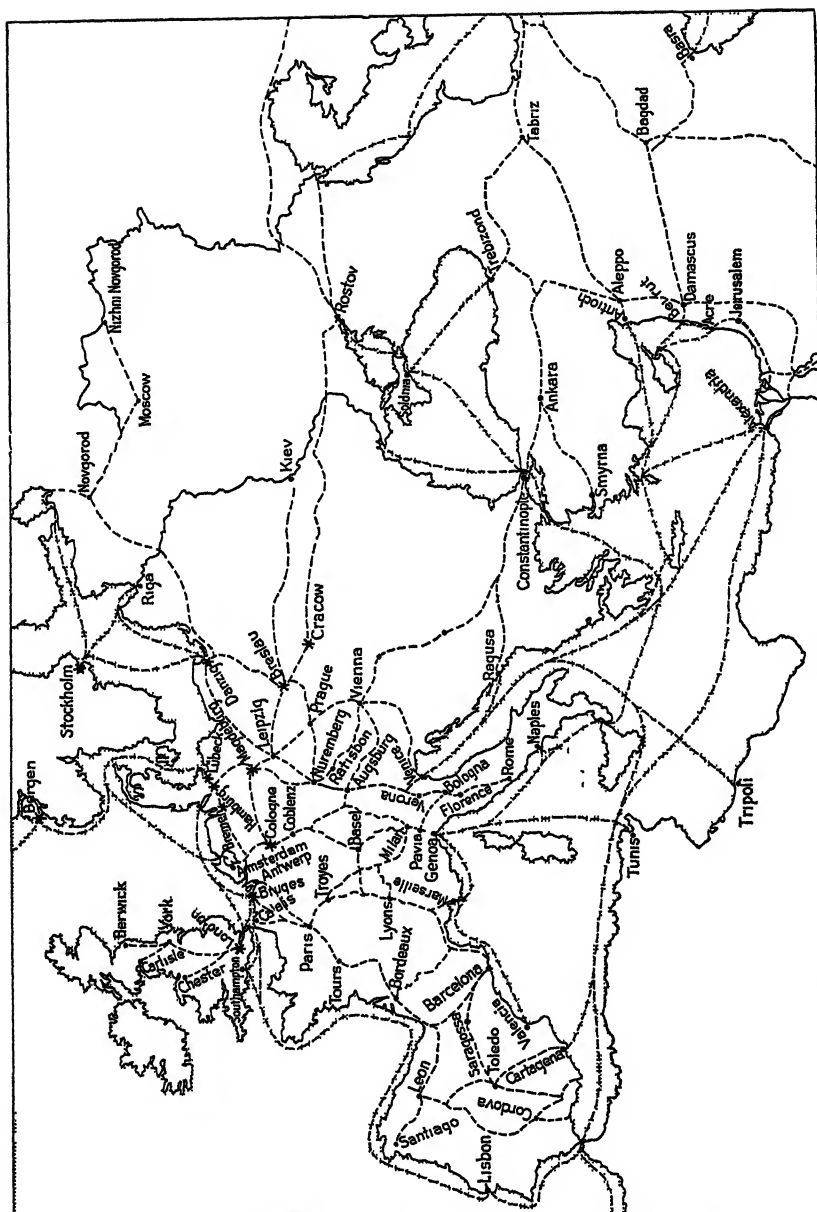
It is probable that the early peddlers at first sought to dispose of their wares at weekly markets which were found in every large feudal domain. These markets were purely local and were held mainly for the convenience of the peasantry. The traveling merchant, perhaps because of the common hostility to aliens or perhaps because there was little demand for his goods on the part of the peasantry, did not find these local markets long satisfactory. He was led, therefore, to join with his fellows in setting up a competing market, called a fair. Before long almost every country and every great fief had its fair. The fairs differed markedly from the peasant markets in size, occurrence, personnel, and patronage. They were larger and lasted longer; they were held only at certain seasons; they were international rather than inter- or intra-manorial; and they were patronized by the upper as well as the lower classes. At them, merchants traded with each other perhaps even more than with consumers. To use a familiar phrase, much of their business was wholesale rather than retail.

By the twelfth century, the most important of the many fairs were those which were held in Champagne. Situated almost midway between the commercial centers of the north and those of the south this region was the natural meeting place for the merchants of Europe. The Seine formed a highway to Normandy and the Channel, the Meuse, to the Low Countries and the North Sea; and the Saône to the Mediterranean *via* the Rhone. In addition the St. Bernard and Mont Cenis passes gave access to northern Italy. At their most flourishing period there were six fairs a year held in the Champagne region. They were held in rotation, the merchants going from one to the other. Since by the middle of the thirteenth century each one lasted several weeks, there was ample opportunity for trade throughout most of the year. The fairs, however, were at best impermanent market places and the expanding trade needed a perma-

nent market. The result was the growth of towns, an important development which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

The appearance of fairs and markets and the expansion of trade brought into being numerous institutions designed to meet the needs of a more cosmopolitan society. There was, for example, the matter of law and of courts. Each locality during the feudal period had developed its indigenous customs which the new merchant class found very objectionable. To overcome this and to avoid the delays common to local courts, the various fairs and market places gradually developed a system of law which transcended local law and was applicable wherever the merchants gathered. This *law merchant*, as it was called, was administered by the merchants themselves in special courts. Sea-borne commerce developed a special branch of the *law merchant*, maritime law which is the direct ancestor of modern admiralty law. Other examples of changing customs to suit new needs were the transformation of the money-changers first into money-lenders and then into bankers; the increasing use of such commercial devices as bills of exchange and checks; and the appearance of insurance.

Another characteristic of the period and one which is closely connected with the rise of towns was the growth of associations known as guilds. Their origin is unknown but they probably began as voluntary associations for the mutual protection and advancement of individuals engaged in the same line of endeavor. Their purposes were as varied as their membership, and ranged from secular and social to religious and devotional. The most important of the various types were the merchant guilds, which appeared late in the thirteenth century, and their offshoots, the craft guilds. The merchant guilds, which originally included all the merchants within a town, soon gained a preponderant influence in town affairs. Their primary concern was to win a monopoly of the town's trade and to that end they secured the passage of preferential tariffs and of laws which almost excluded alien merchants from the town markets. Their secondary aim was to secure for themselves as many trading privileges as they could in other towns. In short, they asked for themselves what they sought to refuse others. The merchant guilds were chiefly responsible for the enforcement of the various trade restrictions discussed above, a fact which has led many scholars to term them anti-capitalistic. Certainly their attempts to regulate prices, control the volume of trade, and prevent cornering of the market greatly restricted private initiative and enterprise. A special type of merchant gild or a league of



MAP 15. MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES. LEADING HANSA CITIES ARE STARRED.

merchant guilds came eventually to be known as a *hanse*. Most important of these was the Hanseatic League which began prior to the thirteenth century in the association for mutual protection and assistance of the German merchants who were engaged in foreign trade. The League, by the fourteenth century, included some seventy or eighty north German towns and by virtue of its strength dominated the trade of the northern seas. It waged war; made extensive use of the economic boycott; entered into agreements and alliances; maintained trading posts in foreign countries; and successfully guaranteed privileges and security to its members. Its economic monopoly lasted into the sixteenth century although its political authority declined before then.

The first merchant guilds had included artisans, but increasing specialization led the latter to form associations of their own, the craft guilds. Since each occupation had its own organization, craft guilds became very numerous. Among them were such guilds as: the goldsmiths, the silk weavers, the physicians, the bakers, the spinners, the dyers, the tanners, the hatters, the innkeepers. Each guild was, in effect, a closed corporation which enjoyed a monopoly control of its craft, regulating prices, quality, and the numbers engaged. A boy, wishing to learn the craft, first had to serve a period of apprenticeship to some master. The duration of this training period varied from two to seven years, during which the apprentice lived with the master who was supposed to feed and clothe as well as train him. The apprenticeship over, the neophyte became a journeyman who worked for wages but usually remained under the close supervision of the master. By careful thrift, the journeyman in time might accumulate sufficient capital to set up his own business. Before he could do so, however, he had to satisfy the masters as to his ability and fitness. If he succeeded, he was admitted into the circle of masters and permitted in his turn to train apprentices and journeymen.

By the time trade had evolved from the peddler stage to guilds and *hanses*, all of Europe was criss-crossed by trade routes. As the accompanying map shows, these routes made use of waterways wherever possible in order to avoid the dangers, costs, and tedious slowness of overland travel. In fact, until well into modern times, seas and rivers remained the best, cheapest, and most used roadways. Because medieval ships were very small they were forced to cling to the coasts but they had the compensating advantage of being able to ascend rivers which today are not considered navigable. Thus, such towns as Lübeck and Bruges, which we think of as being inland,

were at that time served by the rivers. When trade had to go overland its usual carrier was the pack animal since most routes were impassable for wagons and carts.

The goods which traveled over these routes can only be suggested here. The East exported principally such luxuries as gems, spices, drugs, dyes, rugs, silks, ivory, gold, tooled leather, perfumes, arms, armor, and slaves. In return the West sent mostly raw materials: iron, salt, tin, furs, hides, lumber, amber, fish, grains, wines, and naval stores and a few native products, among them Venetian glass and Flemish or English wool and woolens.

C. URBAN LIFE

The story of the trade revival has had to assume the existence of towns.¹ Towns and trade are inextricably linked. One calls forth the other, and the history of one involves also the history of the other. A town is a mercantile settlement, drawing its life blood from the artery of trade. When the artery is severed, the town literally and figuratively decays. Its inhabitants depart, its buildings fall into disrepair, and grass grows in its streets. Again and again this phenomenon has been demonstrated. The disappearance of the Roman cities and the "ghost towns" of the American west are equally cases in point. The long-drawn-out commercial recession of the early middle ages had as its concomitant the gradual disappearance of urban life. Only in Italy and in southern France, where trade continued, did mercantile communities survive. Elsewhere the towns either disappeared or slowly contracted into mere fortresses or administrative centers, known in the middle ages as *civitates*.

The disorders of the ninth and tenth centuries led local lords to build fortresses for the protection of themselves and their people. Known as *burgen* in Germany, *burhs* in England, and *châteaux* in France, these were roughly comparable to the blockhouses and forts of the American frontier. Since both *civitates* and *burgen* sought in so far as was possible to be self-contained units their resemblance to a town was only superficial. Rather, they were steps in the direction of town development. Only with the revival of trade did true mercantile communities reappear, grow, and prosper.

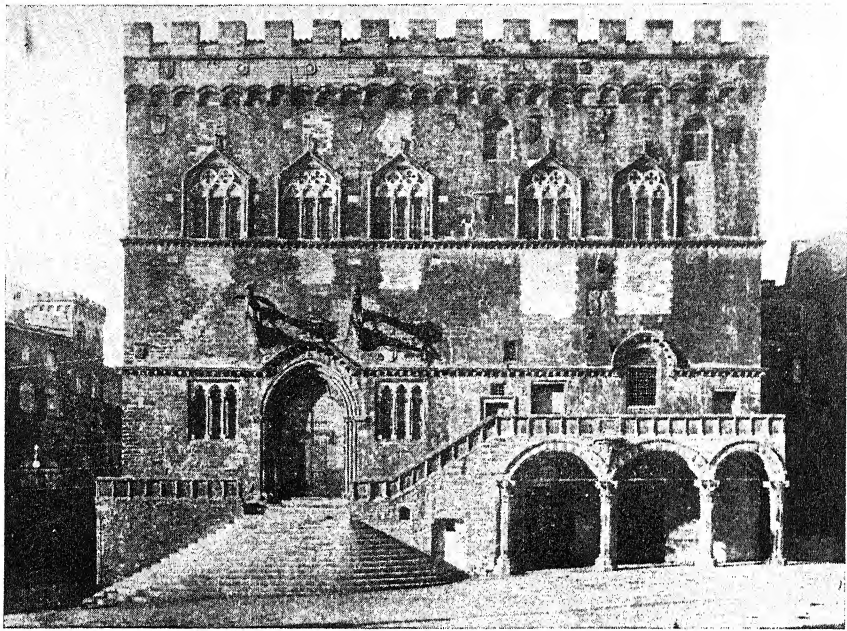
The mystery which surrounds the commercial recovery extends also to the origins of the medieval towns. Patient research over a

¹For another interpretation of town growth, see L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, New York, 1938, Chap. I.

long period has revealed: first, that each town presented certain unique features but, second, that all towns shared sufficiently in certain common experiences to make possible some sound generalizations. In the absence of full information historians have been forced to resort to reason and analogy in order to piece out the story. All that can be said with complete assurance is that the appearance of towns between the end of the tenth and the end of the twelfth centuries constituted a social revolution of whose course we are largely ignorant.

Since some, though not all, of the *civitates* and *burgen* grew into towns we may reasonably presume that need for protection was one, though only one, of the motives of the founders. The decisive factor in all cases seems to have been trade. Towns appeared along all the trade routes and flourished or languished in direct proportion to the state of commerce. A study of the sites chosen for the medieval towns bears out these assumptions. Those *burgen* or *civitates* or even castles which were located on or near a trade route frequently became the nuclei of towns. The city of Cologne, for example, grew up around the walls of a *civitas* which had once been an ancient Roman town. Where there were no *civitates*, merchants sometimes gathered around a *burg*. Such a settlement became known as a *fau-bourg*, meaning "outside the burg," or as a *suburb*. City names like Magdeburg, Burg St. Edmunds (Burg of St. Edmund's monastery), bear witness to this. In the case of many of the new towns in Flanders such as Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges, the nucleus was a castle. Failing such a center, the location of the town was determined wholly by the nature of the trade and of the route. Bridges, ferries, or fords were likely places as is evidenced by the names of such towns as Cambridge, Oxford, and Frankfort. It would appear that the average length of a day's journey might also be recorded in the growth of towns at the places where the merchants commonly passed the night. It sometimes happened, as in the case of Cologne, that the site of the new towns coincided with the site of an old Roman city. This was rare and, outside of Italy and southern France where some few cities had enjoyed a continuous existence from Roman times on, largely accidental. The choice was ordinarily determined by natural advantages, not by any reverence for the Roman past.

In the light of this intimate relationship between towns and trade, the student will not be surprised to discover that the Italian cities led in town development just as they did in trade. The continuous existence of both commerce and town life from the time of the Em-



PALAZZO COMUNALE, PERUGIA (1281-1333)

The center of the medieval government in the hill town of Perugia in central Italy, this building is a fine example of later medieval secular architecture. The crenellated battlements are of the Guelf type and indicate that Perugia was on the Papal side. Above the doorway stand a bronze lion and the griffin of Perugia, adopted as its emblem. Between them hangs a chain taken by the Perugians from the gates of the neighboring city of Siena during one of the frequent inter-city feuds in the fourteenth century.

pire gave them an advantage over the towns of northern and western Europe. Their favorable location which made them the natural *entrepôts* for trade between the East and West blessed them with prosperity and enabled them to retain their leadership for several centuries. They further profited from the struggles and weaknesses of the various powers who from time to time claimed an authority over them. Their position as technically a part of the Byzantine Empire afforded them a modicum of protection while leaving them free to work out their own development. Later they occupied an analogous place under the Carolingian Empire. The struggles between the later Empire and the Papacy also reacted to their benefit. Both Emperor and Pope were ready to pay the price of numerous concessions to buy the support of towns. By playing both ends against the middle they made a handsome profit in rights and privileges gained. In the last analysis, however, their prosperity and power were de-

pendent upon trade. As long as the Mediterranean was the most important trade route, the Italian cities led the European world, but when trade became oceanic, their glory faded.

The salient characteristic of the towns, both old and new, was their freedom. By their very nature and from their very origins they were free, not servile. That is not to say that all townsmen were equal, but that towns were based upon the labor of free men, not, like the feudal domains, upon the labor of serfs. The existence of these free units in a feudalized and servile society was an anomaly, tantamount to a political revolution. Grudgingly or willingly, according to their natures, the feudal lords were slowly forced to give recognition to the privileged position of the town and its people. This recognition frequently, but not always, was symbolized by the grant of a charter which was a written guarantee of minimum rights and reciprocal obligations. The grantor of the charter, the circumstances of the concession, and the terms varied widely. Kings and lords, both lay and spiritual, chartered towns. Some charters were freely given, some were purchased, and some were extracted by force. Kings and lords alike soon discovered that towns were valuable sources of revenue and the more enterprising sought to found towns within their domains. In order to attract settlers it was necessary to guarantee certain rights and liberties and this was commonly effected through the free grant of a charter. Such a town, and one which served as a model for many others, was Freiburg-im-Breisgau, established by Duke Conrad of Zähringen in 1120. Lorris and Montauban in France, and Newcastle-on-Tyne in England were similarly established. The purchase of a charter from the lord of the area was not uncommon, particularly during the period of the Crusades when many lords were hard-pressed to raise the wherewithal for their expeditions. In lieu of either grant or purchase, some towns wrung concessions from their lords by force. By whatever method they were obtained, the charters constituted a guarantee of the minimum legal and economic rights accorded to the town and its inhabitants.

This meant, first of all, the recognition that the townsman (burgher, burgess, bourgeois) was not liable to such feudal obligations as the *taille* or the *corvée*. He was free to conduct his affairs as he chose and to go and come as he willed. If the town, perhaps in return for its charter, had assumed any feudal obligations it had done so as a corporate unit. The individual bourgeois was free. Furthermore, most charters provided that this precious freedom was the

right of every man who had lived in the town as a freeman for a year and a day. For obvious reasons, this provision was more popular with the serfs than with the lords. Because of this liberty, the townsman held his land on a much more favorable tenure than was possible under the feudal system. He could rent, sell, bequeath or otherwise dispose of his land as he chose, a form of tenure known in English law as *burgage*.

Another common grant was the provision that the burgher should not be tried save by the law and in the courts of his own town. This was necessary not only because of the differences between local laws in the various towns but also to free the townsman from the complexities of feudal law. It was customary, too, to vest control of industry and commerce in the various guilds of the town that the bourgeois might be protected in his monopoly of the local market. Until after the twelfth century, the rights of but few towns extended to the field of government. With certain exceptions, the king or lord retained the rights of government, guaranteeing only legal and economic freedom to the bourgeoisie.

In the subsequent years some towns gradually won the right to govern themselves. This gain was frequently the work of an association of townsmen, called a *commune*, which was established for that purpose. Sometimes by purchase but more often by violent action, the *commune* obtained from the lord the right of autonomy. A later age changed the meaning of the word *commune* from "association" to "a self-governing town" thereby immortalizing the work of the association by identifying the result with the effort. In this, as in all else connected with the resurgence of trade and urbanization, the Italian towns led largely because they had never been thoroughly feudalized. By the eleventh century, Venice had become an autonomous city-state on the model of those of the ancient world. Ruled by a *doge* who was chosen by an oligarchy of wealth and birth, Venice made war, signed treaties of peace and alliance, coined money and otherwise functioned as a sovereign state. Venice's great commercial rivals, Genoa and Pisa, also passed through the *commune* stage and emerged as self-governing states. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries many towns of the Lombard Plain—Pavia, for example—as well as Florence, Siena, and Bologna made good their independence. It was characteristic of these Italian *communes* in contrast to those of northern Europe that the nobility played a prominent part in this development and were only less influential than the rising aristocracy of wealth. It was also characteristic and probably inevita-

ble, due to commercial rivalry, that these *communes* were mutually hostile and squandered their strength in bitter inter-city struggles. The part they played in relation to the Emperors has been related elsewhere and need not be repeated here.¹

If the northern *communes* did not so often indulge in inter-mural wars, neither did they enjoy as complete sovereignty as did the Italian cities. More dependent upon the prince or king, they were likely to have gained their limited autonomy by peaceful means. The Flanders *communes*, for example, though they chose their own magistrates and controlled trade through the guilds, recognized the superior jurisdiction of the Count of Flanders. In Picardy, the *communes* won the right to be governed by a magistrate of their own choosing only after a violent struggle. Communal development came later in both Normandy and England. The granting of charters by Henry I in the twelfth century was the first concession of autonomy to English towns. With the exception of Cologne, which received limited autonomy in the twelfth century, most of the German towns were not so favored until the thirteenth. The *communes* in southern France and in Spain, which came into prominence during the middle of the twelfth century, tended to resemble the Italian cities. One final word is needed. Not all self-governing towns were *communes* and not all *communes* were important. Generally speaking, the Italian *communes* were fully independent city-states, while those of the north enjoyed limited autonomy only.

Whatever the degree of their power and freedom, medieval towns were not democratic. As in the ancient city-states, citizenship was not the right of the many but the privilege of a favored few, usually the descendants of the men who had first won recognition of the town's freedom. Moreover, not all citizens had an equal voice in governing the town. The ruling clique was usually the oligarchy of wealthy guildsmen whose economic place gave them control of whatever executive body they entrusted with the business of administration. Since the average burgher was less interested in participation in the government than he was in security to carry on his business, the system worked well enough. To many it probably seemed fitting that the guilds should control the towns since they had been chiefly responsible for obtaining whatever self-government it had. Only later, when the growing exclusiveness of the guilds opened a chasm between master and man did the less privileged groups begin to seethe with unrest.

¹ See pp. 226-227.

Judged by modern standards, both the urban population of Europe and the towns and cities themselves were small. No accurate statistics exist, and estimates are likely to vary with the estimator so that it is impossible to give any definite figures. The most widely accepted estimates place the urban population in the mid-fourteenth century at ten percent of the total population of approximately sixty million. Probably not more than half a dozen cities of that time had more than a hundred thousand inhabitants and only a score or so had over ten thousand. The population of most towns fell in the range from one to six thousand.

Compared to their modern counterparts, medieval towns were also small and compact in area, and badly overcrowded. The reason for this was that every town had to be protected by a wall which narrowly circumscribed the available acreage. Like the walls of the castles, the wall of the town was guarded by a moat and towers, and pierced by fortified gates which could be reached only by crossing a drawbridge. The main streets ran from gate to gate and around the inner side of the wall, widening near the center of the town into a square or market place. Lesser streets, narrow, noisome, and crooked, ran off at angles. Until the fourteenth century, few streets in the northern towns were paved and then only with rough cobblestones. The better streets sloped toward an open gutter in the center which served to carry off not only rain water but also such garbage and refuse as was not eaten by the ubiquitous chickens, dogs, and pigs. There were, of course, no sidewalks and the pedestrian was likely to be splashed with mud or struck by refuse thrown in the direction of the gutter from the upper windows of the houses. The high incidence of diseases, both endemic and epidemic, and the high mortality rate are readily comprehensible in the light of these abominably unsanitary arrangements. Before the reader permits himself a smug sneer at such backwardness, however, he would do well to remember that many sections of the world, including areas of the United States, are still plagued by preventable diseases which spring from lack of proper sanitation.

The typical medieval town was dominated by its church, fronting on the square, its towers rising above the gabled roofs of the other buildings. Around the square, also, were ranged the town hall, the halls of the various guilds, and the homes of the wealthiest burghers. Because land was at a premium and therefore subject to high prices, rents, and taxes, the typical house was narrow and of four or five stories. Frequently, the upper stories were projected over the street



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

NUREMBERG IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. WOODCUT FROM THE
NUREMBERG CHRONICLE, 1493.

Like many medieval towns, Nuremberg developed about the imperial castle stronghold (partly built by Frederick Barbarossa) crowning the hill at the right. Near the center, church towers rise above the steep-gabled roofs of the many-storied houses, closely packed for want of space within the encircling walls. Notice the strong gate, the bridge over the moat, the gate-house, and the thorny fences controlling the approaches.

to provide additional room. The types of houses ranged all the way from the fortress-like stone palace, which was the usual city home of the Italian aristocrat, to the ramshackle wooden warrens of the very poor. Material comforts, as we know them, were as lacking as they were in the castles and manor houses of the nobility. Yet, because comfort is after all a relative thing, it is hardly fair to condemn the standards of another day. The best of the medieval town-houses were at least equally and perhaps more comfortable than the castles of the day, and the worst of the warrens must have been some improvement over the more picturesque thatch and wattle, dirt-floored hovels of the peasant.

The revival and continuing expansion of trade and the appearance of free, wealthy, and growing towns profoundly altered the whole fabric of western society. No aspect of human life was unaffected by the consequences of these developments. Economically, socially, and politically the west was remodeled by these changes. To envision them all as a whole is too great a task so that we are

reduced to treat them bit by bit, a procedure which is unsatisfactory because it tends to distort the picture. The reader must bear in mind that the results arbitrarily labeled as "economic," for example, had political and social implications. Indeed, many were so complex that they might be justifiably classified under any one of those headings. Even superficial reflection will make it clear that a change in the way of earning a livelihood will produce results which are at once economic, social, and political.

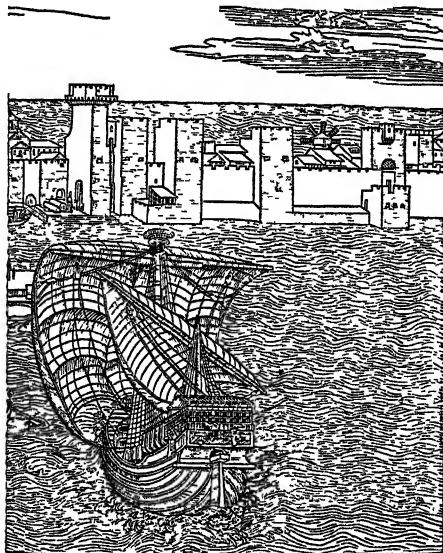
The story of Godric, the merchant who became a saint, clearly illustrates some of the important economic and social consequences of the rise of trade and towns. Godric's parents were peasants, which is to say that they earned their living by tilling the soil. Until the commercial revival, land was not only the means of livelihood for the poor but was also almost the sole source and measure of wealth of the rich. Men were, so to speak, bound directly to the soil by economic chains of varying length—short for the peasant, long for the noble, but binding upon both. Godric's career represents the breaking of this direct linkage. The new commerce offered him a fresh market for his labor, and, when he had won his wealth, a new outlet for his capital. The growth of money economy made possible the development of banking which, in turn, facilitated the expansion of credit. It has already been pointed out that the use of credit, that is, of the economic promise, greatly increased both the volume of exchanges and the flexibility of trade. A glance at the economic experiences of our own day furnishes ample confirmation of this. Within very recent years we have had the opportunity of seeing how a contraction of credit results in a decrease in the volume of exchanges with more or less disastrous results to our personal well-being. The converse is equally true: an increased volume of exchange raises the standard of living. Returning once more to Godric, it is safe to assume that he used his wealth to improve his standard of living. What was true of Godric was eventually true of all men though in varying degrees. The standard of living of all groups has consistently though very gradually been raised. Godric's story illustrates one further result: a shift in the distribution of wealth. The merchant class, the typical bourgeois, became the rival of the feudal noble. Sometimes, perhaps often, he became his superior in both wealth and power.

The very rise of the *bourgeoisie* was an event of the first magnitude whose significance it is almost impossible to exaggerate. Second to it in importance was the appearance of the working class which

developed slowly into the proletariat. The subsequent history of the West is increasingly concerned with the growth in numbers and power, the ambitions and aspirations, the desires and demands, the failures and successes of these classes. That development was centuries in unfolding. It is, indeed, still in progress. More than any other single event, the emergence of these new urban classes was responsible for the transformation of the typically medieval into the typically modern. They were the leaven which slowly transformed the lump. Because of them the spirituality of the middle ages gradually faded into the secularity which we know, and the extreme provincialism of the feudal era gave way to a broader vision.

Trade and urbanization proved a constant stimulus toward freedom and a constant foe of feudalism. The new economic opportunities rendered feudalism increasingly anachronistic and unprofitable. The old system, in short, failed to satisfy the needs of a changing world and slowly faded from the scene. The new *bourgeoisie*, as has been observed, became the successful rival both socially and politically of the feudal lords. Private armies, for example, were no longer the monopoly of the landlord when land was no longer the sole source of wealth. It became more convenient as well as more advantageous to hire service, military or pacific, for money rather than for fiefs. This, as will be explained shortly, was one of the reasons for the increase of royal power, which, in turn, did much to destroy feudalism. Then, too, the sale or loss of feudal rights to towns further weakened the old system. Finally, the rise of trade and towns had much to do with the decline of serfdom, the indispensable prop of the feudal establishment. The presence of the free towns and townsmen was not only a constant incentive but also an opportunity to the serf to escape from his bonds. Moreover, the money economy of the towns penetrated the manor. Foodstuffs were bought and paid for in money, and thus the serf earned the wherewithal to buy his freedom. Many of the newly rich merchants invested in lands, buying out the feudal landlord, replacing serf labor with hired labor and beginning the capitalization of agriculture. Many other causes contributed to the decline of feudalism, but the rise of trade and towns ranks at the top of the list.

Lastly, these developments were in large measure responsible for the reappearance of centralized authority in the person of national monarchs. The *bourgeois* very early awoke to the realization that peace and security markedly increased their profits. They were ready, therefore, to give their support to any person or institution



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

MERCHANT SHIP. WOODCUT FROM BREYDENBACH'S *PEREGRINATIONS*, MAINZ, 1486.

A vessel which could be propelled either by sail or by oar. For defense purposes, ships of this type were probably provided with a "stern castle" and a "fore castle." Recent researches indicate that Columbus may have used a similar kind of vessel for his voyages across the Atlantic.

which could maintain these favorable conditions over the widest area. They sought some power which could checkmate the local authority of the feudal lord and thus free them from local exactions and the toils of local laws. In England and France, especially, this person proved to be the king and the *bourgeoisie* accordingly ranged themselves on his side. This informal and often tacit alliance was mutually beneficial. The taxes which the *bourgeoisie* paid and the loans which they made to the king freed him from dependence upon his vassals. As a case in point, the money thus added to the royal treasury made possible the hiring of professional soldiers, dependent upon and responsible to the king. Such an army enabled the king to put strong pressure upon even the most recalcitrant vassal and so force him into a subordinate place. In return, the monarch repaid the burgher with peace over a larger area, with a national coinage which provided a uniform medium of exchange, and with a body of uniform law which facilitated intercourse throughout the country.

It must be remembered that the transformation of society is a slow process at best. Old institutions and old habits linger like unwel-

come guests. The revival of trade, the appearance of towns, and the emergence of the *bourgeoisie* mark the beginning of a transition whose development is the story of the subsequent chapter.

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The Intellectual Background of the Bourgeoisie

A. THE PERSISTENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL

It is easy to overestimate the influence of rising towns and nation upon the habits of thought of medieval men. As today, these yield slowly, oftentimes imperceptibly, to change. The old was firm, fixed, the new uncertain and insecure. Men still believed that God led the world, and that the clergy revealed his truths. With all the new avenues to power and glory upon this world, men long kept their eyes fixed upon the next.

We have moved so far beyond medieval life and thought that all but the careful students are too likely to pass them by with little more than humorous condescension. The unquestioning faith and the despread superstitions seem naive, if not strange, to many. Yet we have no justification for any smug superiority. Like medieval men, most of our knowledge is built upon faith in those authorities who we suppose to have established the truth. Very few of us would have either the desire or the time to test for ourselves the statement that the earth revolves about the sun, yet none of us would deny that that was true. The man of the middle ages had equally substantial reasons for believing that the earth was the center of the universe, created especially for man and the principal object of the Almighty's solicitude. What differentiates us from medieval men is the authorities whom we accept.

In the middle ages, the unfailing source of knowledge was the Church, the repository of all revealed truth, and the only agency through which salvation could be realized. Few were prepared to challenge its omnipotence or omniscience. The constant threat of damnation, fear of the devil and his host of evil spirits, and the miracles performed within the Church were enough to convince the mul-

titude. Their ignorance of natural phenomena, justified by the Church on the score that knowledge of the workings of nature was hardly necessary to the attainment of eternal bliss, made even ordinary incidents appear as proof of God's wonderful work and his perpetual solicitude for man. Still, salvation was not easily assured. The devil lurked everywhere, ready to pounce upon his victim, while God himself wreaked vengeance upon those who slipped from the straight and narrow path. To attain the life beyond required perpetual vigilance and strict adherence to the Church. Little wonder then that the Church held a monopoly upon knowledge.

The body of knowledge was derived principally from the revealed scriptures, the patristic writings, and the *ex-cathedra* pronouncements of the pope. These provided an authoritative statement of the beginning of things, a way of life, and a vision of the future. Apart from the Holy Writ, the Church Fathers, especially Augustine, supplied the basic materials of Christian thought. Their admonition to forsake temporal life for eternal rewards, their insistence upon salvation as the ultimate in life, their derogatory attitude toward all learning other than religious, molded the pattern of medieval thinking. Theology became the "queen of the sciences" while the other branches of learning receded to inferior positions.

This does not mean that secular learning was completely ignored. This would have been impossible for all the early Christians, and the Church Fathers especially necessarily partook of pagan culture. Unable to escape it, they nevertheless bent it to their purpose of advancing the Christian faith and elaborating Christian doctrine. Thus science was prized not for its intrinsic values, but for what it might contribute to the understanding of religious truth. The study of natural phenomena was regarded as without value except insofar as it would reveal God's teachings. Science was the handmaiden of theology. So also was logic, the medium through which religious truths could be properly expressed. For this, Aristotle, the pagan, provided the infallible key. There were some profound misgivings, to be sure, about the use of his works, but these were so invaluable that in the twelfth century they were given the sanction of the Church. After all, they served theology well.

It is essential to keep in mind the fact that in medieval times all knowledge and learning filtered through the Church and took on a distinctly theological hue. This could not have been so were it not for the fact that the primary preoccupation of men was their souls'

salvation. The growth of commerce and trade, the quest for material wealth, did not at once destroy this universal desire. Yet the rising bourgeoisie slowly broadened the horizon of intellectual life, and hastened the progress of a cultural revolution in the twelfth century.

B. SCHOLASTICISM AND THE UNIVERSITIES

The period preceding this revolution of the twelfth century was once referred to as the Dark Ages, when "the lamp of learning was extinguished." Recent scholarship has altered this view so much that the very designation of "Dark Ages" has become offensive. There was no disappearance of intellectual curiosity between the sixth and the twelfth centuries; neither was there a sudden flowering of learning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries upon a rootless branch. If there were not sufficient reliable evidence for proof, the most simple logic would be likely to convince one of this. Knowledge accumulated slowly but steadily in the hands of obscure scholars, who preserved Rome's dwindling heritage and compiled the scattered bits of wisdom which filtered in from Byzantium and Moslem Spain.

The cultural inheritance left after the barbarization of Europe was little enough when one remembers the great achievements of antiquity. The Christian outlook upon life stifled common intellectual interests, and this, together with the decline in trade and a lack of appreciation for learning among the early Germanic peoples, hastened the general decline of ancient culture in the West. It might still have been possible to keep contact with Greek learning, which continued to flourish in prosperous and stable Constantinople, but intellectual relations, like political relations, between East and West remained negligible until the middle ages had drawn nearly to a close. Even knowledge of the Greek language had practically vanished from the West. Western Europe was left dependent upon the dwindling remnants of pagan Roman culture. Inadequate as this was, it provided the basic materials of knowledge for five centuries.

The great service of early medieval scholars was that of preserving and transmitting the inheritance of Rome. The most distinguished men to devote themselves to this enterprise were Boethius (c. 480-524) and Cassiodorus (c. 490-c. 583), both contemporaries of and collaborators with Theodoric the Ostrogoth. The former, oftentimes referred to as the last great Greek scholar before the fifteenth century, devoted himself to the task of translating Plato and Aristotle into Latin. Though he had hardly touched the works of Plato prior

to his death, he did manage to translate most of the logical treatises of Aristotle. These remained almost the sole source of Aristotelian logic throughout the middle ages. The contributions of Cassiodorus were no less significant. In the true Augustinian sense, this friend and biographer of Theodoric sought to advance the cause of Christian doctrine through scholarship. He encouraged the study of Christian literature as well as such pagan learning as might contribute to it. He himself wrote study manuals to serve as guides for young scholars, and he instructed monks to accumulate pagan and Christian manuscripts which they might copy and make available to the intellectual world. Cassiodorus founded the tradition of monastic scholarship which persisted throughout the whole period.

To compile the existing body of knowledge and then to comment upon it became the chief occupation of most early medieval scholars. But not all of them confined themselves to this essentially barren and unoriginal undertaking, least of all in Ireland, where the traditions of ancient scholarship had been little disturbed by the barbarian invasions. The influence of Irish scholars was gradually brought to bear upon Christian England in the sixth century where a significant advancement in monastic scholarship culminated in the achievements of Bede the Venerable (673-735). Bede had a keen mind which ranged the whole field of contemporary learning, and he wrote prolifically but his fame rests chiefly upon his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, without doubt the most scholarly treatise of the early middle ages. Bede's influence upon English monastic learning was profound. It was also brought to bear forcefully upon the continent whence it was carried by learned monks, especially by Alcuin of York (735-804).

While on mission to the pope in 781, Alcuin happened to meet Charlemagne and was invited to establish himself at the imperial court at Aix-la-Chapelle. There the great English scholar remained for the rest of his life, giving his service to the organization of schools and the advancement of learning within the Frankish Empire. Except for Charlemagne, he was the dominating figure of the ninth century renaissance which usually passes under the name of the Carolingian Renaissance.

Some of the more important features of this revival have already been described.¹ Charlemagne, it will be remembered, was keenly interested in developing a trained and intelligent clergy, and to this end fostered both education and scholarship. The most important

¹ See pp. 124-125, 309-313.

center of these activities was the Palace School at Aix, led by Alcuin, attended by Charlemagne and families of the court, and surrounded by the leading figures of the intellectual world. Thence were attracted Peter of Pisa, the great grammarian; Paul the Deacon, collector of Lombard legend; Einhard, Charlemagne's biographer; and Theodulf of Spain, the poet who has left such charming descriptions of life in this intimate circle.

The influence of the court reached to the remote frontiers of the Empire. Students who sat at Alcuin's feet were made important officials of State or Church. They carried their love of learning with them, and imparted it to those with whom they were associated. They set up schools in their own monasteries and cathedrals, and literally sought to fulfill Charlemagne's wish that they do not "neglect the study of letters," that they vouchsafe the opportunity of learning to those "able to learn" so that the "mysteries of sacred literature" might be "more easily and rightly" be penetrated. Even the parish priests of dioceses controlled by more zealous bishops were ordered to provide schooling in the villages. While it is not to be imagined from this that the mass of people were afforded the chance of education or for that matter were deeply influenced by it, it is still clear that a significant cultural advancement took place.

Among its notable manifestations was the development of good texts of manuscripts and the appearance of these in greater abundance. Jerome's Vulgate and the liturgy of the Church, both of which had suffered from many local corruptions, were restored to the purity of their originals. Moreover, in the monastic *scriptoria* the labor of copying manuscripts was more diligently and more efficiently conducted. Indeed, it is to this Carolingian epoch that subsequent generations owe both the legible script known as minuscule and good texts of many ancient manuscripts.

Equally noteworthy was the stimulus to scholarship. In the field of history alone, the product was considerable, marked especially by Einhard's sympathetic biography of Charlemagne, and Paul the Deacon's history of the Lombards. Both of these continue to be valuable sources. Less pretentious but no less useful were the many annals compiled by the local monasteries. Important as these contributions now seem, they never bulked large in the Carolingian era when attention was devoted chiefly to religious studies. Commentaries upon the Scriptures, and excerpts from classical writers properly adapted to Christian use, comprised the greatest portion of scholarly enterprise.

While there was little originality of thought apparent in most of these works, there were a few exceptional individuals who diverged from the beaten path. A ninth-century Saxon monk, for example, revived the Augustinian thesis of predestination, despite the fact that Gregory the Great had officially sanctioned its modification. Several others opened the perplexing question of the transformation (transubstantiation) of the bread and wine during the ceremony of the mass. Even the argument later advanced during the Protestant Revolution that the bread and wine were merely symbols appeared during the ninth century. To be sure, speculation such as this remained isolated and produced no serious controversy, but its very existence demonstrates that human curiosity had not been completely stifled.

The most original thinker of Carolingian times was John the Scot who was attached to the Frankish court during the period of Charles the Bold. One of the few intellectuals of the early middle ages who was at home in Greek letters, John the Scot knew much of Plato in the original, and was widely read in the neo-Platonic literature of the Hellenistic Age. He was greatly influenced by the mysticism of the latter, and attempted in his masterpiece, *Concerning the Division of Nature*, to fuse neo-Platonism with Christian philosophy. No publication before the twelfth century possessed so much originality in content and style. What is particularly striking is his willingness to set up reason as equally valid with the authority of the Scriptures.

When John the Scot died (c. 877) waves of barbarians were already rolling over the crumbling frontiers of the Carolingian Empire. The turbulent times which followed did not provide a congenial atmosphere in which to pursue the peaceful art of learning. Scholarship languished and learning flagged, but neither entirely disappeared. Many of the schools continued to function and through these the momentum of the Carolingian revival was carried over to the more stable era of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Of especial importance were the cathedral schools of Laon, Rheims, Chartres, Paris, and Toledo.

By modern standards, the educational system of these times was naive and ludicrous. Yet, like our own, it was adapted to the prevailing conditions of life and in its way was eminently practical. The object of education was training for the Church. Consequently, schools functioned as departments of ecclesiastical foundations, either in conjunction with monasteries or the cathedrals. Only clergy pro-

vided instruction, and the subjects they taught were designed to create a literate priesthood which could perform the services of the Church properly. No one pretended to stimulate thought or develop doubt and skepticism. Holy Writ and Christian doctrine were the infallible sources of all knowledge, to be understood but not to be questioned. Where pagan contributions were used, it was solely for the assistance they might give in explaining the wisdom of the Church. The monopoly of the Church in the school was complete.

Following the practice of classical times, the curriculum comprised the seven liberal arts, which were divided into the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music). Major emphasis was placed upon the *trivium*. Since ability to read, write, and converse in Latin was an absolute prerequisite to all other studies, and essential to success in the ecclesiastical world, grammar held the most conspicuous place. Rhetoric perfected style of presentation, and dialectic provided the tools for logical argumentation. The *quadrivium* being of less practical use was not stressed during the early middle ages. Arithmetic was devoted chiefly to the study of the properties of numbers, geometry to the mysterious qualities of geometrical figures, astronomy to the religious significance and influence of the planets, and music to the study of musical sounds. Obviously there was little of content value in the program of study in the average medieval school. Yet through these the spark of learning was kept alive. This alone should be enough to assure them a distinguished place in the cultural history of the western world.

In the person of Gerbert of Aurillac, better known as Pope Sylvester II, the seed sown by these schools ripened to maturity. A product of the monastery of St. Gall, an intimate of Otto the Great, and an instructor at Rheims, Gerbert had an enviable distinction for scholarly attainments in his day. He was extensively read in the Latin poets, and knew enough of Arabic numerals to acquire a reputation for sorcery because of his mathematical skills. Indeed, his interests were as broad as human curiosity. He investigated the properties of steam, made adventures into the field of astronomy, invented an organ, and dabbled in the study of geography.

Gerbert was a transitional figure, the last great scholar of the Carolingian and Ottonian epoch and the first of the newer era of the eleventh century. The fruit of his labors, carried through his students, eventually merged with the importations of knowledge

from the Byzantine and Mohammedan worlds. His work at Rheims was carried on and imparted to Chartres where his great pupil, Fulbert, inspired a significant revival of the Latin classics. Berengar, the latter's pupil, in turn transported Gerbert's influence and enthusiasm to the school of St. Martin's at Tours, and became the first of the great scholars to insist that the educated man must not simply accept the dogma of the Church on faith but must seek to understand it by means of reason.

This very question as to whether faith or reason should be relied upon for certain knowledge arose to plague the scholars of the eleventh century. It must not be supposed that the raising of this issue means that doubt was cast upon the infallibility of the Scriptures. The revealed word of God was still accepted as final. What scholars hoped to do was to make revelation more intelligible by resort to reason, and in doing this they did not hesitate to attack the intermediate authorities of the Fathers. When, however, reason conflicted with revealed truth, it was abandoned for faith.

Berengar of Tours prepared the way for the controversy which was to rage over faith and reason for many years. His most famous book, *On the Eucharist*, applied a critical approach to the Eucharist and concluded that since there was no visible transformation of the bread and wine, no change had taken place. This bold denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation called forth a vigorous condemnation of Berengar from Lanfranc of Bec, Archbishop of Canterbury. Less able than Berengar, Lanfranc was nevertheless an accomplished logician and he was able to brand Berengar a heretic. It is an apt commentary upon the prevailing conception of the reliability of reason that when Berengar stood accused of heresy, he hastened to recant. No scholar of his time would have done less. Yet by exploiting the use of reason, Berengar and his contemporaries gradually led others to rely upon reason more than upon revelation. While scholars debated the relative merits of faith and reason, the body of knowledge was being rapidly enlarged through importations, and Europe experienced an intellectual renaissance of wide ramifications and of deep and lasting consequence.

Although contact between Europe and Byzantium and the Mohammedan world had never been severed, it was not until the eleventh and twelfth centuries that Europe as a whole began to assimilate the cultures of these prosperous neighbors. When once this had begun, enthusiasm mounted among medieval scholars until their activity in translating, commenting upon, and even fully adopting

this new body of knowledge, amounted to a mania. Within a century, the greater portion of Greek and Mohammedan philosophy and science, as well as Byzantine theology, had been made available to students of the west. It is difficult to explain this energetic activity. Probably the best clue may be found in the trade revival described in the preceding chapter. The trader was educator as well as merchant, a missionary carrying substantial evidence of the attainments of distant peoples. Besides, during the eleventh century, the pressure of Christendom upon the Moslem strongholds of the west extended the opportunities for contact with Moslem culture. Moreover, Europe had acquired a measure of political stability by the eleventh century, her population was growing, and there was an awakened energy everywhere apparent which was sure to be felt in the world of letters. It was the combination of these things which made the renaissance of the twelfth century possible.

The accumulated knowledge of Greece, Byzantium, and Islam became the property of European intellectuals. This in itself was of revolutionary significance. The whole of Aristotle's logic, his scientific and philosophical works, his *Ethics*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetics* were made available. The knowledge of Plato's writings was enlarged. Of even greater significance were the translations of Greek and Arabic mathematical and scientific treatises. Arabic numerals, Euclid's *Elements of Geometry*, Al-Khwarizmi's algebra and trigonometry, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, works on physics, the writings of Galen and Hippocrates on medicine, Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine*, and much of the Arabic literature on alchemy and astrology were reproduced. So great was the extent of this and so swiftly did it all appear that it baffled the most courageous minds. Before it could be mastered it had to be digested, and above all things it had to be adapted to the only body of knowledge which men possessed and which from centuries of usage they regarded as containing the truth.

Twelfth century scholars boldly set to the task of reconciling the apparently irreconcilable, pagan knowledge and Christian revelation. Futile as this now seems, scholars of the time succeeded to their own and their contemporaries' satisfaction. The typical product of their labors were *summa*, or complete summaries, of all existing knowledge. By means of Aristotelian logic they were able to harmonize or eliminate the contradictions and organize knowledge into a uniform system subordinated to theology. The name given this great intellectual effort is scholasticism.

In the evolution of the scholastic technique of reconciling con-

tradictories, a prominent place must be given to the controversy among the eleventh and early twelfth century realists and nominalists. Reduced to its fundamentals, this conflict is as old as the human mind and as persistent as life. The question upon which it turned was whether reality existed in universals or particulars. Plato had held to the former, asserting that real existence belonged to the general idea such as that of the good man, there being no good man except as he reflected the general idea. Conversely, Aristotle held that only the individual, particular thing was real, the universal being merely a convenient tool by which one can label a group of objects. The conflict between these two views still exists.

Those who held that universals were real were known as the realists; those who held that particulars were real were known as the nominalists, since they called universals *nomina*, names or tools of convenience as Aristotle called them. The conflict between these two groups involved theology especially and because it did it stirred men deeply. Was there any such thing as a universal church or were there only individual Christians? Was the Trinity a reality or only a name to cloak the individual identities of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Questions like these absorbed the attention of every intelligent student. On the very question of the Trinity, the realist-nominalist controversy had its beginning. Roscellin of Compiègne, a distinguished nominalist, held to the separate identities of the three persons. Anselm of Bec refuted this and with faultless logic demonstrated that Roscellin must believe in three Gods and therefore be unchristian. Anselm, the realist, advanced his argument from faith, stating what might be called the creed of the realists: "I believe that I may know." Roscellin could have answered for the nominalists: "I know that I may believe." These statements provide the key to the two points of view represented by the contestants.

The nominalist-realist controversy reached its climax with Abélard (1079-1142), one of the world's greatest intellectuals and greatest lovers. Born of nobility, Abélard went to Paris in his early twenties to study with William of Champeaux, the most famous realist of the time. Finding him pompous and superficial, Abélard so confounded the master with questions that he found it expedient to leave Paris for a time. Returning, he set himself up in competition with William, gaining such popularity that the latter was left virtually without students. Meanwhile, he fell in love with Héloïse, niece of the Canon Fulbert of Notre Dame, whom he had been engaged to tutor. When Héloïse gave birth to a son, Abélard prom-

ised marriage if Fulbert would co-operate in keeping it secret, since revelation of his marriage would injure his career. Fulbert refused, and Héloïse to defend her lover retired to a nunnery. Abélard, emasculated by Fulbert, was also compelled to retire to a monastery. Views which he there expressed concerning the Trinity brought him into disfavor with the ecclesiastical authorities and, shortly before the end of his life, he was accused of false teaching and condemned to silence. While on his way to Rome to appeal this sentence he died at the Abbey of Cluny. To the end he remained true to Héloïse. If Abélard's fame as a dialectician has dimmed through the ages, not so his fame as a lover.

The position which Abélard took in the nominalist-realist controversy was a compromise known as conceptualism. According to this view, universals have reality in the sense that they exist as ideas or intellectual concepts. They do not, however, possess objective reality, which belongs only to particular things.

Abélard's greatest publication, which laid the basis for the scholastic method, was his *Sic et Non* (Yes and No). In this he listed a variety of theological questions for each of which he supplied positive and negative answers from the Church Fathers. Thus he hoped to "incite the reader to search out the truth of the matter" for himself. His method did stimulate doubt and inquiry; for if the great authorities disagreed with each other, the question naturally arose as to whether any authority might be relied upon. Abélard would have answered himself that the Holy Scriptures were dependable but, even so, his startling revelation of authoritative contradictions pointed the way to subsequent efforts to reconcile the conflicting heritage. Peter Lombard first attempted this in his *Four Books of Sentences* in which, after citing positive and negative positions of the authorities on fundamental issues, he composed their differences by means of logic. This was the technique of the great scholastics—the posing of an important theological question, the citation of positive and negative authorities, and finally the reconciliation of these.

The problem of reconciling contradictions was much more difficult for the generation which followed Abélard and Peter Lombard, since to the conflicting theological authorities was now added the much more difficult conflict between theology and secular knowledge, which was primarily scientific. Science was based upon reason and experience; religion upon faith. How could the truths of one be joined with the truths of the other so as to buttress faith? There were those who despaired of that possibility and insisted that there

must always be two kinds of truth, separate and unrelated; but the Church and the greatest minds of the age remained optimistic.

The first individual to shoulder the enormous task of harmonizing science and religion was Albertus Magnus, a German scholar of such wide attainments that he was the only intellectual of the time to secure the appellation of the Great. He assembled an imposing mass of commentaries upon Aristotle, adding his own, and he wrote extensive commentaries upon the Prophets, the Psalms, and important recent publications. But he made no successful effort to organize all this into a unified system of knowledge. This was left to his able student, the "angelic doctor" as he came to be called, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274).

Born in southern Italy of noble family, Thomas Aquinas was educated at the University of Naples and, after joining the Dominican Order, journeyed to Cologne to study with Albertus Magnus. Though he subsequently taught at Paris, served as confidential adviser at the papal court, and reorganized the University of Naples, he still found time to fashion the most comprehensive system of Christian knowledge ever to be achieved. His task he believed to be that of demonstrating that revealed truths and the truths of reason were not incompatible but complementary. Accepting the existing distinction of two bodies of knowledge, that of theology coming from God, and that of philosophy coming from man, he aimed to show that each was valid in its own way. Theology, the embodiment of all truth, to be accepted by faith if necessary, was useful in illuminating for man the working of God's will upon earth; philosophy, which was human reason acting upon human experience, helped men to comprehend the revealed truth of God. There was really no conflict between the two; both served God's divine purpose. As between them, of course, theology was superior; it was the science *par excellence*. To accomplish his purpose of demonstrating the compatibility of human and revealed truth, Aquinas brought to bear all the force of Aristotle's logic, of which he was the undisputed master.

The most important result of his labors was his *Summa Theologica*, or *Summary of Theology*, still the accepted statement of Catholic doctrine. Employing the technique of Abélard and Peter Lombard, Aquinas set forth some six hundred leading questions, to each of which he supplied authoritative answers both positive and negative. Following this, a conclusion is reached, based upon Augustine or Aristotle, and then such objections as might be raised to his

conclusions are dispensed with by resort to logic. Carefully organized, carefully reasoned, and developed with faultless logic, this was indeed the masterpiece of scholastic effort. The synthesis of Aristotelian and Christian philosophies had been made, theology emerging victorious, with secular knowledge helping to realize the victory.

Aquinas could not have realized that the mighty edifice he erected would soon be seriously damaged or that this would occur partly because of his own effort. It was through his publications that the idea of a distinction between theology and philosophy, of revealed and reasoned knowledge, came to be fixed. True, he had tried to demonstrate that they were complementary, but advance in scientific knowledge made this appear ever more doubtful. Besides, he himself had encouraged sound reasoning; that this should develop in others' hands in a fashion different from his own was to be expected.

While most of his scholarly contemporaries followed in his footsteps, few had Thomas' penetrating and orderly qualities of mind. Among the majority, his logical methods and skills were taken as the ultimate of intellectual effort, and dialectics developed to the point of absurdity as an exercise in itself, not as a means to an end. The more capable, however, soon discovered the fallibility of Thomas' method, and consequently exposed his conclusions to criticism. Such a one was Duns Scotus, "the subtle doctor," a Franciscan monk, born in Scotland, and trained at the University of Oxford. Finding errors in logical procedure, he refused to accept any scholastic demonstration as final until it was thoroughly investigated, and he even questioned Thomas himself. Similarly, William of Ockham, another Englishman educated at Oxford, became so doubtful of the validity of the scholastic method that he asserted that it were better for religion to be based upon faith and revelation than to seek the support of reason. This was tantamount to saying that the whole scholastic effort was useless. Critical as they were of scholasticism, Scotus and Ockham were nevertheless scholastics. They clearly demonstrated how impermanent Aquinas' methodology was destined to be, even in the hands of men of his age.

The scholastics had relied too heavily upon Aristotle and his logic, so that when doubt was cast upon him, the validity of all their conclusions was questioned. Finally, the schoolmen themselves stimulated an interest in secular learning. With all of these inherent weaknesses, however, scholasticism was not barren. It aroused interest in learning and research, it systematized the existing body of knowledge, and

unconsciously opened the way to the subsequent development of science and philosophy.

Meanwhile, an increasing number of scholars turned their attention primarily to the newer secular study of science. This does not mean that they had abandoned the common belief in the reliability of revealed knowledge. The most devout scholastics had suggested the importance of science, not as an end in itself, but as a means of improving one's understanding of God and His work. Indeed, there was not a student of science in this period who did not profess and probably sincerely believe that he was advancing God's cause. The implications of the experimental science which they began to extol, teach, and practice, they realized little, if at all. Yet it was this which was to attack much of the framework of revealed religion to which they were so closely attached.

The outstanding exponents of science were Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon, both English Franciscans. Grosseteste was a man of extraordinary attainments who knew both Greek and Hebrew, wrote extensively on dogmatic theology and interested himself in astronomy and all types of physical problems. As an investigator he was uncommonly critical, relying not upon the generally accepted authorities, but seeking out original sources. Procedure such as this, which was of the very essence of modern science, inspired the labors of his much more widely known student, Roger Bacon. An ardent searcher for truth, Bacon decried the dead weight of tradition, custom, and ignorance, which retard the advancement of knowledge, and asserted that experimental science, employing observation and experiment, can alone lead men to truth. While not the first medieval to resort to experience to determine the worth of authority, he was certainly the first to express the need so forcefully. As an astronomer, a geographer, and a student of optics, he demonstrated the actual possibilities of this method. His optics remained standard for several centuries, and his geography was the most systematic and, in its consequences, the most influential work of the kind in the middle ages.

The new experimental method was neither fully developed nor widely popularized, although it found some exponents everywhere, especially in Sicily and southern Italy. There at Palermo in the court of energetic Norman kings, all the varied activities of the scholarly world found a congenial atmosphere. The brilliant Emperor Frederick II took a keen interest in these intellectual developments and became perhaps the most famous exponent of experimental science.

His curiosity ranged the whole field of scientific interests from animal and bird life to the nature of the human soul. Some of his legendary experiments, such as sealing an individual in a cask to find whether the soul leaves the body at death, and disemboweling two men to discover the influence of exercise upon digestion, strike us at a safe distance as being slightly naive. Frederick had the scientific spirit and, apart from encouraging the labors of others, made a significant contribution on bird life which corrected medieval authorities.

With all of this, experimentation was the preoccupation only of exceptional men. Most medieval scientists still pursued such popular studies as astrology, alchemy, and magic, and for these naturally relied upon the authorities. Astrology was of ancient origin, having come to Europe from the Orient. At first frowned upon by the Church, it eventually was adapted and its lore mingled with that of the Christian doctrine. Even men like Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon were its devotees. As a pseudo-science, it was divided into two studies: that of the heavens, later to become astronomy; and that of the influence of the planets upon human destiny. It was assumed that a definite relationship existed between the movement of heavenly bodies and human behavior so that by resort to the proper methods, the fate of men and nations could be foretold. To do this, it was necessary to cast a horoscope, that is, to determine by reference to the date and hour of birth, and the position of the planets at that time, the talents, difficulties, and problems of the client. Ideas such as this took hold early in the middle ages, and instead of suffering with the imported learning of the twelfth century were supported by the additional authority of Aristotle and Moslem scholars. If the medieval confidence in astrology impresses us as childish, it might be well to remember that many troubled souls still appeal to the astrologer.

Like astrology, alchemy was a product of antiquity, though more surely grounded. The precursor of modern chemistry, alchemy was studied in order that life might be lengthened and the baser metals be turned to gold. Almost all medievals dabbled in this so-called science. Although the fountain of youth remained undiscovered, and the baser metals obstinately resisted transmutation, alchemists nevertheless succeeded in producing a considerable body of practical information. A number of chemical substances such as zinc, manganese, arsenic, and ether were discovered, and the foundations for modern chemistry laid.

All medieval scholars believed in magic, though the Church gave it the unrespectable name of the "black art." Certain kinds of words oftentimes combined into meaningless jargon, numbers such as seven, geometrical figures, and some kinds of substances, animals, and plants were held to possess peculiar supernatural powers. The pulverized tooth of a dog or a partridge brain was regarded as being particularly effective in treating toothache; magnetite, if properly used, would reveal a wife's infidelity; some types of Egyptian fig were prescribed to remove wrinkles; and an especially obnoxious sort of bug if consumed to the accompaniment of the Lord's Prayer was certain to cure a case of spots before the eyes. Despite these absurdities, there was a good deal of experimentation conducted in connection with magic, and as the middle ages advanced, it drew steadily closer to science.

Early medieval medicine was a combination of magic and superstition, but the acquisition of Galen, Hippocrates, Avicenna and much of the medical lore of the Levant produced a revolution in the twelfth century. Beginning at Salerno, where medical treatises drawn from the Mohammedans were written in the eleventh century, and where the first state medical school was established by Frederick II, the new knowledge passed to Padua, to Bologna, and to Montpellier. There was much in this new body of medical knowledge which was fantastic, for the works of Galen and Hippocrates were compounded of some sound information, some magic, alchemy, and astrology, but it was still superior to what had been. Unhappily, this was taught in the customary scholastic method of reference to the authorities whose works were analyzed, commented upon, and refuted. There was comparatively little analysis of disease or study of the human organism by direct observation. It would be erroneous, however, to say that there was no scientific approach. Before the Church would tolerate dissection of the human "tabernacle," animals were dissected, and in the twelfth century at Bologna dissections of the human body were finally made. Moreover, some significant discoveries were made, such as narcotic anæsthesia, and the virtues of isolating the victims of contagious disease. Meanwhile, the practice of medicine and surgery passed from the hands of clergy to laymen. The tendency in this direction was speeded up after the Council of Rheims (1131) forbade monks and regular clergy to engage in the profession.

By the twelfth century, applied science was developing along with pure science. This is more than could have been said of the

ancient world. Acids, alkalis, mirrors, and lenses from which spectacles could be made, window glass, clocks, and spinning wheels were all produced. Knowledge of the mariner's compass, acquired from the Orient through the Moslems, came during the twelfth century. The astrolabe, also from the Mohammedans, appeared in the eleventh century, and before the middle ages had closed, navigation was further facilitated by the development of shipbuilding. The blast furnace for production of iron and steel was invented. The art of paper-making was imported, and by the thirteenth century, paper manufacture was common throughout Europe. Of tremendous importance, too, was the invention of gunpowder.

These developments in science were paralleled by a significant revival of the study of Roman law. Throughout the middle ages, Roman legal practice and tradition were transformed and adapted to meet local needs and customs. It became, like Germanic law, customary and unwritten. During the eleventh century, however, the written copies of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* were recovered in Italy and were slowly employed in the courts. Shortly thereafter, a notable student of Bologna, Irnerius (c. 1060-1125), inaugurated the intensive study of this Code and inspired a number of students to produce glosses, or explanations, upon Justinian's texts. Almost immediately Roman law acquired a widespread popularity, for it provided a system capable of universal application, which appealed to the growing class of merchants. Moreover, it was a godsend to ambitious princes, anxious to supplant local feudal law with a uniform code which would further ensure their sovereignty. Apart from these purely practical uses for which it was desired, Roman law was significant for its rationalism and secularism. Based upon reason and experience rather than upon religion, it helped to accentuate the tendencies in the direction of secularism.

The widespread intellectual activity of the twelfth century provided an important stimulus for the development of new higher institutions of learning, the universities. Simultaneously other forces operated toward the same end. Developing towns and trade called for young men of intelligence and training, while at the same time they enlarged the numbers of those who could afford to expend the time and money necessary to receive it. The Church needed greater numbers of educated servants as its bureaucracy expanded and as the necessity arose to combat the various types of intellectual heresies. Princes desired better civil servants, and both they and the Church were anxious to secure the aid of trained lawyers. It was the



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HENRICUS DE ALEMANIA LECTURING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA

An example of instruction in a medieval university.

combination of these needs which led to the evolution of the university.

Wherever there were to be found especially competent instructors in those subjects in which curious young men of the twelfth century evinced an interest, students from all parts of Europe were likely to concentrate. It was in these regions that the first universities appeared. Thus at Salerno which had attained a reputation for medical studies, a university which specialized in medicine gradually took form; at Bologna the personal influence of Irnerius was decisive in producing the University of Bologna; at Paris, which attained renown as a theological center, the influence of Abélard was paramount. These three were the first of the universities and it was upon them that most of the other institutions of higher learning were patterned.

The very word university betrays its origin. Derived from the Latin word *universitas*, meaning gild, the earliest university was sim-

ply an organization either of teachers or students to regulate life and study efficiently. At Bologna the gild, or *universitas*, was first organized by the students not only for the purpose of regulating the prices of their food and rents for room, but also for regulating their instructors. If he was late or absent from his lecture the instructor was fined; if he were incompetent he received no fees; and if he failed to cover the material within the stipulated time he was punished. At Paris, the teachers or masters gained the upper hand, largely because the University developed around the established cathedral school of Notre Dame which the masters already controlled. The problem of accommodating the students who flocked to Paris called forth their first organization. However they originated, whether through the students or the masters, the universities set out to attain the same independence which other gilds had achieved. Because most of the students and faculty were clergy, they demanded the customary clerical privileges, especially independence of the civil courts. When they attained this in whole or in part, they asked for independence from the Church. They never became entirely free, but then as now, they acquired a unique and privileged position.

There were no university plants with elaborate buildings and dormitories. Classes met in convenient church buildings or in halls which the master engaged. At first students literally sat at the feet of the master—on the floor—crude benches being supplied only at a later period. The student had to take full notes in Latin since the texts from which instructors read were very scarce. At Paris, the problem of accommodating students was uniquely solved by Robert de Sorbon, who established a foundation for a college, that is, for an organization which would provide board and room for poor students. This proved so practical that many other philanthropists also endowed colleges. In the course of time, faculties established themselves in these quarters and there thus came into being the separate colleges of our modern universities.

Each university offered a course in the liberal arts, a course which was prerequisite to training in any of the professional subjects such as law, medicine or theology, one of which at least was made available. The degree of bachelor of arts could be attained ordinarily in four or five years by study of the *trivium*; a master's degree or doctor's required three or four years more with concentration on the *quadrivium* and in the subject of special interest.

Life among the students differed little from today. There were the same serious-minded and diligent plodders who avoided all temp-

tations and devoted their attention entirely to books, but there was also a goodly portion who spent their time in carousing and horse-play. Life was slightly more strenuous then, and instead of placing a cow on the rostrum of the college chapel they diverted themselves by playing with bows and arrows and by engaging in murderous fights. Even then, the university community had the reputation of harboring rowdies and lawbreakers.

C. CLERICALISM IN LITERATURE AND ART

Every age stands revealed in its literature and its fine arts. So true is this that anyone who could bring to the task the necessary interest and knowledge could probably write the best history of an era from the attainments of its poets, architects, painters, and sculptors. Henry Adams came close to achieving this for the thirteenth century in his *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres*. Clearly, unless the student knows something of medieval literature and art he cannot have a full appreciation of the extent to which pagan, oriental, and Christian elements of life mingled, how intensely some sought for salvation, how very important theology was to most men, and yet, withal, how deep-rooted were the secular impulses. If one is apt to conceive of the middle ages as completely and fully absorbed with religion he needs only to read its literature to get a sounder view.

In the early middle ages the literary tongue was almost exclusively Latin, the language of learning, government, and religion, if not of the common mass of people. The classicists were once inclined to call it bad or vulgar Latin because it was a corruption of Ciceronian usage and, consequently, for a long time medieval Latin literature was ignored. It was not in fact bad Latin but a living language adapted to the needs and interests of the times. That it did not conform to classical usage is not to be held against medieval men; it is rather to their credit. After all, Latin did not become a dead language until the classicists restored it.

Apart from the numerous records of government all of which were kept in a flexible Latin, there was a considerable production of Latin prose and poetry in the early middle ages. Much of this was anonymous and definitely uninspired. The majestic and rhythmic prose of the church liturgy alone continues to excite universal admiration. Poetry, too, was mediocre, written in imitation of the classical, and lacking in spontaneity.

If the early middle ages produced little Latin literature to awaken

enthusiasm, that was not the case of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The age of the universities, of the realist-nominalist controversy, of scholastic argumentation, and of the Crusades was likewise the age in which medieval Latin reached full flower. Poetry was then emancipated from classical meter, and developed a variety of new verse forms calculated to convey every mood and shade of meaning. Even religious poetry developed an unaccustomed spontaneity, charm, and grace. Witness the great church hymns then produced, hymns which still call forth the deepest religious emotions: the *De Contemptu Mundi*, the *Stabat Mater*, and *Dies Iræ*, which has been called "the greatest of all hymns and one of the greatest of all poems."

The most interesting poetry of this period was the secular poetry, pagan in spirit, sensuous, gay, carefree, even satirical when not altogether disrespectful of the Church and ecclesiastics. For the most part, the authors of this verse remain unknown, though we know they were wandering scholars, vagabonds, footloose and free, searching love and pleasure wherever it might be found. Neither of the laity nor yet of the clergy, they formed a class apart, partaking of the clerical immunities through their status as students, yet assuming none of the customary responsibilities. In the fashion common to their times, they organized themselves into a gild which enforced its own rule and was attached to its patron saint. Being anything but religious, their patron was not a religious figure but a wholly mythical person, Bishop Goliath, whom they extolled as the archtype of wantonness, intemperance, gluttony, debauchery, and bad manners, but withal one of excellent culture. As the followers of Goliath, these poets were known as Goliards and their verse, reflective of their patron, is known as Goliardic verse.

Drawn from every class and from every nation, the Goliards prided themselves upon their cosmopolitanism.

We receive the tonsured monk,
 Let him take his pittance;
 And the parson with his punk,
 If he craves admittance;
 Masters with their bands of boys,
 Priests with high dominion;
 But the scholar who enjoys
 Just one coat's our minion!

This our sect doth entertain
 Just men and unjust ones;
 Halt, lame, weak of limb or brain,

Strong men and robust ones;
Those who flourish in their pride,
Those whom age makes stupid;
Frigid folk and hot folk fried
In the fires of Cupid.

Tranquil souls and bellicose,
Peacemaker and foeman;
Czech and Hun, and mixed with those
German, Slav, and Roman;
Men of middling size and weight,
Dwarfs and giants mighty;
Men of modest heart and state,
Vain men, proud and flighty.¹

Among them the most gifted was he who was referred to as the Archpoet, whose identity has thus far escaped detection. His famous *Confession of Goliath* reveals the spirit which permeated his order:

Down the broad road do I run,
As the way of youth is;
Snare myself in sin, and ne'er
Think where faith and truth is,
Eager far for pleasure more
Than soul's health, the sooth is,
For this flesh of mine I care,
Seek not ruth where ruth is.

In the second place I own
To the vice of gaming:
Cold indeed outside I seem,
Yet my soul is flaming:
But when once the dice-box hath
Stripped me to my shaming,
Make I songs and verses fit
For the world's acclaiming.

In the third place, I will speak
Of the tavern's pleasure;
For I never found nor find
There the least displeasure;
Nor shall find it till I greet
Angels without measure,
Singing requiems for the souls
In eternal leisure.

¹ J. A. Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song*. London, 1925. Pages 51-52.

In the public-house to die
 Is my resolution;
 Let wine to my lips be nigh
 At life's dissolution:
 That will make the angels cry,
 With glad elocution,
 "Grant this toper, God on high,
 Grace and absolution!"¹

They wrote of their poverty, their gambling, and their drinking, of love in all its phases. They showed a keen feeling for nature, and they were trenchant critics of contemporary life. Some of their satires on ecclesiastics and their parodies of religious hymns are certain proof that medieval Europe was not just one huge monastery.

The awakening worldly interests of the twelfth century so clearly indicated by the Goliards was likewise reflected by the development of vernacular literatures. That local dialects should rise to the stature of literary media and successfully challenge the dominion of Latin was itself an event of profound significance. It marked the transition from internationalism to nationalism, from the theological to the secular. It is important to observe that the vernaculars advanced with every forward step of commerce. The popular tongue was the medium of the local business world, essential for bargaining among the untutored of the market place. The conquest of the vernacular was in this sense the conquest of the common people.

The story of the evolution of modern languages might well be made the history of civilization itself. Blended of primitive dialects whose origins are lost in antiquity, transformed with the migrations, these tongues were shaped in the Latin mold of conquering Rome, and as they developed during the middle ages mutually reacted upon and influenced each other. Where Rome's influence was greatest, in Spain, in France, in Italy, there gradually emerged the Romance languages. In the more remote regions the influence of the native dialects predominated. Of all the vernaculars, English was by far the most composite, springing from Teutonic Anglo-Saxon but profoundly influenced by heavy importations of Latin and Norman French. These various tongues were always in use among common people and for that very reason were scorned by the scholarly world.

The first to attain the dignity of a literary medium was Old English or Anglo-Saxon. Between the seventh and ninth centuries there was a considerable production of both poetry and prose, some-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-69.

what rigid and primitive, but hardly crude or artless. Poets sang of the fabled heroes and their pagan ancestors, of the skill and virtues of their local chieftains, and of the great heroes of Christendom. Their themes oftentimes reflect recent conversion. The earliest of the poets known to us was Cædmon (c. 670), a workman of the monastery of Whitby. His *Hymn to the Creation*, which Bede quotes, is apparently the only piece which can be attributed directly to him. Greater than this is *Beowulf* (c. 725), an epic probably written by a Northumbrian monk. Inspired by Danish legend and with its setting apparently in Denmark, *Beowulf* is still peculiarly English. In the period of King Alfred the Great native literature of this sort was officially patronized and some of the great Latin masterpieces were translated into Anglo-Saxon.

There was no comparable development of vernacular literature on the continent, although in the German countries the same kind of epic tradition predominated. Teutonic peoples delighted in singing the glories of their pagan ancestors. Of the earliest German sagas little remains, although there is enough to show their earthy character and their pagan spirit. In time, Christian story was superimposed upon primitive pagan lore, and the ideals of feudal chivalry displaced the barbarism of the originals. This fusion was reflected in a twelfth or thirteenth century version of one of the oldest sagas, the *Nibelungenlied*,¹ in which the times of Attila were portrayed in the aspect of feudal and Christian Europe.

The epic tradition took hold also in the Romance countries, especially in France and Spain, where there appeared during the era of the Crusades a number of *Chansons de Geste* (Songs of Deeds). Like the Teutonic sagas, these dealt with the heroes of popular tradition and reflected the religious and political characteristics of the time of their writing. Little influenced by the Crusades, they treated of Charlemagne and of the struggle between the Christians and the Moslems in Spain. They were essentially masculine and aristocratic, extolling the loyalty, the military prowess, and the godly virtues of Christian knights.

The most important of the *Chansons* was the *Song of Roland*, composed by Frankish clerks in Spain for the amusement of pilgrims who frequented the shrine of Campostella. The story turns upon the legend of Roland, Margrave of Brittany, who lost his life in an engagement between the Franks and the Christian Basques of Spain. Ignoring historical fact, the authors made Roland the loyal vassal

¹ Wagner made this the basis for his "Ring" operas.

of Charlemagne and the hero of the Christians in their struggle with the infidel. Aristocratic and feudal, it was permeated by a feeling of patriotism which was peculiarly French. So popular did it become, however, that it inspired numerous imitations throughout the continent. These together constitute what is usually called the Carolingian cycle of *Chansons de Geste*.

Unique in theme but similar in spirit and feeling was the great Spanish epic, the *Poema del Cid*. The hero here was Ruy Diaz de Bivar, an unreliable individual who frequently changed sides in the eleventh century struggle between Christians and Moslems. In the poem, however, Bivar becomes the loyal vassal and faithful Christian who typifies the best of the manly virtues.

Equally aristocratic but abandoning military themes for romantic adventure and courteous chivalry, were the epics of the Arthurian cycle which appeared in twelfth century France and soon attained wide popularity. These were formed about the Celtic legend of King Arthur and the legends of the Holy Grail. They embodied the highest ideals of chivalrous love and Christian virtue, and sang the glories of the saintly knight who spurned the temptations of this world to find the Holy Vessel which Christ had used at the Last Supper. The theme of Arthur and his knights has inspired the artistic creations of many from medieval times to Tennyson.

Meanwhile, as the epic developed, poets of Provence were bringing to perfection a new type of vernacular poetry, the lyric. Probably inspired by Moslem example, these troubadours, as they were called, composed their verses to be sung in the feudal courts. Their theme was love of the most conventional sort, addressed to the married ladies of the feudal aristocracy. The troubadour was, in fact, the vassal of his lady, owing her service in poetry in her court of love. Like many whom they entertained, the troubadours were often members of the aristocratic class, and their songs were meant to portray formalized, courtly love. From Provence, this type of lyric spread to northern France where the *trouvère* sang the beauties and virtues of his lady, and, after the Albigensian Crusade, exiled troubadours carried it to Italy. In Germany also they appeared in the songs of the *Minne* (love) singers.

Courtly love lyrics and military or romantic epics made little appeal to upstart bourgeoisie. Men of the world, of base origin and often with uncultivated tastes, they preferred an earthy, realistic story. To meet this demand the *jongleurs* composed *fabliaux* for their burgher audiences. Written in rhymed verse the *fabliaux* extolled

the successful merchant, pilloried the corrupt priest, and mocked the ignorant peasant. Often unspeakably crude according to modern standards, many of the *fabliaux* expressed a universal type of elementary humor.

The realism which characterized the *fabliaux* soon appeared also in the treatment of conventional romances, such as *Aucassin et Nicolette*, a tale of Byzantine extraction treating of the love of a young nobleman, Aucassin, for a captive Saracen slave girl, Nicolette. Written in France early in the thirteenth century, this is one of the immortal productions of the middle ages. His attachment to a pagan and a slave involved Aucassin in all conceivable sorts of difficulties and even persuaded him to hope that he might abandon salvation for love. The life of the times here stands revealed, as well as the troubled experiences of the medieval soul.

The drama likewise reflects the rising prominence of the townsmen. It would appear that all connection with the classical drama had been broken and that that which emerged in the middle ages was a completely new manifestation. Its earliest appearance was with the liturgy of the Church on special feast days such as Christmas and Easter. On these occasions there was added a dialogue, sung by the choir, purporting to be the conversation among the magi or the conversation between Mary and the angels at Christ's tomb. As time passed, the dialogue increased in length and eventually the characters were personified. At this point it was separated from the regular service. As it continued to become more elaborate, the facilities of the church became inadequate, so it was moved outside to the churchyard, and from there to the market place. These changes of locale of presentation were accompanied by changes in personnel among the actors. Originally clergy, the class of actors was drawn more and more from the lay body, and was professionally trained. By the twelfth century, the Church lost control over the drama completely, surrendering it to the guilds of the towns. The earliest plays were mystery plays, developed around the dramatic tales of the Scriptures. These gave way in the thirteenth century to the miracle play which portrayed the influence of the Virgin and the saints upon the daily lives of men. In the fourteenth century, there emerged the morality play, developed around allegorical themes.

In view of the growing influence exerted by the burghers upon intellectual life, it is not surprising to discover that two of the three greatest vernacular masterpieces of the middle ages were produced by bourgeoisie: the *Divine Comedy* by Dante Alighieri and the *Can-*

terbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer. Less is known about the authors of the third, *The Romance of the Rose*, though Jean de Meun who contributed the larger share was a Parisian and apparently bourgeois.

The Romance of the Rose was begun by William of Lorris, a poet of the Loire country who had been much influenced by the love lyrics of the troubadours. He treated his theme in allegorical fashion, however, and had the genius to personalize his abstract characters. The hero who becomes the servant of the God of Love is smitten by Beauty, wounded by Love's bow and then, aided or hindered by Venus, Danger, Fair-Welcome, and Jealousy, he seeks to win the Rose, symbol of love. The tale ended rather abruptly after some four thousand lines. About forty years later, Jean de Meun added fourteen thousand lines more. This part is in striking contrast with that of Lorris. Sophisticated, cynical, verbose, Jean de Meun traversed the whole range of contemporary knowledge, though not in integrated fashion. His was not an idyllic treatment of romance. He simply employed Lorris' medium to instruct in the rationalism of his day. Though its literary merit may be questioned, Meun's contribution does demonstrate the increasing importance of secular interests.

The greatest masterpiece of the middle ages was the *Divine Comedy* of Dante. Probably no literary achievement has reflected so completely the intellectual attainments or the political and cultural aspirations of its period. Theological doctrine, scholastic subtlety, the romantic worship of women, the imperial-papal feud, the rivalries of the Italian communes, mysticisms, alchemy, magic, astrology—all are fused together with poetic passion into a unique harmony. Dante, in truth, summed up his age.

Born at Florence in 1265 of an old but impoverished family, Dante attained recognition early in life as a poet of exceptional ability, and through the aid of powerful friends rose to a position of political prominence in his native city. A conflict between the Ghibellines and the Guelfs undermined his career, and when his Ghibelline friends were worsted he was compelled (1300) to flee with a price upon his head. For the remaining twenty-one years of his life he roamed an outcast from city to city, poverty-stricken and disillusioned, but forever hopeful that he might some day return to his native Florence. His wanderings revitalized his imperial sympathies, for everywhere in Italy he saw tyranny and anarchy rampant in temporal affairs; and hypocrisy and immorality in spiritual affairs. But the Empire was unable to cope with the situation, and

as his life drew near its close, Dante's mystic faith in religion strengthened. The *Divine Comedy* in a very real sense is the chronicle of the author's own misfortunes and disillusionment. More than that, however, it is the chronicle of his age, for Dante's own experience was merged with that of humanity.

The theme of the *Divine Comedy* was not new, but its treatment was original and masterly. It describes the author's imaginary excursion through the realm of the hereafter, an undertaking which was popular with many medievals, and for which Dante had the inspiring example of Virgil's *Æneid*. Lost in a gloomy forest where he is threatened by wild beasts, Dante is met by the great bard Virgil, who has come at the behest of Beatrice, Dante's romantic love, to guide him through the nether region. The two journey through the seven circles of Hell where they see those who had committed evils and where Dante meets and converses with the shades of departed friends and enemies. In typical medieval fashion, he conceived Hell to be a conical depression driven into the earth by Lucifer's fall, and terminating at the exact center of the earth. Dante and Virgil emerged at the other side of the earth at the foot of the mountain of Purgatory, formed by the earth displaced by Lucifer's fall. Here primal blessedness and purity were gradually restored, the spirits of the departed mounting the precipitous side of the hill with greater or lesser rapidity, often depending upon the prayers offered in their behalf by those who were left behind. When the limits of Purgatory were reached, Virgil took leave of Dante, for having been pagan he could not enter the realm of the blest, and as he rises to the seven heavens corresponding to the seven planets, Dante is guided by his beloved Beatrice. Here the virtues of faith and obedience are extolled, and Dante instructs in the doctrines and teachings of the Church. The pilgrimage reaches its climax with the mystical vision of the Trinity, which is described with rapturous ecstasy.

Like Dante, Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-c. 1400) of England was bourgeois in extraction and a public servant, but there the resemblance ceases. Chaucer was no mystic, nor was he deeply religious. He was a realist, a keen and accurate observer, and a forceful storyteller. Son of a prosperous vintner, Chaucer served as a page during his youth and at 19 or 20 joined the English army in an invasion of France. Made a prisoner of war, he was ransomed partly through the generosity of the king, returning to England after the peace. He was subsequently despatched on a number of important diplomatic

missions and served as one of the royal Controllers of Customs. This long and active career as servant of the Crown did not keep him from wide reading, both classical and medieval, or from enlarging his experience with his fellows and sharpening his naturally keen sense of observation. In the most popular of his literary adventures, *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer reveals himself the keen judge of men and the story-teller *par excellence*. Like the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, the *Canterbury Tales* purport to relate the stories told over a period of time by a fixed number of characters, in this instance, thirty pilgrims of London on their way to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. The thrifty pilgrims are individuals of high, middle, and low estate, a cosmopolitan and democratic group, whose personal virtues and shortcomings are depicted by the hand of a master. Their stories are not meant to convey a moral but to amuse. Purely secular in tone, the *Canterbury Tales* appealed to common men and were written in the vernacular.

Turning to the fine arts, one finds the same influences operating and the same general development from ecclesiastical to secular interests which had appeared in scholarship and literature. Like everything else in medieval life, its art sprang from multiple origins but was uniquely adapted to the peculiar interests and needs of the people. It was never purely imitative and never stagnant, though at some periods it was more prolific than others. The reduced heritage of Rome, the decorative tastes of the Orient filtering through from the east, the technical and inventive genius of the Byzantines, the skills of the painstaking Moslem artist, all acted and reacted upon the European scene and were molded into a new synthesis. The localism of the feudal epoch allowed each region to develop its own style according to its needs, but the ubiquitous monks and the universal Church brought these into touch with each other and gave them a general character which was everywhere nearly the same. After all, the influence of the Church was paramount during this period and artistic manifestations were mostly ecclesiastical. After the eleventh century, however, the secular arts assumed increasing importance, and artists began to devote their energies to the purposes of the guilds and the wealthy townsmen. This is precisely what had occurred in scholarship and literature. It is, of course, significant to note that the most prolific development of the arts followed the eleventh century recovery of Europe and paralleled the revival of trade and commerce.

Of the medieval arts, unquestionably the most important was ec-

clesiastical architecture. Springing from Roman, Byzantine, and native influences, this evolved in accordance with the requirements of the liturgy, the physical needs of the congregation, and the local peculiarities of climate or geography. Among the earliest types to develop was the *basilica*, largely inspired by the example of Roman buildings. This was an oblong, rectangular structure, divided into a broad central nave and either two or four narrower side aisles. The eastern end of the nave terminated in a semi-circular apse, in which was situated the bishop's chair and the main altar. Sometimes, also, following the custom popular among eastern Christians, the side aisles were also finished with apses. The aisles and the rear of the nave were open to lay worshipers, but the major portion of the nave, marked off by a rail (the chancel), and the apse were reserved for the clergy. The latter, as the liturgy grew more elaborate, required greater space. This was provided by crossing the aisles and the nave near the eastern end of the church with a transept. This gave the church the shape of a Latin cross and thus helped to satisfy the Christians' proverbial love of symbolism. When the transept had been introduced the general ground plan of all medieval churches had been laid.

The basilica was lightly constructed. The wooden roof of the broad nave presented no great problem of weight and thrusts. They were easily carried upon tiers of columns, oftentimes pilfered from classical structures, which separated the nave from the side aisles. The lean-to wooden roof over the aisle was similarly light so that the side walls could be of moderate thickness. The walls of the nave were always raised above the roofs of the side aisles, leaving sufficient space to be pierced by windows.

Decoration on the interior was usually subdued and dignified. Marble columns and floors, ambones inlaid with mosaic, sometimes mosaics on the nave walls above the architrave, and almost always a great mosaic in the lunette of the apse supplied the basic features of interior decoration.

The exterior of the basilica was rather plain, though mosaic treatment of the upper façade was not infrequent. Borrowing from Roman models, the early Christians introduced an atrium, or covered portico with an open court in the center, and a narthex, or covered porch over the main portal. The atrium was not purely a decorative feature, being placed at the disposal of pilgrims, catechumens and others not yet privileged to enter the holy precincts.

Almost coincidental with the basilica was the evolution of the so-

called central type of church, built more or less in circular shape within a square and roofed with a dome. Eastern in origin, the central church was not adapted to western liturgy and was not extensively used. Experimentation with this type in the East, however, led to the discovery of methods of vaulting with a dome, and when this was found useful in roofing over the crossing made by the transept in the basilica, it was adopted in the West. One of the earliest examples of the domed basilica is the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Italy.

The inventive genius of eastern architects produced a style of architecture known as Byzantine which both in its structural and decorative principles greatly influenced the West. This has already been treated in some of its details.¹ The Byzantine architect was particularly ingenious in developing a type of stone vaulting which insured structural durability without being cumbersome. Employing an elaboration of the central plan in the shape of the Greek cross, they worked out adequate techniques for carrying and distributing the weight and thrust of the great dome. One of the most successful of these is exemplified in Santa Sophia. The weight of the high dome is carried on four massive piers and the outward thrust is counteracted by four lesser domes whose thrust in turn is imparted to piers and eventually carried to the buttressed outer walls. Much like the Gothic, the developed Byzantine was organic, durable, and structurally logical. The interiors tended to be lavishly ornate with an abundance of glass and gold mosaics.

During Justinian's era, Italians adopted the Byzantine model, particularly at the imperial headquarters at Ravenna. Several centuries later, at the time of the iconoclastic controversy, the Byzantine style was carried further west, and became the architectural inspiration of the Carolingian renaissance. Charlemagne's chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle is an almost exact copy of the Byzantine type of San Vitale in Italy. In the eleventh century, the great church of Saint Mark at Venice was constructed on the model of a church in Constantinople, and this Venetian example was in turn copied in the church of St. Front at Périgueux in France. The Byzantine thus had its imitators, but more important than that, it indirectly influenced the development of a unique western architecture. In combination with native influences, it helped lay the basis for what is known as Romanesque architecture.

Any definition of the Romanesque can be only broadly accurate. In its original connotation the name implied a style which was

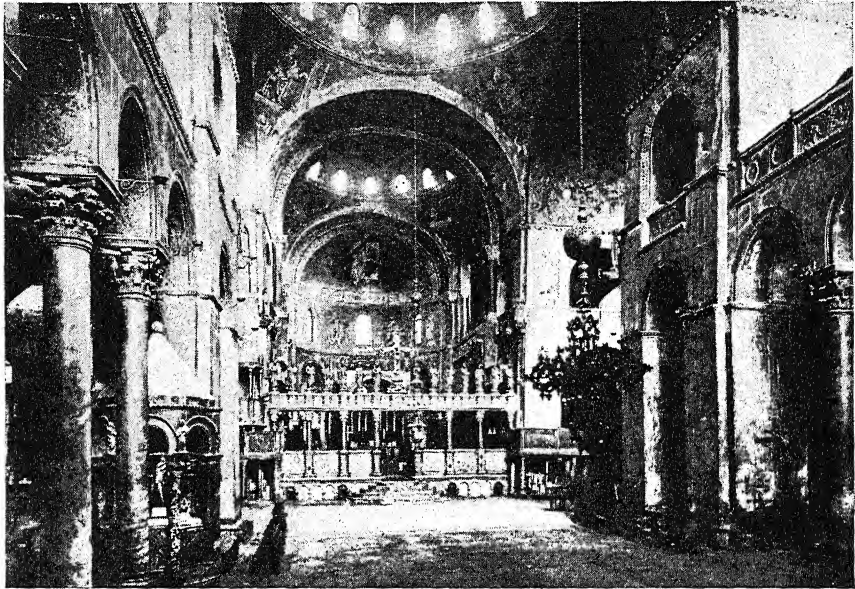
¹ See pp. 103, 336, 337, 338.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ST. MARK'S, VENICE. C. 1100.

St. Mark's was built in the Eastern mode, in the plan of the Greek cross, with a great dome in the center and smaller domes on each of the arms of the cross. Rich marbles, precious mosaics, and a lavish use of gold make the exterior the most colorful Byzantine structure in the West.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ST. MARK'S, VENICE, INTERIOR

This shows the base of the central dome and of one lateral dome, supported on massive piers broken by arched passageways which allow more space. Like the Eastern churches after which it was patterned, it has a wealth of color and decoration.

Roman in inspiration. Romanesque art, like all other cultural manifestations, reflected the multiple influences to which medieval men were exposed. It is impossible clearly to differentiate it from the Gothic which followed. Most accurately stated, the Romanesque was merely a stage in the gradual evolution of western Christian art. In point of time, it is usually regarded as covering the period roughly between the sixth and thirteenth centuries, though the great era of its development was from the eleventh century.

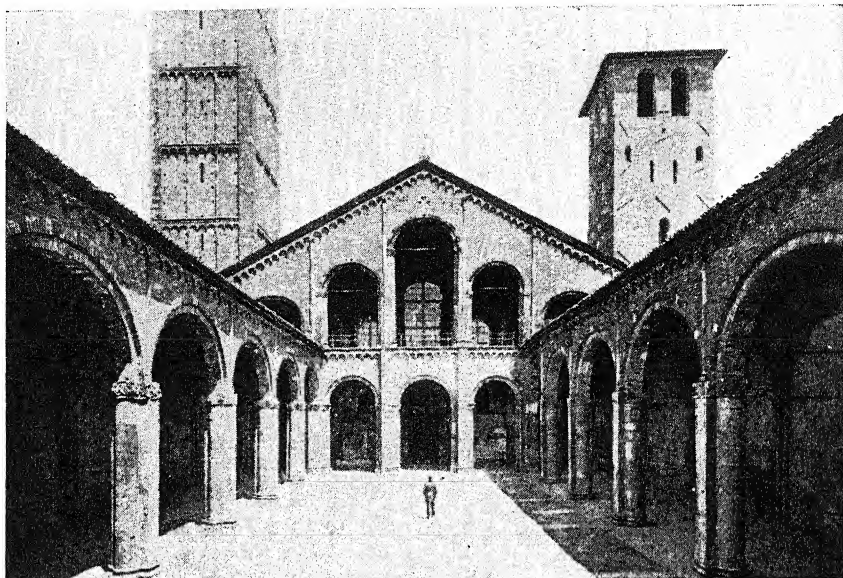
The difficulty of defining the Romanesque is made more complicated by the fact that its local manifestations are so numerous. Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and England each had their own style and sometimes their several styles. Some were more classical than others, some were influenced more by the precocious inventiveness of the Normans and still others were mostly Byzantine. Technically there was no homogenous Romanesque. Yet with all of its local variations, there are some few general characteristics everywhere apparent. All of them were further developments of the plan of the Roman basilica. Most frequently, they employed the rounded

arch, and tended to emphasize the horizontal rather than the vertical line.

They were usually roofed with stone, at least over the side aisles, rather than with inflammable timber. The necessities of this construction in turn dictated that the church be low, and that walls be sufficiently heavy to carry the great weight. It was impossible, therefore, to light the church adequately though this was partly compensated for by bright-colored marbles, paintings, and in Italy, especially, by mosaics. Externally, the Romanesque church was likely to be plain, though there are notable exceptions to this general rule. The façade, flanked by two towers, was exposed to full view and the portals were adapted to correspond with the internal construction of the great nave and its narrower side aisles.

The most interesting feature of the Romanesque and certainly the most important in showing the gradual evolution of the Gothic was the vaulting of the nave and the side aisles. Three methods of executing this in stone were learned from Roman and Byzantine example: the barrel vault, or elongated semi-circular stone arch; the groin vault in which two half-barrel vaults intersected to cover a square space or bay; and the dome such as the Byzantine frequently employed. The latter was not well adapted to the basilica plan of the west, and consequently was used very infrequently. Of the other two, the barrel vault was structurally the less desirable. To build it required elaborate and expensive scaffolding, and since its weight and thrust (the natural tendency of an arched roof to bulge) were evenly distributed along its entire length, the supporting walls had to be massive. Nevertheless, the barrel vault was widely used although at first only over the side aisles where the danger of collapse was not so great. Meanwhile, the groin vault was also used. In this type the space to be roofed is divided into squares or bays and over each of these is thrown two intersecting barrel vaults. The thrust is concentrated at the intersections, and at these points special piers are set to carry it. The walls being needed therefore only to help carry the weight of the roof can be built more lightly and broken for window space.

An important contribution to the development of groin vaulting was made by the Lombard builders who constructed the church of St. Ambrogio at Milan during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Strong salient ribs were added to the angles of each groin and at the sides of the vault, making in all four lateral and two diagonal ribs. These it was found could stand independently and serve as the frame-



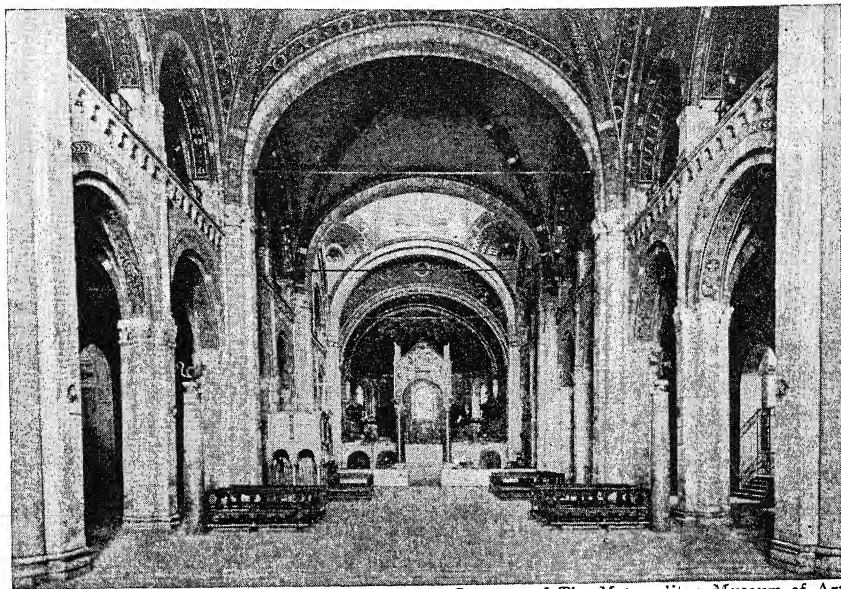
Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

SAN AMBROGIO, MILAN. ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES.

The first church of San Ambrogio was constructed in the fourth century on the ruins of a temple of Bacchus. The architectural form of this earlier building seems to have been preserved in the eleventh and twelfth century atrium, or open court, and the façade shown here. The gates of the church are said to be those which St. Ambrose closed against the Emperor Theodosius after the massacre of Thessalonica, 389. The broad and rhythmic arches are typically Italian.

work upon which the masonry of the vault could be laid. The latter performing no vital structural purpose could then be reduced to a mere shell or web so that the weight of the entire roof could be greatly reduced. This type of construction required novel treatment of supporting piers and columns, since the ribs springing from different angles could not be gathered neatly upon the customary square or round support. In consequence, a compound support was devised, using engaged pilasters to meet each rib from whatever angle it sprang. There has been some controversy over whether these innovations, so important to the evolution of the Gothic, were original with the builders of St. Ambrogio, though they are generally accorded the credit. Still, experimentation with stone vaulting produced almost identical results simultaneously in France and Germany.

The Normans, especially, were bold and successful innovators. In contrast with the builders at Milan, they were faced with the practical problem of lighting, and therefore found it expedient to search for a means of raising the roof sufficiently so that a clerestory



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

SAN AMBROGIO, MILAN, INTERIOR

It was here that the Lombard Kings and German Emperors were formerly crowned with the iron crown, which since the time of Frederick Barbarossa has been preserved at Monza. The structural principles which the builders of San Ambrogio developed are plainly visible in this interior. The altar at the left has the original decoration intact, reliefs in silver with a front of gold enriched by enamels and gems, executed in the Carolingian period. In the tribune are mosaics of the ninth century.

could be introduced. To achieve this, they developed the same general structural principles employed at Milan and discovered that they were thus able to raise the nave vault safely. To carry the added thrust, they introduced half barrel vaults over the aisles so that it might be distributed along the side walls. In time, it was discovered that the continuous barrel vault was not needed to carry the thrust. Segments of it, built at those points where the thrust was concentrated at the joining of the ribs, were all that was needed. Moreover, these segments, rudimentary flying buttresses encased under the aisle roofs, could impart the thrust to piers along the outer walls rather than to the walls themselves. The latter, therefore, could also be broken to introduce additional light. With these discoveries the elemental principles of the Gothic had evolved.

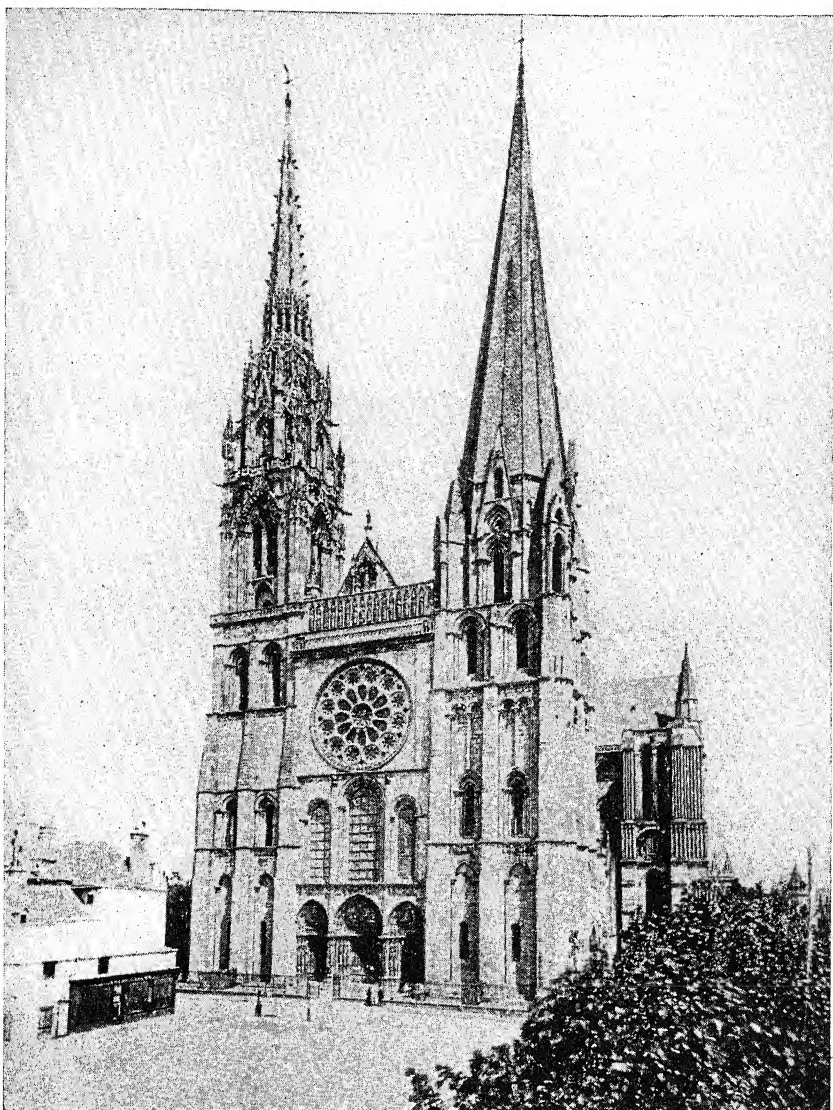
Because of this seemingly natural and logical evolution of structure, the Romanesque has oftentimes been regarded as simply the preliminary stage of the Gothic. Such an interpretation is hardly justi-

fied, except in the most general way. Quite apart from the use ultimately made of its principles of construction, it must be remembered that the Romanesque was a mature, independent, and richly varied form of architectural manifestation in its own right. It did not develop uniformly or logically, but manifested itself in the varied languages of the local communities in which it was employed. Only in the broadest sense did Romanesque churches conform to a common pattern, and only by accident did they inspire a new architectural form.

Gothic architecture embodied the fundamental principles of the late Romanesque from which it emerged imperceptibly. It was an organic structure built upon a completely independent framework composed of a system of vaults, supports, and buttresses, whose weights and thrusts were so neatly balanced and counterbalanced that the walls which encased it were not required for its support. In this sense, the Gothic hardly differed from advanced Norman Romanesque. But the Gothic builders modified the organic framework in certain significant respects and therefore imparted to their structure characteristics which were strikingly different.

One of the unique features of the Gothic is the use of the pointed rather than the rounded arch. It is this which enabled the Gothic builders to raise their structures to extraordinary height and endow them with an aspiring quality through resulting emphasis of vertical lines. Appropriately enough, the pointed arch was first employed extensively in northern Europe, in the *Île de France*, where the difficult problem of lighting encouraged experiments with methods of raising the nave vaults. There were inescapable mathematical limits which fixed the height to which the rounded groin vault could be lifted; it could never be higher than half the diameter of the circle which the ribs described. With the pointed arch, however, there were no such logical limitations. In fact, the vaulting could be raised almost indefinitely just so long as safety was not sacrificed. Moreover, it was discovered that the bays could be rectangular as well as square so that the nave could be broadened and greater uniformity achieved in the vaulting of the nave and the aisles.

Another distinguishing structural feature of the Gothic was the flying buttress. Romanesque builders had already developed this in its embryonic stage but kept it encased beneath the aisle roof. Gothic architects took the buttress from its concealment and threw it openly between the pier and the nave where thrusts were concentrated. When it was discovered that thrusts were divided at the haunch and



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

CHARTRES CATHEDRAL

This rather austere façade is interesting in the contrast of plain and richly sculptured surfaces. The south tower at the right was rebuilt after the front of the church and bell tower had been injured by fire in 1134. This tower and the royal portal then built anew remained when flames more completely destroyed the building in 1194. The north tower was built in its present form 1507-1513. Originally the porch stood further back and was the front of a narthex preceding the eleventh-century church. In its recessed arches, the story of Christ, from his remote ancestry to his ascension, is told in sculpture.

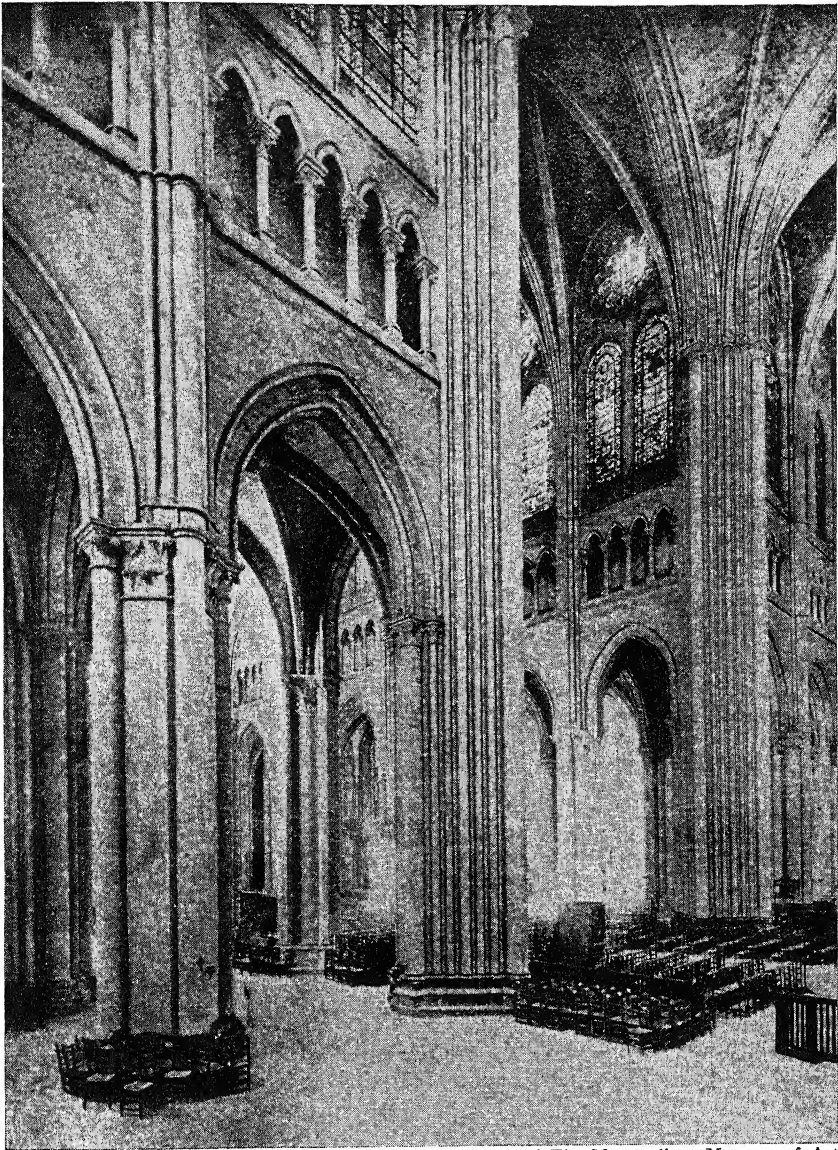
the springing of the vault, two flying buttresses were used, one at each point of concentration. Nor did these buttresses lend themselves simply to practical use. They were treated as decorative features to add to the external beauty of the structure.

The Gothic reached its maturity in the *Île de France* during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and during the next two centuries dominated the ecclesiastical architecture of most of Europe. Though subject to many local variations, the Gothic was distinctly more homogenous than the Romanesque. This was to be expected in times when reviving commerce was helping to knit Europe into one economic community, and when dynastic expansion, as in France, especially, was welding peoples into national groups. Gothic architecture reflected these developments, but even more it reflected the essential qualities of the twelfth century renaissance. The plans of Gothic cathedrals are admirable examples of newly acquired mathematical skills and the total effect of the completed work is as logical as the system of St. Thomas. They attest to the increasing wealth of the later middle ages and to the growing importance of the towns and the townsmen. They were built not by monks but by laymen of the municipal guilds, and they were designed not only to serve the purposes of religion but to glorify the town as well. Indeed, the rivalries of towns are often best revealed by their attempts to outdistance each other in the construction of larger and more elaborate cathedrals.

The greatest achievements of the Gothic era are to be found in France, particularly at Chartres, Notre Dame, Rheims, Amiens, and Beauvais. It was here that the organic structure, the ground plan, and the decorative features of the Gothic were most perfectly developed.

The Gothic ground plan was an elaboration of Romanesque and early Christian churches. With some few notable exceptions it followed the design of the Latin cross, but the nave and the side aisles were widened, the latter being continued around the apse to provide for growing ecclesiastical needs. Along the sides of the aisles and following their continuation as ambulatories about the choir, were introduced a series of chapels to accommodate the increasing number of saints and holy relics.

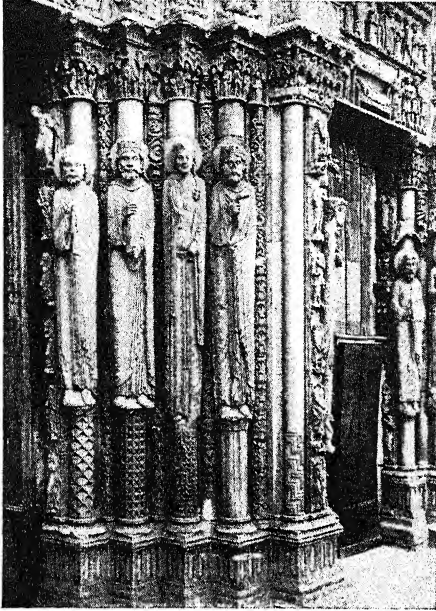
The façade likewise became more elaborate. Portals were widened, deeply recessed, and lavishly sculptured with symbolic figures, kings and knights, animals and plants, all beautifully blended



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

CHARTRES, NAVE AND SOUTH TRANSEPT

This view shows how the stained glass is integrated with the stone walls of the cathedral. No picture in black and white can convey the mystery or glorious color of such a structure. Here the stained glass windows telling familiar stories from the Bible and the lives of saints contain fine specimens of the strong design and pure color of early glass.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

CHARTRES, THE ROYAL PORCH

The tall sculptured figures of the Kings and Queens of Judah, serene ancestors of Christ, have an architectural quality that is unforgettable. Above these, smaller figures show fresh observation of nature; the daily round of life is faithfully pictured, and famous men of every branch of learning are strenuously at work. This section of all-over decoration with its amazing variety strangely reminds one of the Orient.

with the structural design. The porches at Chartres and the portals of Notre Dame in Paris are especially fine examples.

The great glory of the Gothic cathedrals was their stained glass. Having made the walls unnecessary for structural purposes, architects literally filled the space between buttresses and piers with great windows of colored glass. Colored while still in the molten state, this glass was then broken into small pieces which were joined together with lead and fitted into the stone tracery of the window. All of this had to be done with the utmost care so that the harmonious effects of the whole structure might not be harmed by concentrating attention upon the windows themselves. An exquisite blending of colors, at first upon a background of deep translucent blue, and later of deep reds and violets make the earliest of these

windows seem unearthly in their beauty. Catching every gleam of light, they fill the church with a profusion of color which literally defies description. The Gothic artist solved not only the practical problem of lighting, but he created a priceless medium with which to embellish his structure as well.

The most successful and extensive use of stained glass was made in northern Europe. Elsewhere, especially in Italy, the older pictorial and decorative traditions of the Romanesque prevailed. The Italian architect was not faced with the northerner's problem of lighting and for him the proverbially brilliant sun of Italy made the pure Gothic less appealing. Instead of devoting wall space to windows, therefore, Italian builders left it to be treated with paintings or mo-

saics, the latter being the more popular and common prior to the thirteenth century.

A pattern of colored stone or glass set into concrete, the mosaic had been perfected as a pictorial art by the Byzantines early in the Christian era and introduced by them into Europe during the sixth century. The Italians made wide use of this to fill the space above the architrave, or even to decorate the façade. Like Byzantine models, these mosaics were highly conventionalized and permeated with an elaborate symbolism. They were usually exquisitely designed and so ingeniously devised that they caught the fleeting rays of sunlight and imparted a mysterious glow to the whole nave. Excellent examples of the early Byzantine may still be seen in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna, but it is at Rome, appropriately enough, where the native Italian genius in the use of the mosaic can be studied best. When one has seen these he can understand better why the Italian was reluctant to adopt the Gothic style in its entirety.

Romanesque artists frequently introduced color into their buildings with paint, but figure painting upon flat wall space was most uncommon. Indeed it was not until the thirteenth century that this form of pictorial expression attained major stature. Prior to that time, the painter's skills were confined chiefly to illuminations or illustrations of manuscripts, a delicate and highly significant form of Christian art. For the most part, this was the product of monastic *scriptoria* and partly for that reason was primarily religious. To copy and to embellish the holy books was regarded as especially pleasing in God's sight, so that neither time nor effort was spared for that purpose. No art of the middle ages is more rewarding to the student. Apart from their intrinsic beauty, achieved by delicate and harmonious blending of calligraphy and illustration, manuscript illuminations reflect in miniature the varied artistic influences of medieval times. At first predominantly classical, they took on the rich and formal ornamentation of the oriental barbarians, were permeated with Byzantine influences, and at the height of the middle ages became naturalistic and realistic.

Interestingly enough, medieval sculpture followed the same transitional course of development, largely because the inspiration for ornamental sculpture derived from the art of the illuminator. The classical traditions had been almost completely broken. It is for this reason that early medieval sculpture is small, flat and linear like the illuminator's illustrations. Perhaps its most typical manifestation was in the exquisite ivory carvings on manuscript covers. There

was no extensive development of sculpture until the twelfth century and then it grew as an adjunct of architecture. Romanesque builders employed it for the decoration of porches and façades, keeping it mystical, expressionistic, and "unnatural." As might be expected, there was great variation in the handling of these details but in general their style conformed to either of two types. One, essentially Byzantine, with rounded forms and flat paneling, was most popular in southern France and northern Italy. The other, symmetrical and expressionistic, was essentially northern. During the Gothic period both responded to an awakening realism and naturalism. The transition can be seen plainly in the Cathedral of Chartres where the figures of the west portal are of the earlier and more primitive type, while those of the east and north are distinctly more "natural." In time, sculpture assumed an increasing independence of architecture though it did not reach the stature of an independent art until the Italian Renaissance.



CHARTRES, DESIGN FROM THE ST. EUSTACE WINDOW GIVEN BY THE DRAPERS AND FURRIERS. EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

The subject is the conversion of the Roman general, Placidus, who sees the crucifix between the antlers of the stag.

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The Worldliness of the Bourgeoisie

A. THE REVIVAL OF INDIVIDUALISM

Throughout late medieval culture there appears a clearly distinguishable and increasingly prominent thread of personal and intellectual independence. The peasant who braved his master's wrath to seek a more comfortable living in the town; the heretic who flouted ecclesiastical authority; the trader searching more for profit than salvation; the prince who defied the pope while pursuing his secular interests; the intellectual who studied and wrote for sheer love of it, hardly disguising his paganism or his growing skepticism—all of these reflect the slow emergence of a refreshing individualism. This was important evidence of the inward decline of medieval culture, the passing of the corporate life of the manor and the universal church.

Individuality had long run counter to the main stream of medieval life. The Church taught self-abnegation and self-effacement and was inclined to discourage thinking which veered from the beaten path. In the manor and even in the town the individual was required to submerge himself within his group. This does not mean that individuality was completely stifled, for any sound knowledge of human personality must convince one that this is impossible. What is implied is simply that the circumstances of medieval life emphasized the group rather than the individual, the reverse of what we smugly but incorrectly consider the practice of contemporary times. In reality, the problems of modern economic and political life are rapidly submerging the individual in his group. By comparison, the practice of the modern age as reflected in many countries is only a degree removed from that of medieval times.

The conditions which produced a revival of individualism in the late middle ages were much the same as those which had led to

its emergence in ancient Greece and ancient Rome: the development of commerce and trade; and the growth of a body of secular knowledge which emphasized the importance of the individual. The pursuit of profit stimulated a desire for worldly advancement among the bourgeoisie which, like ripples on the water, spread out to influence the widest fringe of society. This was a subtle but powerful challenge to the Church and to medieval corporatism. Equally significant was the acquisition of classical learning. It has already been observed that this impelled men to reorder their thinking and that it led, after attempts to reconcile it with theology, to an increasing confidence in human reason. These things inspired greater self-assurance and encouraged resort to individual judgment in matters of taste and of conscience.

It must not be supposed that this revival of individualism, of confidence in human personality, was widespread. Quite the contrary, its appearance was halting and sporadic. It could hardly have been otherwise. Changes in habits of thought are always slow, and for most men faith in theology and submission to established authority remained. It was to continue so for several centuries more. But the beginning had been made and thenceforth the development of the theory and practice of individualism was continuous.

Until comparatively recent times, it was believed that the revival of individualism was sudden and unexpected, a phenomenon associated with the Italian Renaissance of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, without roots in the earlier middle ages. It should be clear by this time that there was no sudden break in intellectual development and that the spark of learning had never been extinguished. The period in which the revival of individualism became most apparent, and when it led to such notable achievements in literature and the fine arts, can only be regarded therefore as the natural culmination of what had been accomplished in the centuries immediately preceding. The Renaissance of the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries can hardly be appreciated fully unless this is clearly understood. It was during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the proponents of individualism first became conspicuous by their numbers and by the breadth of their appeals. These, the Humanists as they are called, broke with much that was traditional, and extolled man and his world.

B. HUMANISM IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

In the broadest sense, Humanism means the individual's interest in himself, in his own daily activities, in the pleasures and pains of this world. More narrowly, the term implies the study of human or "profane" letters as distinguished from sacred or holy literature. There are no fundamental differences between these two definitions for what is extolled in the study of human letters is man himself and what is sought is self-satisfaction and pleasure.

Basically, Humanism was a literary movement marked by a return to the study of the classics, both Latin and Greek, as ends in themselves rather than as an avenue to some supernatural goal. Such purely secular interests in the classics had never disappeared completely throughout the middle ages, though they were subdued and obscured. Nevertheless, without the medieval renaissance with its vast accumulation of pagan learning, Humanism would have been quite impossible. Indeed, Humanism was merely the natural outgrowth of the cultural developments of the later middle ages.

The first great exponent of Humanism, frequently called its father, was Francesco Petrarca (Petrarch) 1304-1374, of Italy. Born of Florentine parents who lived in comfortable circumstances though in exile, Petrarch was prevailed upon to study law at the Universities of Montpellier and Bologna. A love for the classics, which he acquired early in life, made legal studies so repugnant to him that he abandoned them in 1326, immediately after his father's death. Taking up his residence with his mother at Avignon, Petrarch chanced to meet there a lady, Laura, with whom he fell deeply in love. Although she spurned his attentions, Laura remained forever after the object of his deepest affection and the inspiration of his song. In his first enthusiasm, finding the Latin medium too cumbersome for his sentiments, Petrarch composed sonnets to Laura in his native Italian vernacular. No literature possesses lyric poetry more perfect or more lovely than these. Sentimental and melancholy, marked by a keen sensitivity to nature as well as human passion and emotion, the sonnets represent a new departure from literary form and expression. They are thoroughly modern. The quest for eternity has been abandoned for worldly happiness, and Laura, instead of being an ethereal, impersonal character of conventional, courtly love, emerges as a real personality.

Indeed, Petrarch rebelled against his age, though not always con-

sistently nor without grave misgivings. His chief interests were in secular things, not in salvation. Whatever might be in store beyond the grave, Petrarch believed that the ordinary affairs of daily life should claim the major share of the individual's attention. This was the very essence of Humanism.

Drawn as he was to secular things, it was natural that Petrarch should turn to the classics for inspiration, for there in pre-Christian literature, worldly interests predominated. He became a passionate collector of ancient manuscripts, traveling throughout Europe in search of them, and he wrote extensively on classical subjects. He even abandoned the Italian vernacular to write in classical Latin. Rome he believed to be the mother of civilization, though he seems to have understood dimly its debt to Greece. At all events, he sought to learn Greek so that he might read Homer in the original. Failing in this for himself, he nevertheless urged his younger disciples to master Greek as well as Latin.

By 1340 Petrarch had already acquired a European reputation. Aristocracy patronized him and sovereigns courted his favor. The Emperor Charles IV felt honored to have him visit the court at Prague. Rome and Paris vied with each other for the honor of crowning him with laurel for his poetic achievements. No other intellectual leader of the age enjoyed such widespread popularity or renown. Petrarch was the first typical figure of the Italian Renaissance, accomplished in many things and widely respected.

His younger contemporary, friend, and disciple, Giovanni Boccaccio (1315-1375), was less well known abroad but hardly less significant. Son of a Florentine merchant and trained for a business career, Boccaccio drifted to literature. A successful adventure in love with one Fiammetta, reputedly the daughter of King Robert of Naples, provided the inspiration for his first essay into the field of poetry and romance. He wrote in faultless Italian, and demonstrated an uncommon aptitude for the art of story-telling. His best-known work was the *Decameron*, a collection of a hundred tales supposedly told among a group of three young men and seven young women. Throughout, the *Decameron* is marked by a distinctly new point of view toward life. The theme is human happiness, usually regarded as physical, to be achieved by one's wit and cunning. God is relegated to the background while fate emerges as the ruling power. Irreverent and frequently licentious, the *Decameron*¹ reflects the re-

¹ The title is of Greek derivation and alludes to the structure of the work: *ten* characters, telling *ten* stories, on *ten* consecutive days.

viving individuality, the detachment from medieval theology and attention to secular concerns, characteristic of the times. This is all the more significant for the *Decameron* attained a wide popularity among the Italian middle class.

Most of Boccaccio's early writing was in the Italian vernacular of which he was the incomparable master. During later life, however, under the influence of Petrarch, he turned more and more to classical studies and use of the classical Latin. He even attempted to learn Greek and was instrumental in establishing the first chair of Greek letters at the University of Florence. This close attention to the classics for which he and Petrarch were responsible, established the vogue for the succeeding generation of Italian intellectuals.

The quest for classical learning developed into a veritable mania in all the cultural centers of Italy. Prosperous and cultivated Florence set the pace, its leading citizens, wealthy bankers and merchants, providing the necessary patronage. Nowhere did the alliance between business and scholarship develop more harmoniously or produce more significant results. The most distinguished of these bourgeois patrons were the members of the house of Medici, whose history it has been said properly was very nearly the history of the Italian Renaissance itself. Of uncertain origins, the family rose to distinction in the fourteenth century through the genius and resourcefulness in banking and in politics of one Giovanni de' Medici (d. 1429). Siding with the poor against the rich in times of distress, he laid the foundation for the family's popularity and made easier the domination of Florence by his great descendants, Cosimo (1429-1464) and Lorenzo the Magnificent (1469-1492). Keenly interested in learning and the fine arts, they patronized every worthy project. Cosimo became a distinguished collector of ancient statuary and manuscripts; supplied the famous library of San Marco with books, and left his own magnificent collection to form the nucleus of the great Medici library. He had a genuine desire to learn Greek which he tried to satisfy by studying with great Greek scholars whom he encouraged to come to Florence. He founded the Platonic Academy for the study of Plato, and he supplied the funds necessary for the advancement of classical scholarship. Lorenzo, the outstanding figure of the Medici house, followed his grandfather's example, though through his own natural inclinations he encouraged the growth of a popular culture in native Italian, contributing to this his own charming carnival songs. Little wonder that Florentine scholars were mainly responsible for restoring Latin and Greek learning and for laying the

foundation for the appreciation and understanding of classical civilization.

Florence was not alone in fostering the classical revival. Humanism struck deep roots elsewhere in Italian soil, though nowhere else did it flourish so abundantly and so luxuriantly. Among the prosperous towns of the Po Valley, the cult of classical studies drew some of its most distinguished representatives, despite the fact that princely patronage lacked Medician tolerance and generosity. The Visconti dukes of Milan in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and their successors, the Sforza, had little interest in the new learning. Yet, so great was its influence that they could not ignore it, and to keep abreast of their rivals, as well as to further their own interests, they were impressed with the necessity of employing artists and intellectuals. With varying degrees of enthusiasm, the ducal families of Mantua, Ferrara, Urbino and less significant states followed the example of Florence. Even the staid and practical patricians of Venice were encouraged to indulge the classical tastes of their subjects.

Humanism also stormed and carried the citadel of medievalism, the Papacy. In ultimate consequence this was destined to be its most significant conquest, for it shattered the inner defense of ecclesiastical other-worldliness. As early as the pontificate of Martin V (1417-1431) and Eugenius IV (1431-1447), men of Humanist persuasion found their way into papal service and though not directly patronized for their literary labors were allowed the necessary freedom to pursue them. Under Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455), they were openly encouraged, and the Papacy definitely ranged itself on the side of the classical revival. Before his elevation to the papal throne, Nicholas, who had traveled in the circle of Florentine Humanists, was regarded as a distinguished Humanist. It was hardly to be expected that the assumption of papal dignities would completely alter the natural tendencies of his mind. He promptly set about restoring the city of Rome which he hoped might once more be made the capital of the world. He called men of learning rather than pious clergy to fill the ranks of the *curia*, extending to them almost unlimited liberties. Anxious to have a good classical library, he sent his agents everywhere equipped with the funds to purchase manuscripts. Although he did not succeed in establishing the best collection of its kind, Nicholas laid the foundation for the great Vatican library.

For twenty years after the death of Nicholas the humanization of the Papacy was retarded by a succession of popes distinctly hostile or at least unenthusiastic toward the new learning. But with

Sixtus IV (1471-1484), the Humanist victory became complete. Writers and artists were once more extensively patronized, the collecting of manuscripts for the Vatican library was revived on a larger scale, and, more important still, the pope himself subordinated the ecclesiastical responsibilities of his office to his own secular ambitions. For the Papacy this was an unfortunate result of the Humanist state of mind. Sixtus publicly assumed the attitude of a secular prince, and without compunction sought to realize his ambition by filling his court with his own relatives. This latter practice, known as nepotism, soon led to considerable corruption and helped to destroy the Papacy's moral prestige. This was already being shaken badly enough by the shady political dealings which the pope was now impelled to use to advance his cause and defend himself against his political rivals in the peninsula.

Though Humanism in Italy weakened the Church from within while awakening the general interest in secular things, Italian Humanists in general were not open enemies of the Church. Most of them paid it lip service and would have been shocked to think that what they taught became a basis for religious revolution. The Italian Humanists were not reformers. They reveled in their own intellectual emancipation but were often unmoved by the lack of similar freedom among others. This was probably because of the emphasis they placed upon their intellectual labors. They were moved by the esthetic and the mystical, not by the practical. The classics they enjoyed for their beauty, proportion, and form, and they measured a man by the ability with which he could express himself in the Ciceronian style.

Extreme individualism everywhere characterized Humanism, but beyond the Alps it was definitely more social and more practical. Besides achieving their own intellectual freedom, northern intellectuals aspired to reform and regenerate society. Not that they posed as revolutionaries. Their purpose was to purify society of its corruptions. It was for this reason that they took a keen interest in the Church, the most important of all social institutions, and sought to restore its apostolic virtues.

The Humanist movement began in northern Europe simultaneously with the Italian and for the same reasons, but its popularization was delayed until Italian influences had had a chance to penetrate. So true was this, that it was long believed that Humanism beyond the Alps was entirely an importation. While this view is no longer regarded as tenable, it must be admitted that Italian contribu-

tions to northern intellectual developments were extensive and profound.

The German countries, closely connected with Italy through politics and trade, were the first to respond to the Italian stimulus. Many of their young intellectuals found their way into Italian institutions, and eventually became the missionaries of Humanism in their native lands. Such was Conrad Celtes (1459-1508), perhaps the most typical of the wandering German scholars of this era. After acquiring a taste for Humanist studies in Italy, he established himself successively at Nuremberg, the University of Cracow, and the University of Vienna, everywhere sowing the seed of classical paganism among youth. His labors and those of many like him soon bore fruit, and before the fifteenth century had drawn to a close, disciples of Humanism were found even in the conservative imperial court.

Though its influence had spread widely, German Humanism like Italian Humanism flourished best in prosperous commercial communities such as Augsburg and Nuremberg. Fortunately situated on the Italian trade routes, both of these cities had grown rich enough to assume the financial leadership among the countries of the north. It was there that the bourgeois interest in secular culture was most pronounced. Wealthy patricians, following the Italian example, indulged themselves in learning and the fine arts and generously patronized both.

Perhaps the most interesting and the most important center of German Humanism was in the Low Countries among the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life. Pious and conservative, but well-organized and efficient, these schools became the centers of the best classical scholarship north of the Alps. They adopted the Humanist's love of the classics but subordinated their paganism in the hope that sound scholarship might be used to revitalize the old lessons of piety and mystical faith. The schools of the Brethren imparted much of the religious flavor to learning which became so characteristic of German Humanism.

Fine classical scholars, the German Humanists usually employed their learning for critical studies of the texts of the Bible and theological literature. For example, John Reuchlin (1455-1522), student of Hebrew as well as Greek and Latin, used his great linguistic knowledge for this purpose. His case is simply the most typical. Others like Sebastian Brant (1457-1521), author of the famous poem, *Ship of Fools*, used their talents chiefly to criticize contemporary morals and manners. Their attacks upon the Church were not meant

to destroy it but rather to point the way toward necessary reforms. Yet German Humanism was not without exponents of religious revolution, like Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1525), a poverty-stricken wandering scholar of noble extraction. Disgusted at the debasement of the Papacy, he vehemently attacked the Church and eventually sided with the revolutionary, Martin Luther. Von Hutten however was the exception rather than the rule among the German Humanists. All of them had a very real interest in religious reform but few were prepared to preach revolution.

Italian Humanism came later to England than to Germany, partly because of civil and political turmoil, partly because of retarded commerce and trade, and partly because of isolation. Yet in the late fifteenth century a number of young men, trained along conventional lines in English institutions, were attracted to the Italian peninsula. Among these were Thomas Linacre (c. 1460-1524) and John Colet (c. 1467-1519). Educated at Oxford, they completed their studies in Italy, the former in medicine and the latter in law, the classics, and the Church Fathers. Linacre, upon his return, stimulated an interest in the newer developments of medicine, and founded the London College of Physicians. Colet turned his attention chiefly to critical investigations of Biblical texts and to the improvement of the minds of the young. Using much of his inherited wealth, he was able to re-establish the school of St. Paul's, attached to St. Paul's Church in London. Here laymen were given the facilities for Humanist study and were encouraged to use their knowledge of languages for scholarly investigations. St. Paul's became the model for reformed schools and exerted a powerful influence upon succeeding generations.

The most eminent figure of English Humanism was Sir Thomas More (1478-1535). Educated at Oxford where he came under the influence of Linacre, More concentrated his attention upon the study of law, the classics, and theology. He was devoutly religious and deeply moved by the imperfections of society. It was this which inspired him to write his famous *Utopia*, an idealist's dream, yet at the same time, a trenchant criticism of the conditions of life at the beginning of the sixteenth century. *Utopia* is portrayed as the land of perfection where crime was avoided through an equitable system of social justice, where laws were humane, where cities were constructed with wide streets and good houses having ample light and air, where hospitals and careful attention to public sanitation ensured the public health, and where religious dissenters were tolerated. Lit-

the wonder that More's *Utopia* enjoyed wide popularity among his contemporaries and continues to fascinate those who would make men perfect.

The popularization of Humanism in France paralleled the period of the French invasions of Italy. The most notable among the early French Humanists was Guillaume Budé (1468-1540), an accomplished scholar of both Greek and Latin, and for a number of years French ambassador to Venice and Rome. He distinguished himself for his studies of Roman antiquities, but even more for his critical examination of the *Pandects* of Justinian.

The most widely known and certainly the most important French Humanists were François Rabelais (1494-1553) and Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592). Born into a bourgeois family, Rabelais received a monastic education and later entered the University of Montpellier to study medicine. He lost patience with the instruction and retired to Lyons without taking his degree. While reading the classics and conducting an active correspondence with Humanists, he cultivated relations with the poor and humble, learning to appreciate their crude humor and ridiculous superstitions. Thus was formed the background for his famous work, *The Inimitable Life of the Great Gargantua, Father of Pantagruel*. So successful was this that it temporarily displaced the Bible in popularity. Crude and coarse, it was a brilliant satire upon the pedantry, foppery, and hypocrisy of the Church, the schools, and society in general.

Like Rabelais, Montaigne was a bourgeois. Trained in law, he was appointed to public office, serving for a time as mayor of Bordeaux. But his mind was little absorbed by these labors. He collected books and read widely among the classics, giving much of his time to contemplation and to setting down his thoughts in a series of penetrating and justly famous *Essays*. These were marked by their urbanity and serenity, Montaigne having with true intellectual skepticism subjected the dominant ideas of his time to critical evaluation. It is well to note in particular two of his conclusions. He abandoned the Christian argument that man's effort should be concentrated upon salvation and at the same time he challenged the sanctions of Christianity's moral code. With Alexander Pope, he would have said, "The proper study of mankind is man," and with the French rationalists of the eighteenth century, he would have made virtue its own reward. Beyond this specific attack upon Christian teaching, Montaigne's *Essays* are significant for their espousal of human freedom and tolerance. Here is reasserted the basic doctrine of liberty pro-

pounded by Plato with whom Montaigne had the scholar's intimate acquaintance.

Even Spain whose sovereigns and people were devoutly, almost fanatically, religious succumbed momentarily to Humanist tendencies. So ardent a churchman as Cardinal Ximenes (1426-1517), one time Grand Inquisitor of Spain, introduced philological studies at the University of Alcalá and caused to be published the first good Greek testament of modern times. Such effort was devoted, to be sure, to the strengthening of the faith, but it was difficult to keep those bounds. The most widely known of the Spanish Humanists Juan Luis Vives (d. 1540) certainly broke them. An extensive traveler and capable student, Vives devoted his talents to the cause of social reform, urging especially reforms in education. It is a significant indication that speculation of this type did not thrive on the uncongenial soil of Spain since Vives found it expedient to spend his later life in exile.

Among all the Humanists, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) was certainly the most distinguished. He has been called appropriately the international Humanist. The circumstances of his birth are not entirely clear, though it is probable that his father was a priest. After receiving private instruction, Erasmus entered the famous school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer. Later he was persuaded to join a monastery. Though disliking the life, monastic seclusion offered him a fine opportunity to pursue independent study and to write. In 1493, he entered the University of Paris, but disliking the living and instruction there, he soon turned exclusively to writing and to travel. His first famous book, the *Adages*, appeared in 1500 and at once attained considerable popularity among students and laymen anxious to acquaint themselves with the classics. Thereafter there flowed from his pen in rapid succession scholarly translations of the Greek classics, new editions of the Latin classics, and the first cheap and full printing of the New Testament. A champion of classical education, Erasmus insisted that one must avoid enslavement to the classics. It was his wish that the knowledge and experience of antiquity might be employed to advance the cause of the Christian and moral life. This preoccupation with religious matters inspired him to apply his knowledge to the study of the texts of the Latin and Greek Church Fathers, new editions of which he published. But even more it encouraged him to criticize the contemporary Church. In a significant pamphlet entitled *Julius Excluded from Heaven*, Erasmus portrayed the Pope Julius II



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ERASMUS. BY HANS HOLBEIN, THE YOUNGER. BASLE STUDY FOR THE LOUVRE PAINTING.

pleading with St. Peter for admission and defending his plea by reciting all the discreditable acts of his pontificate. In still another famous work, *Praise of Folly*, probably the most memorable literary production of the age, Erasmus satirized the hypocritical clergy.

Erasmus portrayed all the unique qualities of northern Humanism: its devotion to classical studies and its practical interest in social welfare, especially religious reforms. He did not preach revolt against the Church itself, though he inveighed against its ceremonial, and its great wealth. His hope rested upon a gradual and peaceful cleansing of the Church and upon its return to the early apostolic virtues. By popularizing these ideas, Erasmus helped to create the intellectual atmosphere in which the Protestant Revolution matured, though he could approve neither the motives nor the methods of the revolutionaries. Most Humanists shared this view.

While it is clear that Humanism greatly influenced the religious thought of the time, it must not be thought that its influences upon other intellectual and social movements were less important. Literature responded to its classical impulse, adopting the Ciceronian medium as well as classical themes and literary techniques. But because of this, it oftentimes degenerated into barren imitation and stylistic affectation. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, enthusiasm for the Latin tongue gradually waned. Italians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Spaniards ceased to scoff at their native tongues and rich vernacular literatures emerged, sometimes medieval in inspiration but more often pagan and secular. The delightful satire of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and the penetrating studies of human passions in William Shakespeare's dramas are among its most notable manifestations. Humanism cannot be credited with the direct stimulation of such vernacular literature, but as in the case of the religious revolution, it helped to prepare the background.

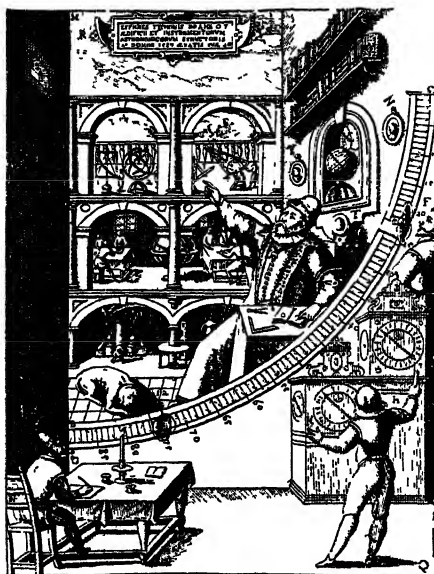
Humanism likewise influenced the growth of critical scholarship and developed a critical spirit which more and more came to be applied to the doctrines of the Church. The steady accumulation of manuscripts which it facilitated and the sound knowledge of Latin and Greek which it made possible laid the basis for critical studies of textual materials. Among the best-known examples of this was Lorenzo Valla's treatise *On the Donation of Constantine* (1440). By reference to documents which he studied with the painstaking care of the philologist, he detected that the Donation was a forgery of relatively recent date. The incriminating evidence was the Latin which was not that of the age of Constantine but the medieval Latin which had developed centuries later. Others applied these methods to the study of the texts of the Bible, while still others laid the foundation for modern historical scholarship.

More important were the contributions of Humanism to modern education. Asserting the ideals of individual development and individual expression, Humanists insisted that the schools must aim to create well-rounded personalities, mentally, physically, and morally. For this reason, they urged the broadening of the curriculum to include grammatical and literary studies of the greatest Greek and Roman classics, making these the core of their whole program; and they encouraged physical exercise and recommended training in good manners and religious virtues. The first notable application of these ideals was made by Vittorino da Feltre, a famous Italian Humanist who established a school at the court of the Duke of Man-

tua. The success of his enterprise encouraged many of the Italian city-states to copy his example. In northern Europe, princes' schools and gymnasia, established during this period, reflected much the same spirit. The universities responded more slowly to Humanist influences, but eventually succumbed. In the beginning this revolution in education was characterized by a sincere attempt to stimulate thought and to prepare the student to meet the practical necessities of life. But as the subject matter became institutionalized, Humanist education degenerated into formal training in the classics, with emphasis concentrated upon rhetoric and style rather than upon content and meaning. It must be observed that it was in the era of Humanism that education came to be regarded as synonymous with classical studies, an idea which persisted until very recent times.

The impressive achievements of science in this age had some connections with Humanism, but that was largely accidental. Most Humanists accepted unquestioningly the authority of the ancients and became the agents through which the superstitions and pseudo-sciences of classical times were widely disseminated. Nevertheless, through their translations they enlarged the available body of scientific learning and, more important still, they helped to create the atmosphere in which science could develop more rapidly.

Back of the scientific revolution of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries lay the slow but steady accumulation of scientific knowledge. The progress of mathematical studies had been particularly marked, and it was these which laid the basis for the notable advances in astronomy made by Nicholas Copernicus, Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler. The first of this trio, a Pole, devoted most of his life to the study and teaching of mathematics, but his fame rests chiefly upon the publication of *The Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies* (1543). Without completely abandoning the framework of the prevailing Ptolémaic system which regarded the earth as the center of the universe, Copernicus supplied logical arguments to support the view that the earth actually revolved about the sun, and that the latter was the hub of the planetary system. This revolutionary thesis (called heliocentric, or sun-centered) was at first appreciated in only the most limited academic circles, but in less than a century it penetrated the whole intellectual world and helped produce a profound change in men's habits of thought. To a large extent, this conquest was due less to what Copernicus had said than to the painstaking labors of his disciples. Two of these, Brahe and Kepler, supplied mathematical proofs based upon extensive observations. But the most



Courtesy of the New York Public Library

TYCHO BRAHE'S QUADRANT.
FROM HIS *ASTRONOMIÆ INSTAURATÆ MECHANICA*, 1598. FRONTIS-PIECE.

Tycho Brahe, a notable Danish scientist who followed in the footsteps of Copernicus, painstakingly set down his observations of some 800 fixed stars. These observations were of great importance to future scientists.

The quadrant was invented to determine the elevation of the stars. At the extreme right is the observer and below two assistants noting the time and recording the date. Brahe himself dominates the picture in the center. Behind him may be seen the globe which he invented and below and to his right students are shown at work.

medicine and human anatomy were greatly advanced, the former by a quack but revolutionary experimentalist, Paracelsus; the latter through the notable researches and publications of Andreas Vesalius.

As science advanced, the meaning and purpose of "science" changed. Originally meaning knowledge in the general sense, it came to imply in the sixteenth century only that knowledge acquired through systematically collected, accurately observed and measured phenomena. Galileo was probably the first to conceive of it in this

decisive evidence came from Galileo Galilei (1564-1642). By means of a telescope which he invented, Galileo demonstrated the substantial accuracy of what Copernicus had suggested. This he published to the world in his famous *The Sidereal Messenger* (1610). Men of letters were shocked at its revelations and the Church officially condemned him and compelled him to retract. It seems strange now that the reaction should have been so violent, but one must remember that for centuries men had believed that God had created the universe for man alone and that therefore he had placed the earth in the central and dominating role. To challenge this view was equivalent to challenging God himself.

Other sciences kept pace with astronomy and though less spectacular were no less revolutionary. Galileo and some of his contemporaries laid the foundation for modern physics through notable experiments. Chemistry slowly emerged from medieval alchemy, and the knowledge of

way, but it was Francis Bacon who first gave it forceful expression. Condemning the older method of deducing phenomena from *a priori* principles, Bacon insisted that the process must be reversed, and that reliable conclusions could be reached only by induction, based upon a wide collection of facts. While he overemphasized classification, and established no method of scientific study capable of wide and successful application, he did much to banish the unscientific habits of the past. More than this, he and his contemporaries made it increasingly apparent that science was not designed to advance the cause of theology but to improve the welfare of man.

Among the achievements of applied science during this period, none was of greater significance than the development of movable type and the creation of the printing press. It is impossible to attribute this to any single individual, but it seems well established that Johannes Gutenberg of Mainz was the first to make it practical sometime in the middle of the fifteenth century. Once perfected, the printing press spread rapidly throughout the remainder of Europe. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the wide dissemination of knowledge thus made possible through reduced costs of publication.

C. NEW TRENDS IN ART

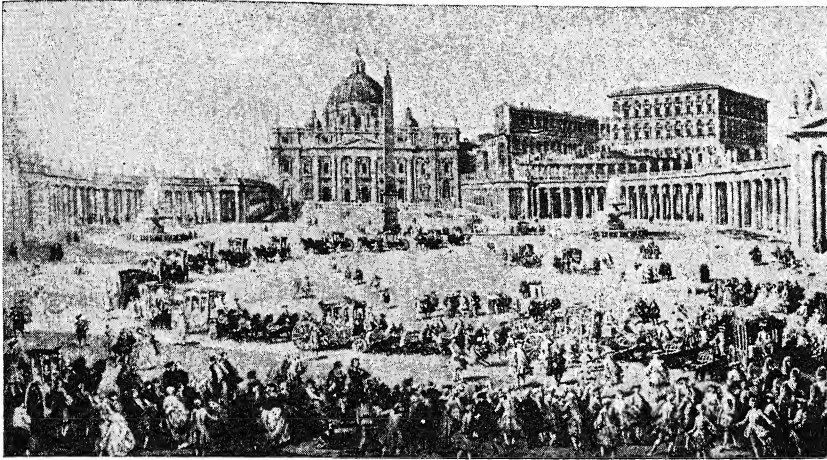
Nothing more clearly reflects the character of the age of Humanism than its fine arts. The widespread influences of pagan classicism tempered by an abiding faith in religion, the awakened interest in human personality and worldly pleasures, the prosperity and luxuries of the powerful bourgeoisie, the enlargement of scientific knowledge—all of these are mirrored in Renaissance architecture, sculpture, and painting. Of course this is true of every age but in many respects the Renaissance is unique. Never before nor since has artistic genius been so fertile, so abundant, or so widely respected by the mass of men. To have been able to boast of a Michelangelo would have been sufficient for any age, but the Renaissance could also lay claim to a Leonardo, a Raphael, a Titian, and a Dürer. It is probably true that many have been induced to bestow unmerited praise upon some of these, yet it must be admitted that in extent and quality of achievement they have never been matched.

Of all the arts, Renaissance architecture demonstrates most clearly the transition from the medieval to the modern which was so greatly accelerated during this era. Concentration of attention

upon ecclesiastical building gradually gave way to the construction of palaces and residences for secular and ecclesiastical lords and for rich bourgeoisie; towering and ornate Gothic was abandoned for the more simple classical mode. In all of this, there was no violent break with medieval traditions, but the change of interest and emphasis was marked. Italians assumed the leadership in effecting the transition, particularly at Florence and Rome, where the classical revival and influences of classical antiquity were so harmoniously joined. Filippo Brunelleschi (1379-1446), a Florentine by birth, hesitatingly introduced the new mode in the famous dome which he planned for the Cathedral of Florence. Still medieval, this nevertheless had a classical boldness of span and possessed a number of minor details of classical ornamentation. With much less timidity Brunelleschi employed classical principles in the plans for a number of other buildings which he designed, such as the Pazzi Chapel and the Foundling Hospital. From these beginnings, the succeeding generation of Florentine artists, led by Leon Battista Alberti, applied the classical principles of design, structure, and ornamentation on an ever wider scale.

Meanwhile, at Rome another group of architects gradually attained pre-eminence. Led by Bramante (1444-1514), who outdistanced all his contemporaries in his passion for the classical, this Roman school numbered among its devotees such distinguished men as Raphael and Michelangelo. All of them had a hand in the construction of the great basilica of St. Peter's, and were responsible for the plans of some of the most widely known Renaissance palaces of the papal city. In these, with a true classical spirit, horizontal line was emphasized, ornamentation was subdued to general architectural symmetry, classical columns, colonnades, entablatures and pilasters employed. But there was almost never pure imitation. Medieval recessed doorways, the Romanesque rounded arch, and medieval techniques of handling stone structure were preserved. Renaissance architecture was eclectic in the purest sense, neither Roman, nor Greek, nor medieval, but a new synthesis of all.

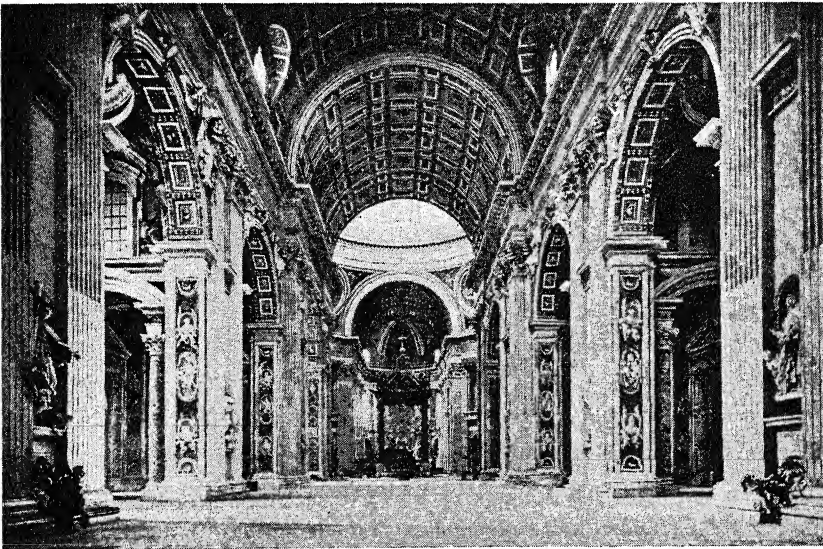
Florentine and Roman examples were widely copied throughout the rest of Italy, but with many local variations. Similarly, the new vogue spread through Europe, exerting its first great influence in France. Bourbon kings engaged Italian architects, chiefly from Milan, to erect and remodel royal residences and town houses, and eventually encouraged the development of native architects trained in the classical style. Adapting their newer forms to a rich Gothic inheritance and to the necessities of climate, they evolved a Renais-



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ST. PETER'S, ROME. PAINTING BY PANNINO.

The spacious piazza with its encircling colonnades and fountains gradually leads up to the main portal of the largest church in Christendom. The work of many hands, St. Peter's bears the impress of varying schools of architecture, from early Renaissance to the baroque. The entrance to the right, guarded by the Swiss sentries in Renaissance costume, leads to the Vatican palace which adjoins the great basilica.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ST. PETER'S, ROME, INTERIOR.

The interior is impressive in its splendor and grandeur. The thousands who throng the vast nave on religious holidays seem insignificant in its vastness.

sance architecture which had a distinctly national flavor. This also happened in Spain, where classical influences were mixed with Moorish traditions, and in Germany where local customs proved peculiarly tenacious. England was the last of the European nations to be influenced.

Changes in architectural style were accompanied by extraordinary developments in sculpture. Throughout most of the middle ages, sculpture had remained essentially a miniature art, rooted in Byzantine and the monastic illuminators' traditions. It was from this essentially medieval experience that the Gothic monumental art in stone had emerged. Mystical, almost completely dependent upon architecture, yet marked by an increasingly conscious effort to achieve natural, realistic expression, Gothic sculpture manifested little if any connection with the sculptural traditions of the classic age. It is hardly to be expected that such detachment from Roman and Greek antiquity could have persisted at a time when the revival of interest in things classical was flaming into a passion; least of all in sculpture which had been a major art in the ancient period. Yet although there was naturally a widespread reversion to classical subjects and classical models, the traditions of medieval sculpture were not broken. Roman techniques and realism mingled with the Gothic, and the two were blended into a new unity. It was not a sudden breaking away from medieval experience which makes Renaissance sculpture appear revolutionary; it was rather the fact that the sculptor gave his art an independence and an importance such as it had not possessed since ancient times.

For the earliest transitional productions, one must turn to the labors of Niccola Pisano (c. 1207-1280) and his son, Giovanni Pisano (1240-1320). The elder Pisano imitated the classical style in the bas-reliefs around the box of a pulpit which he carved for the Baptistry of the Cathedral of Pisa. This work excited wide admiration and won him an enviable reputation. Subsequently commissioned to produce a pulpit for the Cathedral at Siena, Niccola, assisted by his son who had meanwhile labored among the Gothic sculptors of France, produced an even more remarkable work. The classical influence is plainly to be seen, but there is greater harmony and delicacy of execution, and there is a more realistic rendering to produce dramatic effect. This combination of classic and Gothic realism aroused the enthusiasm of Tuscan artists who soon helped to spread the influence of the Pisan school.

Among the many who followed in the path marked out by the

Pisani, the most notable were the fourteenth and fifteenth century Florentine sculptors, Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455) and Donatello (c. 1386-1466). The first, a goldsmith by profession, attained immortal fame for his rendering of two sets of bronze doors for the Baptistry of the Cathedral of Florence, which an overly enthusiastic posterity has declared worthy to be the "gates of paradise." Each of these doors contains a series of bas-reliefs dealing with Biblical story and Christian lore. Treating these essentially as pictures which should faithfully reflect nature, Ghiberti strove to master the laws of perspective and by executing his reliefs, sometimes on as many as five planes, attained the illusion he wished. Stern realism was tempered, however, by a classical idealism which Ghiberti had learned from his study of classical statuary. Delicately rendered and pictorially fascinating, Ghiberti's panels nevertheless represented a perversion of the sculptor's art, though they are a clear reflection of advancing naturalism and classicism.

Actually much more important in the revolution of Renaissance sculpture was Donatello, regarded as the greatest practitioner of his art in the fifteenth century. It was in his work that the fusion of Gothic and Roman naturalism, anticipated by the Pisani, was most complete. A careful student of human anatomy and Roman antiquities, Donatello endeavored to make a faithful rendering of nature by resort to the techniques of the later Roman naturalists. Correct representation of the human body, oftentimes idealized in classical fashion as in his bronze statue of David, and painstaking imitation of the Roman idiom even to wooden drapery and bodily posture, as in his bust of Niccola da Uzzano, mark most of his mature work. His most important production of later life was his bronze equestrian statue of the *condottiere*, *Gattamelata*, which stands in the square at Padua.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

GENERAL GATTAMELATA. BY DONATELLO (1386-1466). PADUA.

The Venetians provided the fine site in the Piazza S. Antonio in Padua for this statue of Gen. Gattamelata who led their forces to victory in the war with the Visconti of Milan. Donatello skillfully fulfilled the task of forging the first bronze equestrian statue erected in Italy in the Renaissance.

The first of its kind since classical times, this statue is almost typically late Roman. Despite his apparently heavy debt to Roman example, Donatello was not simply a copyist. His finished products reflect both vigorous creative qualities and a strong sense of individualism.

Throughout the fifteenth century, the influence of Ghiberti and Donatello remained paramount, though imitation of the antique and the effort to attain photographic realism became even more pronounced. Individuality and emotion gave way to regularity and restraint, mass and form to affected beauty and grace. The only important exception was the Sienese sculptor, Jacopo della Quercia, a contemporary of Ghiberti. Of all the sculptors of the fifteenth century, he alone appears to have conceived his art to be monumental rather than pictorial, and to have avoided both the danger of excessive naturalism and classical imitation. Della Quercia foreshadowed the great genius of the Renaissance, Michelangelo.

Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564) was one of the most extraordinary figures of all times, a painter, an architect, a poet and, above all, a sculptor. Born into an ancient but impoverished family, Michelangelo was sent to Florence to receive an education, but soon gave up his studies to devote himself entirely to art. At sixteen, his talents were called to the attention of Lorenzo the Magnificent who took him into his household, gave him a liberal allowance, and provided him with every facility to develop his unique abilities. For two years he remained in this cultured environment, studying the ancient statuary which Lorenzo had collected, making his own careful observations of human anatomy, and examining the masterpieces of the great painters and sculptors, particularly Ghiberti and Donatello. Upon the death of Lorenzo, he departed from Florence to reside for a brief period in Bologna where he had occasion to study one of the great masterpieces of Della Quercia. A few years later, at the age of twenty-one, he established himself in Rome where he lived most of the remaining sixty-odd years of his life.

By this time, Michelangelo had already established a formidable reputation as a sculptor and had shaped the ideas of art which he was to perfect on an almost superhuman scale during the remainder of his life. Deeply influenced by the achievements of his predecessors, and by the passion for naturalism and for classicism, Michelangelo never once allowed himself to become a slave to popular fashion. He believed the function of the artist to be that of creating new forms and expressions from the old, and he believed that this should be achieved by means of all the scientific and technical knowl-

edge at one's command without, however, allowing these latter to become the objective. His genius transcended all of those whose skills he learned. Apparently unmoved by the beauties of the world about him, Michelangelo's art was essentially human and more particularly masculine. As he expressed it himself, "the highest object of art for thinking men is man." The human body became the medium for the expression of every emotion, for the dreams and visions of his own soul. Monumental, masculine figures of men—even Michelangelo's women possess a masculine quality—full of repressed movement, vibrating with life, with wrath or with love, so skillfully executed and so harmoniously blended with the medium in which they were created—Michelangelo's sculpture is timeless and universal.

Among his great masterpieces, one of the earliest was his *David*, carved from a discarded block of Carrara marble in the artist's twenty-sixth year, and placed at his request in the public square at Florence. Years later, on one of his periodical returns to his native city, Michelangelo executed the four justly famous nudes for the sarcophagi in the Medici chapel at Florence. Commonly referred to as *Evening* and *Dawn*, *Day* and *Night*, these are perhaps most indicative of the artist's real genius. Contemplative and melancholy, vigorous and muscular, they are poetry in sculpture. It has been suggested that they convey Michelangelo's own grief over the misfortunes of Italy and especially of his native Florence. At Rome, where he spent most of his active life and where he devoted much of his time to sculpture, Michelangelo met with constant frustration. Fickle popes and frequent changes of papal personnel deprived him of his cherished desire to complete his most monumental design in stone, the tomb of Julius II. Planned to be almost three stories high, with some forty figures in stone and bronze, Michelangelo completed only the great figure of Moses, and a few figures of slaves. Besides this he executed a *Pietà*, perhaps the most famous of the subject, which was placed in the great church of St. Peter's.

Michelangelo inspired jealousy and admiration and, unfortunately, widespread imitation. Others employed his techniques but without his genius, and the art of sculpture soon degenerated into mere expression of muscular form.

Meanwhile, painting also developed into a major art in Italy where the continuing popularity of the Romanesque, with its unbroken walls, afforded unusual opportunities for experiment with this form of pictorial expression. Its pioneers were schooled in the well-established Byzantine traditions, and consequently created their composi-



Courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library

GREEK LECTIONARY. BYZANTINE, ELEVENTH CENTURY.

This delicately painted miniature is an example of fine Byzantine work, probably done in the imperial atelier.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

CHRIST IN THE GARDEN. BY DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA (1255-1319).
OPERA DEL DUOMO, SIENA.

Duccio was the greatest of the Sienese artists. He painted according to the Byzantine conventions, but gave a new life and grace to their accepted poses, retaining their decorative devices, using glowing color with much gold. This scene is one of the 44 tempera panels on the reverse of the great altarpiece which Duccio was commissioned to execute for the Cathedral of Siena; when he had finished the work the whole city joined in procession to celebrate the completion of a masterpiece.

tions in accordance with the stiff and formalized character of extant mosaics and ikons of eastern inspiration. During the thirteenth century, however, native Gothic naturalism and reviving classical realism united to produce a revolution of extraordinary consequence in the painter's art. The first evidences of this appeared simultaneously in Siena and Florence where Duccio (1255-1319) and Cimabue (1240-1302), respectively, tempered the cold Byzantine style and sought to express the tenderness and pathos of life in accordance with their observations of human nature. Each inspired a notable school, of which the Florentine was by far the most significant.

According to the conventional story, the greatest of the early painters, Giotto (1276-1336), was discovered by Cimabue in the act of sketching his father's goats which he tended. True or not, this oft-repeated tale expresses an essential quality of Giotto's art: his keen attention to nature and his understanding of the world. A student of Cimabue, he soon outstripped the master in technique and creative genius. Abandoning the confining limitations of the Byzantine, Giotto painted with masculine vigor and imparted to his com-



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. GIOTTO (AMBROGIOTTO DI BONDONE) (1266-1336). ARENA CHAPEL, PADUA.

Giotto's observations from nature released painting from the formalities which had restricted it. In the fashion of his time, Giotto was essentially a religious painter, but he brought to his art a living and dramatic quality, refreshingly new.

positions an atmosphere of reality. Combined with a fine appreciation of the dramatic, he possessed an uncommon faculty for design. His figures were no longer stolid and lifeless, even though he did not have the skill to achieve the illusion of reality. The greatest of his murals are on the walls of the upper church of Assisi where he depicted the active life of St. Francis, and in the Arena Chapel at Padua where, in a series of panels portraying the legend of Christ and the Virgin, Giotto best revealed his mastery of color and his knowledge of the passions universal among men.

The immediate followers of Giotto were uninspired but not without significance. Through their search for methods to secure greater



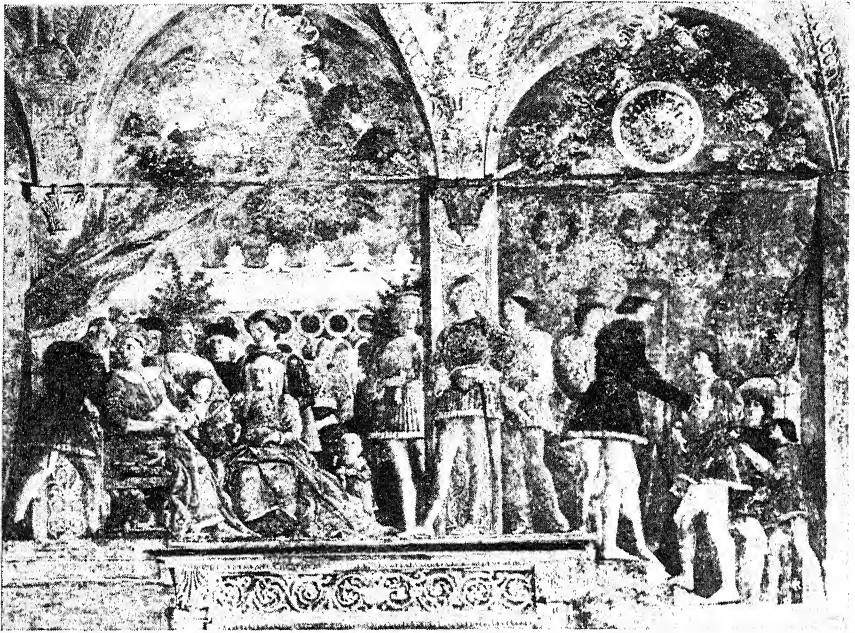
Alinari

THE TRIBUTE MONEY. BY MASACCIO (TOMMASO DI SER GIOVANNI DI SIMONE GUIDI) (1401-1428). CHURCH OF THE CARMINE, FLORENCE.

Masaccio's skill in portraying the illusion of aerial space and his genius in revealing emotion by dramatic pose are well shown in this example of his work. The story here represented is that told in St. Matthew where the tax collector calls upon Christ for the denarius. Christ instructs St. Peter to secure the coin from the first fish which he catches in the sea and then give it to the collector.

depth in their paintings, they laid the foundation for the technique of perspective which was to transform their art, making it more realistic and much more difficult to master. These experiments soon culminated in the work of an undisciplined and shortlived Florentine genius, Masaccio (1402-1429). The direct heir of Giotto, he in turn became the inspiration for all the great artists of the later Renaissance. On the walls of the church of the Carmine at Florence, he painted a series of frescoes which reveal not only superior creative powers, but for the first time demonstrate all of those technical skills which produce the illusion of aerial space. Forms are carefully modeled and appear capable of free movement; backgrounds are treated in proper scientific relation to foregrounds; the actual wall surface seems to give way to deep space. There was scarcely an artist of any worth in the fifteenth century who did not find it profitable and necessary to receive instruction from these frescoes of the Carmine.

Masaccio's successors were numerous and gifted with genius only a little less remarkable than his own. Careful students of science and human anatomy and close observers of natural phenomena, they did not, however, reduce their art to an amusing technical pastime or



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

COURT OF THE DUKE OF MANTUA. BY ANDREA MANTEGNA (1431-1506).

A student of science and lover of antiquity, Mantegna attained an enviable reputation for his skill as a painter. In 1471, he accepted the invitation of the most generous art patron of that time, the Gonzaga Duke of Mantua, and during the next several years decorated the Camera degli Sposi in the great palace, in honor of the wedding of Lodovico Gonzaga and Barbara of Brandenburg. In this fresco he shows the marquis and his household awaiting the son, Federico, who is returning from exile.

attempt merely to attain verisimilitude. Among them Paolo Ucello, who occupied himself with the mathematics of perspective and the problem of portraying movement; Andrea Mantegna, whose robust art is one of the treasured remnants of the Renaissance; and Piero della Francesca, who has aroused the enthusiasm of the modernists, are particularly important.

There were others, however, who broke with the traditions of Giotto and Masaccio and reduced their art to the expression of medieval sentimentalism of the religious variety or to the mysticism of academic neo-paganism. Of the former type was Fra Angelico, a pious monk of Florence whose murals in San Marco reflect the celestial visions of his soul. No one else perhaps succeeded in portraying with such clarity and truth the deep religious emotions of the middle ages. Sandro Botticelli, devoutly religious in his own way, leaned toward the mysticism of neo-paganism and turned for



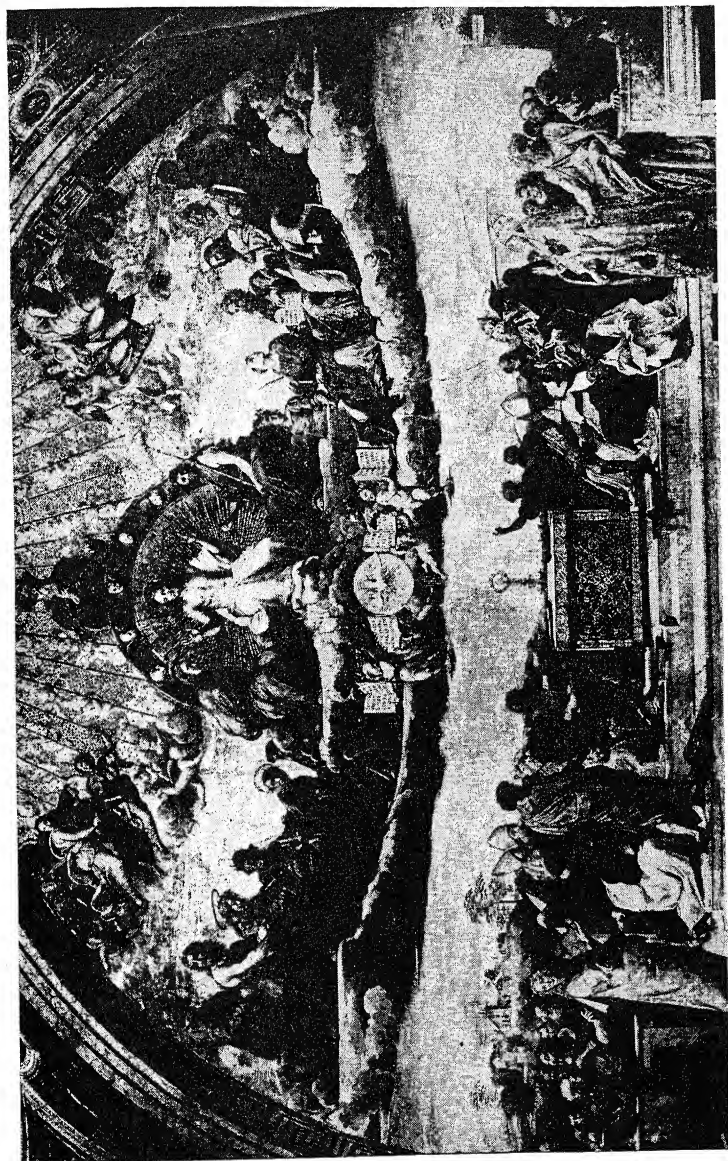
Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

**MADONNA OF THE ROCKS. BY LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452-1519).
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON.**

Leonardo's unique combination of the mystical and the scientific is represented in this unconventional treatment of a very conventional subject. The background shows that Leonardo had studied nature with the care of a geologist; the exquisitely refined features of the angel and the mother show his idealized concept of feminine loveliness. The skillful use of light and shade together with the psychological choice of pose and gesture enhance the dramatic effect.

inspiration to classical mythology. His greatest masterpieces, the *Birth of Venus* and the *Allegory of Spring*, are typical of his art.

The Florentine Renaissance achieved its highest expression in the work of Leonardo da Vinci, one of the most remarkable men of all time. The son of a prosperous Tuscan lawyer, Leonardo early had access to the cultivated circles of Florence which he greatly impressed with his precocious genius. At the age of twenty-one he was already recognized as a painter of extraordinary ability, endowed as many thought with superhuman, possibly magical powers. This atmosphere of mystery which surrounded him even at the beginning of his career persisted throughout the remainder of his life. In part it was due to a natural reticence and aloofness, but even more to his many-sided genius which enabled him to achieve exceptional results in various fields of activity. After all, he was not only a painter, but a poet, sculptor, architect, civil and military engineer, and cartographer, beside being an accomplished student of human anatomy, botany, and geology. Essentially a scientist, keenly observant, forever experimenting, yet Leonardo was deeply religious, almost a mystic. These qualities dominated his art. Indeed, he experimented so much with media, and was so often unsuccessful, that he was compelled to abandon many of his commissions before they were completed, while others vanished or nearly vanished in his own lifetime. It is partly for this reason that very few paintings remain which can be attributed directly to Leonardo. Of these, the most widely known masterpieces are the *Last Supper*, on the wall of the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan, and the *Mona Lisa*, now one of the most prized possessions of the Louvre. The former is Leonardo's unique and forceful treatment of a conventional and popular theme. Christ and the disciples are shown at the time when Christ has said, "One among you shall betray me." Everything in the picture is made to contribute to the tragedy of that moment; the expressions of mingled horror and curiosity among the disciples, the lighting, the architectural features of the room, and the grouping and posture of the figures. It has been suggested that no painting has greater unity of construction than this or is more expressive of emotional tension. The *Mona Lisa*, Leonardo's favorite work, is of a different quality. Apparently an idealized portrait of composite character, it represents the artist's conception of feminine beauty. Apart from the unusual smile, the *Mona Lisa* is significant as a manifestation of Leonardo's technique of combining light and dark (*chiaro-*



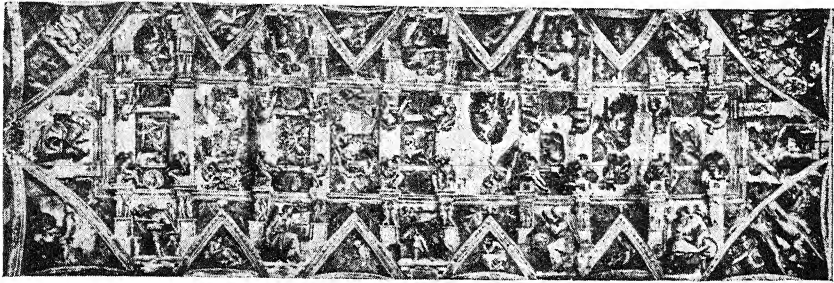
LA DISPUTA. RAPHAEL SANZIO (1483-1520).

One of the most interesting of Raphael's frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura at the Vatican palace is the *Disputa* or glorification of theology. God is shown in the act of benediction above the arch in which Christ is seated. At his feet is the symbol of the Holy Ghost, with cherubs holding the Evangelists. On either side of Christ are ranged Apostles, Patriarchs, and Saints. Below in the center is an altar with the host, surrounded by distinguished ecclesiastics including Gregory the Great, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, and Innocent III.

scuro) to represent movement and to accentuate important features of modeled form.

In striking contrast to the subtle, scientific, and mysterious Leonardo, Raphael Sanzio (1483-1520) produced an art characterized by its simplicity, its emphasis upon exterior beauty, and its detachment from the drab and disagreeable. The son of a little-known painter of Urbino, frail and effeminate, Raphael learned the rudiments of his art from a local artist of considerable ability and from the masters of the Umbrian school, of whom Pietro Vannucci, or Perugino, was best known. In his twenty-first year, Raphael, already possessed of a wide reputation, established himself in Florence where he came under the influence of Leonardo, Michelangelo, and other prominent artists. Adopting and adapting the styles and techniques of these to his own purpose, as he had already done with the Umbrian painters, Raphael enhanced his prestige and popularity to the point at which he was extended an invitation by Pope Julius II to complete the decoration of rooms in the Vatican. He took up his residence in the papal city in 1508, remaining there in the service of two popes until his premature death at the age of thirty-seven. This brief period was one of extraordinary activity and production in painting as well as in architecture. Raphael was so overwhelmed with commissions that it was necessary to confine himself largely to planning and designing, leaving the task of execution to assistants. The most famous paintings of this period are the murals in the Camera della Segnatura at the Vatican, particularly *The School of Athens*, and some of his portraits, such as that of Pope Julius II. During this time, he also painted a number of Madonnas, though the most popular pieces devoted to this subject date from the Florentine period. In Raphael, sweetness predominates over strength, and pagan and early Christian elements of the Renaissance are uniquely fused.

While Raphael captivated the mob and won the overly enthusiastic plaudits of the Roman patrons of art, Michelangelo in comparative obscurity painted the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel at the Vatican, an achievement unrivaled in the whole history of painting. It was an undertaking for which he had not the slightest interest at first. Indeed, he rebelled against the temporary retirement from sculpture which acceptance of the commission necessitated. But the obstinate Pope Julius II would have none but Michelangelo for the task, and the artist reluctantly, sullenly submitted. Something of an architectural monstrosity, the Sistine Chapel demanded of the artist almost superhuman strength and endurance as well as complete mas-



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PLAN OF THE SISTINE CEILING. BY MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI (1475-1564). SISTINE CHAPEL, ROME.

This complete view of the Sistine ceiling shows how effective was Michelangelo's solution of the problem of decorating the flat ceiling and the squinches.

tery of the painter's skills and techniques. Michelangelo lacked none of these. In three years of concentrated labor, during which he was compelled to wield the brush while lying on his back, exposed to the extreme changes of temperature in the unheated room, the commission was completed. Few could have withstood the physical strain. It is almost certain that none could have conceived a subject so well adapted to its purpose or could have painted it with such masculine vigor and boldness. Michelangelo's frescoes, like his sculpture, are monumental and virile.

The paintings of the Sistine ceiling deal with the creation. In lunettes along the side a group of prophets and sibyls bear witness to the drama which unfolds in a series of panels before them. These panels represent various scenes from the story of the creation, such as the creation of the planets, and the temptation and expulsion from the Garden. But the most powerful among them is the *Creation of Man*. A recumbent figure lying upon the green earth feels the touch of life from the hand of God and becomes alive. The extraordinary feeling of movement attained in this scene, its masculine power, its emotional intensity, mark out the *Creation of Man* as Michelangelo's masterpiece. Some years after completing these paintings, Michelangelo added on an end wall his conception of the Last Judgment, a grandiose enterprise, filled with more than a hundred figures greater than life size, skillfully portrayed in all the emotional attitudes expressive of the day of doom. These were all executed originally in the nude, but a subsequent and prudish age clothed them.

While Michelangelo, Leonardo, and Raphael were bringing the Florentine Renaissance to its close, leadership in Italian painting was



THE CREATION OF MAN. BY MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI (1475-1564). SISTINE CHAPEL, ROME.

It is said that Michelangelo executed this, his greatest masterpiece, in three days, without correction. Adam is shown at that moment when he is springing to life at the touch of the hand of God. The power and majesty of this work make it the most notable of the rectangular panels of the ceiling.

slowly but surely passing to Venice. The "queen of the Adriatic" had long enjoyed commercial prosperity, but its prosaic patricians lacked the keen intellectual and artistic interests of the neighboring republics. Still the native beauty of the city, its pageantry and its luxury, and most of all its cultural contacts with Constantinople, could not fail in this age to produce a native art. Its real beginning was with the Bellini family of the fifteenth century. Jacopo Bellini (c. 1400-1470), an inquisitive individual with an almost insatiable wanderlust, traveled widely in Italy learning the scientific knowledge of painting which he imparted to his sons, Gentile (c. 1427-1507) and Giovanni (c. 1426-1516). The former reveled in pageantry and attained fame chiefly for his processional pictures. Giovanni, endowed with greater imaginative powers and longer life, was the first Venetian master. So great was his ability to handle colors and especially to use *chiaroscuro* effectively, that he is said to have been the first to anticipate the skills of Velasquez and Rembrandt. In the products of the Bellini family, some of the most significant characteristics in the history of Venetian art stand revealed: the blending of eastern and

western influences; the love for brilliant coloring; and a keen appreciation of natural beauty and charm.

Though late in its beginnings, Venetian painting quickly reached maturity and evoked a popular response unmatched in Italy, even in sophisticated and cultured Florence. It was attuned to the life and spirit of the citizenry, gay, sensuous, pleasure-seeking, untrammelled by the great imponderables of life which had perplexed and captivated the Florentine school. It developed, moreover, a striking quality from its color effects. The Venetian artists enjoyed colors, employing them not simply to attain harmonious effects but making them the leading element of their painting. In part, the richness of their coloring derives from incidental objects like rich brocades, but even where these are absent a striking luminosity seems to pervade their work. They were the real precursors of the modern colorists whose lineage traces directly back to them through Velasquez. It is significant to note that the first painter to introduce color into shadows was Giorgione, one of their number.

Giorgione (c. 1478-1511) was a great master. Born in the Venetian hinterland, he received his training with the Bellini, and before his life was cut short by the plague, he attained an enviable distinction. His earliest productions were of religious character, but he soon abandoned these for fanciful and allegorical themes. The best known among his masterpieces of this latter type is the *Pastoral Symphony*, an inoffensive and masterful representation of the dreams of sensuous youth. None of the Venetians ever excelled his skill in representing subjects of this character, though such great masters as Tintoretto and Titian employed them extensively.

Tintoretto (1518-1594) was the most prolific and the most impetuous of the Venetian school, and its greatest draughtsman. As a young man he studied with Titian, but master and pupil quarreled so that Tintoretto was compelled to be his own master. He was deeply influenced by Titian, however, as well as by Giorgione, and by travel abroad came under the influence of other Italian artists, especially Michelangelo. He is said to have set his goal as a painter as "the drawing of Michelangelo with the color of Titian." At all events he came close to attaining it. There is much of Michelangelo's monumental virility in Tintoretto's more serious subjects.

The dominant figure of the Venetian school was Titian (1477-1576), whom a modern critic has called the first of the professional artists. A student of Giovanni Bellini and an associate of Giorgione, Titian developed his great talents slowly. It was not until he had

reached the age of forty that he began to secure recognition, but he had a long life of fifty-odd years more in which to make his place secure among the great masters. He was patient, persistent, self-disciplined, emotionally stable, and he had a keen business sense which enabled him to do what is rare among artists, attain both a high reputation and a sizeable fortune. His success was partly due to his willingness to please his patrons. Titian had no exceptional technical ability, but he was a skillful colorist and it is from this that much of his reputation derives. For some thirty years, he devoted himself chiefly to allegorical and fanciful subjects which he produced in the style of Giorgione, though not with his mastery. The best known of this group is *Sacred and Profane Love*. It was in portraiture that Titian really excelled. The *Man with the Glove*, *Charles V*, and *The Young Englishman* are all fine psychological studies of a quality seldom equaled. One of the last of his portraits, that of Pope Paul III, reveals a tendency to exaggerate characteristic qualities of the subject in order to emphasize them, a technique which reached maturity in the work of El Greco, a pupil of Titian in his later years.

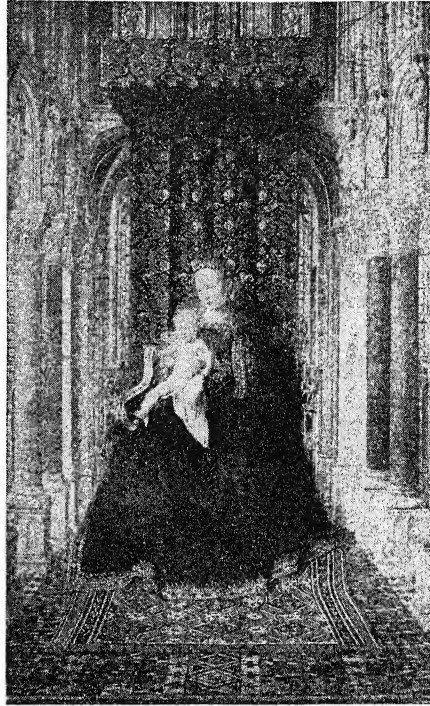
Outside of Italy, with one notable exception, there was no comparable development of the fine arts, although the interest in them had been everywhere awakened. In Germany especially, where the intellectual ferment engendered by Humanism had been unusually active, there was little painting of a masterly nature. The leading figures were Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and Hans Holbein the Younger (c. 1497-1543). The former, a native of Nuremberg, who had traveled and studied extensively in Italy, was less a painter than an engraver, in which art he was unsurpassed. His woodcuts and engravings, such as the *Flight from Egypt*, reveal a knowledge and mastery of mass and form equaled only by Leonardo and Michelangelo. Holbein, a native of the city of Augsburg, was also deeply influenced by his travels abroad. His genius lay chiefly in portraiture. Indeed, in Anglo-Saxon countries, he is the most widely known portrait artist of the sixteenth century, chiefly because of his studies of Henry VIII and the leading figures of Henry's court.

The most original and the most important artistic Renaissance in northern Europe appeared in Flanders during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Prosperous, with a deep sense of civic pride, the Flemings lavished their churches and embellished their communes with choice objects of art. In painting they achieved a well-deserved distinction both for esthetic qualities and for the development of

effective techniques. Essentially religious and a development from manuscript illuminations, it was simple and austere. There was no preoccupation with abstractions as among the Florentines, and no sensuousness as among the Venetians. The Flemish artists painted the common scene in religious setting with the miniaturist's painstaking care and fidelity to detail. What is most striking beyond these native characteristics, is the clarity and freshness of coloring which remains nearly what it was when these works were executed five hundred years ago. The Flemish painter was a craftsman of the highest order who would spare no effort to make his labor of enduring quality. Moreover, he was master of technique which helped achieve this. The canvas was prepared with flat tempera and then upon this background thin oils were applied in successive glazes in such fashion that the pigments were preserved against deterioration. This technique was widely adopted outside of Flanders but without the Flemish care and conscientious labor.

The Van Eyck brothers, Hubert and Jan, were the first masters of the Flemish school. Hubert (c. 1370-1426) excelled in group painting and has been regarded as the more talented. His masterpiece, *The Adoration of the Lamb*, is a fine example of the Flemish adaptation of the local scene to Biblical story, of its emphasis upon details, and of its fine coloring. Jan Van Eyck (c. 1390-1440) was primarily a portraitist, manifesting in this field the same skill which Hubert demonstrated in group subjects.

Among the other Flemings of this period, the greatest figure was



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ALTARPIECE BY JAN VAN EYCK
(C. 1390-1440). ROYAL GALLERY,
DRESDEN.

This exquisite madonna (10¾" x 8½") attributed to Jan, though perhaps done from sketches of his older brother Hubert, shows the meticulous work of the Flemish renaissance artists. The figures are very human and lifelike; they dominate their surroundings which reflect the painters' acquaintance with Italian antiquities.

Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1525-1569). Keenly interested in peasants and townsmen, and especially in his native Antwerp, Brueghel filled his canvases with processions and crowds of people, sometimes to convey a simple impression of the scene, sometimes for allegorical purposes, sometimes to satirize. He was an expert and careful composer and a draughtsman of considerable skill. Even while Brueghel lived, Flemish art declined under the imported influences from Italy, and was not to emerge again from obscurity until the time of Peter Paul Rubens.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

NAVIGATION, GIOTTO'S CAMPANILE. BY ANDREA PISANO.

The high esteem in which Giotto's fellow citizens held him is shown in his appointment as architect of the city. He designed the campanile beside the cathedral and planned the sculptures of the lower part. These were executed by Andrea Pisano.

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The Humanizing of Religion

A. THE GROWTH OF A SPIRIT OF INQUIRY

The right of free thought and free expression has always been asserted but seldom allowed, since it exposes to criticism everything in which the majority of individuals have placed implicit faith. Most men are mentally lethargic and are constitutionally inclined to believe what they are told on authority. They resent the new since it disturbs the settled habits of their thought, not because they can rationally justify the old. Those who are attached to or profit from established order or beliefs look with profound suspicion upon anything which challenges the prevailing system. Generally, they resent criticism and regard any change as inherently bad. It is for these reasons that free thought and free speech have always been enchained, either through social ostracism of the would-be reformer or through the suppression of his ideas by law and force. Many men in Anglo-Saxon countries pride themselves upon their inalienable "right" to free thought, yet there are few who have the courage to oppose the customary and traditional. Intellectual curiosity is, indeed, man's most precious possession, but he is seldom able to exercise it without experiencing punishment either from his group or from his state.

Yet men have always been curious and inquisitive and some have always had the courage to challenge authority and tradition. It would seem that this inquisitive spirit is most common and most fruitful in those periods when society has enjoyed the cosmopolitanism of international trade and commerce. Conversely, genuine freedom of thought has been least apparent in those societies which have been predominantly agricultural and theological. Certainly men have greater opportunities to think for themselves now than they had in the age of the Renaissance; the man of the Renaissance had more

freedom to think for himself than the man of the middle ages, whose life was ordered by theology; and the citizen of ancient Greece and Rome was generally given the right to express his own opinions. The modern era is distinctly secular and cosmopolitan; so, in its way, was the ancient world.

Ancient Greece and ancient Rome were built about the Mediterranean and by mere circumstance of geography were driven to the sea and to commerce. The broadening influences of travel and trade were not lost on their political and social institutions, nor on the thought of their intellectuals. Their gods were of the elements, natural and secular, and were capable of universal veneration. Athena was the favored goddess of the city of Athens but Spartans were not thought the less of for worshipping her. Moreover, government tended toward the democratic and, while it was sometimes found politically expedient to suppress it, generally freedom of criticism was tolerated.

As early as the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. philosophers of Greece sought to penetrate the causes of things with a spirit of criticism which has been the envy of modern men. Some had no hesitation about questioning the morality of prevailing beliefs or of ridiculing the popular conceptions of the divinities. Others astonished their contemporaries by suggesting that everything was in a state of flux. These, the precursors of the fifth century Sophists, propounded the doctrine that everything must be subjected to searching inquiry. Probably no greater exponent of this doctrine than Socrates has ever lived. Brought before the bar of justice to answer for his criticisms, he asserted in unmistakable language both the supremacy of the individual conscience and the public value of free discussion. Plato, Aristotle, the Epicureans, the Stoics, and the Skeptics found their common source in Socrates and pointed the way to liberty for all men. All of them were rationalists and materialists.

Unquestionably the greatest critic of ancient times was Aristotle, the student of Plato, the intellectual heir of Socrates, and the individual in whom all that was unique in Greek thought seemed to culminate and reach its fruition. His inquiring mind encompassed the whole range of contemporary human knowledge, from the study of the heavens through theoretical and practical politics to rhetoric. Philosophical abstractions had little appeal for him for he was ever drawn by the individual and the concrete. Within the limitations of his era, he was the exponent of the modern scientific method. No man has ever exerted greater influence upon the history of thought. His logical method appealed to the dogmatic mind of the middle

ages; his inquiring spirit showed men an escape from medieval theology; and his analytical method has become, with certain modifications, that of the contemporary era.

In the Stoic school, founded in the fifth century B.C. and lingering on to the very end of paganism, the traditions of Aristotle and his predecessors were perpetuated, though subjected to change. The Stoics made significant contributions to liberty, for they asserted the superiority of natural to human law and preferred individual freedom to established authority. Yet, in a sense, they marked the transition to the age of theological predominance to be inaugurated by Christianity. They were theists who conceived of the universe as a divine creation and of human wisdom as but a reflection of the divine. Their attitude toward all social institutions was consequently permeated with a religious element, and their conception of individuality was colored by a kind of fatalism.

While Rome produced no thinkers of the stature of Aristotle and Socrates, and no school like that of the Stoics, it nevertheless absorbed the independent spirit of the Greeks and imposed no restrictions upon freedom of thought. Nothing reflects this more clearly than the liberty accorded the critics of prevailing popular mythology, and the tolerance universally extended to varying religious beliefs. It cannot be denied that Rome persecuted Christians, but it must be remembered that this was halting and sporadic and that it was designed in the interests of public policy and not with the purpose of stifling thought.

It is the unpleasant fact that the age which witnessed the general acceptance of Christian doctrine experienced simultaneously the suppression of free thought and free inquiry. This was only natural for the very exclusiveness of Christian monotheism made it intolerant of all other beliefs. Convinced that those who did not adhere were eternally damned, the early Christians denied to others the tolerance which they had demanded for themselves and embarked upon a program of enforcing uniformity. They regarded disbelief as the work of the devil, to be shunned like a contagious disease, uprooted and exterminated by force. The Holy Scriptures, reporting the words of Christ when he said, "Compel them to enter in," were used to give divine sanction to intolerance and persecution. These latter became in fact not only a social necessity but a holy duty.

The unquestioning obedience of the early Christian was enshrined in the medieval church and, by the same token, in medieval

life. In the eyes of most men, life in this world was regarded as merely preparatory for the next, a ceaseless struggle against omnipresent evil. Obedience and faith alone could assure protection against the wiles of Satan and guaranteed eternal felicity. The spirit of free inquiry was stifled by the very character of social institutions and the strong arm of the Church. There was no place for science aside from the dicta of the Scriptures; and no place for criticism, for everything from the Church to the lowest feudal authority was divinely ordained.

Not all thought in the middle ages was cast in the mold of the Church, however, for the revival of commercial contacts with the outer world and the widening influence of Mohammedan Italy and Spain upon Europe brought a new breath of secularism. By the twelfth century, when most of Aristotle was made available through Latin translations from the Arabic, there was posed the significant and vital question as to whether the truths of revelation must give way to the truths of reason. The problem was perplexing and disruptive for it struck at the apparently unassailable edifice of medieval theology. A compromise saved the Church and made its doctrine of revealed truth triumphant for the time. This achievement was the work of one of the most remarkable thinkers the middle ages produced, Thomas Aquinas. In his masterpiece, the *Summa*, with extraordinary power of logic, he reconciled Aristotle with St. Augustine, the Holy Scriptures with classical rationalism. Reason became the handmaiden of faith.

But the very reconciliation of Faith and Reason was to prove the undoing of medieval theology, for the two were incompatible in most things. The compromise was hardly satisfactory for the thirteenth century; it was much less so for the fourteenth and fifteenth when reason was breaking its chains. As commerce grew and material prosperity increased, men began to feel more strongly the sense of their own individualities. The reviving interest in classical antiquity, particularly classical literature, guided them into new channels of secular thought which made orthodox beliefs seem anachronistic. Many things in the political and social life of the times strengthened this attitude. The universal Papacy and its political counterpart, the Holy Roman Empire, were in the process of decay, their places being taken by rising national monarchies. Science hypothesized the solar system which challenged the position of the Church; discovery seemed to indicate that science and not the Church

was correct. Against these attacks, which scientists, nationalists and humanists were leveling, the Church had difficulty defending itself.

Humanism provided an atmosphere which facilitated the emancipation of reason; it did not liberate it. There were few men before the seventeenth century who were able to break completely with the traditions of authority. The Humanists of Italy might not have hesitated to condemn the Church, but most of them paid lip service to it. The Humanists of northern Europe, more social and less individual in their outlook, were chiefly desirous of conservative, in a sense, reactionary reforms in the Church. Men of science still asserted that their speculations were in the interest of theology. Philosophers, like Descartes, compromised their mechanical views of the universe with established Church doctrine. Even in the *Essays* of the great sixteenth century French skeptic, Montaigne, there are frequent professions of Catholic orthodoxy. But probably the best evidence of all in support of the statement that the age of Humanism was not a period of free thought and free inquiry can be found in the history of the Protestant Revolutions which were products of that age. Luther denounced the authority of the pope, but he replaced it with the Bible, and theological authority remained. Calvin revolted against the Church, but established a medieval theocracy at Geneva. While both of these great reformers asserted the right of individual judgment, they emphatically denied it to all save themselves. Catholics and Protestants of the sixteenth century were equally zealous in enforcing uniformity of belief, using every measure even to the destruction of human life.

The fact remains, however, that the Protestant Revolution made a notable contribution to the advance of free thought and free inquiry. The reformers who extolled the right of free judgment could not forever deny it to their followers. Moreover, they shattered the universal authority of the medieval Church, replacing a single theology with a variety of warring theologies, which in their unhappy contests weakened theological authority in general and opened the way for the secularization of governments. At least there emerged from the period of the Renaissance and the Protestant Revolution a new individualism and a revived secular approach to knowledge. These were the stepping stones to liberty of thought and of expression.

Science completed what the Renaissance and the Protestant Revolution had begun. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the

advances of science were phenomenal. The Copernican system with the proofs offered for it shattered the medieval bandbox conception of the universe. Sir Isaac Newton proved that the planets in infinite space were governed by calculable mathematical laws. Students of human physiology dispelled the earlier mystery of bodily functions and demonstrated their mechanical characteristics. Studies of plants and of natural history reinforced the mechanistic conceptions already advanced in the other fields of science. Before these proofs of science the unsupported assertions of the theologians to the contrary seemed meaningless. By the middle of the eighteenth century an increasingly large number of intellectuals, the Rationalists, influenced by the achievements of science, challenged the whole framework of revealed religion. In a world governed by mathematically calculable laws, there was no place for supernatural intervention. Miracles were held to be frauds and superstitious beliefs a disgrace. God was only the First Cause, the Creator of a perfect and rational order who, metaphorically speaking, sat back to watch its operation but refrained from interfering with it. Since they did not believe in a supernatural God of revelation nor in the fundamental doctrines accompanying that conception, the Rationalists could see no justification for intolerance and persecution. They invoked the spirit of free inquiry.

In the contemporary era science has been enthroned and even the logical basis of the Rationalist's God has disappeared. The achievements of science are indeed more phenomenal than in the eighteenth century and not without some reason men have come to feel that their material welfare is fundamentally the result of science and industry rather than of supernatural influences. Probably the most important contribution of contemporary science to the world of thought was the development of the Darwinian concept of evolution. For many intellectuals this swept away the very foundations upon which established religion rested. All of the churches, Protestant and Catholic alike, felt the full force of these blows of science and were severely shaken although not destroyed. With greater or less success, all of them sought to adapt themselves to the changing circumstances of the times. As they met the challenge, however, they lost their privileged place in society and along with it their dominion over men's minds. After centuries of gradual change the world had again become secular, and freedom of inquiry was presumably restored.

B. FACTORS PRODUCING THE RELIGIOUS REVOLT

Established religion was the first among human institutions to feel the impact of the reviving spirit of inquiry in the sixteenth century. The Roman Catholic Church was then, as it had been for centuries, the universal church, and as such it served as the bulwark of medieval traditions. It still had the trappings of the medieval papal monarchy and, although its prestige had been shaken by the Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism, it still laid claim to the powers it once exercised in the era of Innocent III. The Conciliar movement had not succeeded in vitally changing the organization of the Church or the powers of the pope, any more than it had been able to eliminate the most obvious of clerical abuses. The Church had remained substantially an unaltered organism in the midst of universal change.

At the head of the Church was the pope, at once a temporal and a spiritual prince. As temporal sovereign, he governed the Italian papal possessions and claimed the allegiance of foreign kings. As spiritual sovereign, his authority was limited only by the boundaries of the Roman faith. In the administration of the vast powers to which his dual function gave rise, the pope was assisted by a neatly pyramided clerical hierarchy, descending from the papal curia through the archbishops and the bishops to the simple parish priest. Together with the regular clergy, the monks, these held a privileged station in society since they were in the service of God, and were exempt from ordinary taxation as they were also from ordinary civil law. This was the institution which administered to the vital spiritual needs of men. Because it was still generally believed that salvation was the great desideratum of human life, and that this could be attained only through the instrumentality of the sacraments which ordained clergy alone could administer, it will be seen that the Church in general and the clergy in particular held a heavy responsibility. The clergy had it in its power to unlock the gates of heaven or to condemn to eternal damnation. A function so essential to human happiness should not have been taken lightly.

But the Church of the sixteenth century seemed indifferent to its great responsibilities, and from top to bottom was honeycombed with abuse and corruption. Most of this was connected in one way or another with money and finance, since not even the clergy were, for the most part, able to escape the urge for worldly pleasures

which wealth could now assure. Clergy of all ranks fell under the spell of this pleasure-seeking age, but the Papacy was its most conspicuous victim. Alexander VI of Borgia (1492-1503), Julius II (1503-1513), Leo X (1513-1521) all to a greater or lesser degree indulged in practices which were either personally immoral or inimical to the Church and the high office which they occupied. Not without some justification Alexander VI has been held the personification of this papal corruption. He expended vast sums to embellish the papal chambers, made his pontificate a round of debasing and immoral pleasures, and as an indulgent father paid well for the marriages of his daughter Lucrezia and for the military adventures of his son Cesare. His immediate successors were no less frivolous and extravagant in their tastes and expenditures.

To defray the mounting expenses of ambitious popes, the Church was compelled to tap new sources of revenue as well as to exhaust the possibilities of the old. Collections of Peter's pence, the contributions of pilgrims visiting Rome, handsome sums paid by aspiring clergy for title and distinction, and the heavy fees of the ecclesiastical courts swelled the papal coffers. The practice of "reserving" the better benefices for papal appointment was widened and the returns from sales of "expectations" and the collection of annates increased steadily. From the practice of simony alone Leo X realized the handsome sum of a million and a half dollars. But the richest mine for papal exploitation was in the sale of indulgences.

To understand the character and significance of this practice, it is essential to know something of the doctrine of indulgences. This doctrine holds that an indulgence is a plenary (whole) or partial remission of temporal punishment for sin, exacted by Divine justice. This punishment still has to be worked off either here or in purgatory even after the sin itself has been forgiven in the sacrament of penance. Although the analogy is perhaps too secular, indulgences which perform this service might be compared to checks drawn by the pope in favor of the penitent sinner from the accumulated "Treasury of Merit." This "Treasury of Merit" was composed of all the superabundant merit or grace of the saints, the holy Mother Mary and of Christ, all of whom had accumulated more than enough to save themselves and, as in the case of Christ, more than enough to save all of the human beings in the world of his time. This inexhaustible treasure was in the keeping of the pope to be bestowed at his discretion. He could grant a plenary indulgence which would remit all temporal



THE SALE OF INDULGENCES. CARICATURE BY HOLBEIN.

This woodcut, made in 1520, attacks the abuses attendant upon the sale of indulgences in the sixteenth century. On the left is represented the sale; in the center, a little removed yet sanctioning the practice by his presence, is the pope and his curia.

punishment for sin or a partial indulgence to remit only a portion of it.¹

During the middle ages the practice of granting indulgences had not been widely abused, the income from their sale being employed usually for religious purposes, such as Crusades. But in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries successive popes exploited them for the purpose of meeting their own financial needs. Peddlers of indulgences appeared everywhere that the secular authorities would tolerate them, particularly in Germany where papal influence was still considerable. Generally, these were not the direct agents of the pope but the employees of great financiers, like the Fuggers of Augsburg, who engaged to make the sale. The opportunities for graft were enormous, and everyone who had a finger in the pie shared its benefits. The peddler received his commission, the administrator of the diocese realized a percentage and the financier deducted his portion. Usually not more than thirty-five or forty percent of the total collections reached the papal treasury. The most famous instance of the abuse which attended this practice was the plenary indulgence sold in Germany by Leo X to secure the funds necessary to complete the basilica of St. Peter's at Rome. An agreement was reached be-

¹ Indulgences were usually gained by the recitation of some prayer or the performance of some act of piety. In some cases, contributions were also required. It was this latter provision which was often abused in practice.

tween the pope and the youthful archbishop of Mainz to regulate the distribution of the expected profits. The archbishop who had just purchased his post for a sum greater than he was able to pay was allowed a percentage sufficiently large to enable him to meet his remaining obligation to the pope beside a substantial profit for himself. Like the pope he had, therefore, a real interest in seeing that the indulgence would be financially successful. To clerical administrators such as these, it was a matter of indifference how and under what circumstances indulgences were sold and they had no qualms about employing unscrupulous agents. Not unnaturally the indulgence was frequently misused and its purpose completely obscured. Princes and burghers objected that this abuse bled the country of its financial resources and critics inveighed against the iniquity of the sale.

Despite these evils there is no reason for believing that the moral conditions of the Church were worse in 1500 than they had been several centuries earlier. Recent study has demonstrated quite the contrary. If corruption alone could explain the Protestant Revolution, then that revolution must have come long before the sixteenth century. Moral depravity was not the fundamental cause of rebellion against the Church, but it was the most vulnerable spot in the Church's armor and it offered the excuse for widespread attack at a time when a growing number of individuals were prepared and anxious to flout its authority.

The foundations of adherence to the Church were being eaten away by the rising currents of commerce, nationalism, and intellectual curiosity. The most subtle and yet the most effective among these was the commercial revolution which brought profound changes to the economic life of Europe and elevated the class of the bourgeoisie to a dominant position in society. Motivated by the desire for increased profits and continuous prosperity, the middle class challenged the old order at every turn. They protested against the legalized privileges of the few, especially the exemptions of the clergy and the feudal nobility from the payment of taxes; they objected to the ancient barriers to trade and furthered the cause of nationalism to offset them; and not least of all they resented the economic teachings and fiscal practices of the Church. It was upon this middle class as well as upon the peasants that church taxes and extraordinary papal exactions bore most heavily. Moreover, a large number of the bourgeoisie resented the Church's interference with the lending and borrowing of money and its objections to the accumulation of profits.

Certainly the Church set them no good example, as they had no hesitation in pointing out. Their protests were not made in silence. For the middle class, though numerically small, possessed almost limitless resources which national monarchs and even the papacy required, and they were capable of patronizing men of learning who could publicize their cause.

Even the lowliest peasant felt the impact of economic change, though he may not have understood its cause or its deepest implications. The great influx of precious metals from Africa and the new world, together with the enormous expansion of credit accompanying it, deranged the economic balance. The prices of necessities went scurrying upward, wheat alone rising from eighteen cents per bushel in 1500 to ninety cents in 1600, while at the same time the normal income of the average individual lagged sluggishly behind. The ignorant peasant faced with declining income, with rising rents and fixed obligations, was still further victimized by the greedy merchants of the towns. If agriculture was not yet extensively capitalized, at least it felt deeply the influence of urban economy. The distress of the countrymen led naturally to peasant unrest and to widespread peasant uprisings. Often the purposes of these were confused: sometimes they were directed against the feudal nobility; at other times, against the Church. Indeed, the peasant did not know the underlying cause of his misery, and was prepared to follow the leadership of any demagogue who promised the more complete and abundant life. It was no mere coincidence that the Protestant Revolutionists found their earliest support among the mass of the peasantry.

Profound political changes accompanied and were furthered by the economic revolution. These likewise militated against the traditional international Church. For several centuries nationalism had been advancing in western Europe, particularly in France and England, but now in the sixteenth century it was spreading rapidly throughout the entire continent. National monarchs, and princes who aspired to be national monarchs, conspired against feudal lords whose property and privileges they absorbed. They established national currencies, assembled national armies, created national laws, and set up national courts. In their political ambitions, they naturally resented the interference of the Church which continued to claim the allegiance of their subjects. In their greed for land to help them overawe the nobility, they looked with covetous eyes upon the numerous properties of the Church. When a satisfactory moral excuse

could be found, they could be counted upon to deprive the Church of its wealth and power. This is abundantly clear from the character of princely support given the Lutheran cause in the German and Scandinavian countries, and from the example of the religious revolt in Tudor England. Often these princes professed devotion to the Church, but that was no deterrent to their selfish lust for power and wealth. It should be observed that in the furtherance of this cause against the Church the princes had the rising bourgeoisie as accomplices. These were the revolutionaries, the nationalists, of the sixteenth century, anxious for national unity as an escape from churchly interferences and feudal obstructions.

Formerly the Church might have relied upon the common people to champion its cause against its enemies. But in the sixteenth century even this support was lacking. The Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism had aroused an abiding distrust for the universal Church. Even simple men were becoming convinced that relief from the abuses of the Church could be best achieved through their own action or through the co-operation of their national sovereigns. *The Supplication of the Beggars* by Simon Fish in England, a pamphlet which appealed to Henry VIII to sponsor reforms in the Church, was merely symptomatic of what the masses everywhere were thinking. The foreign control of an international pope had become odious to the princes; the corruption of the clergy was arousing the hostility of the masses.

The era of the international Church was passing, and with it passed the theological dominion it exerted over men's minds. Most individuals still thought that the attainment of salvation was the ultimate goal of human existence, but an increasingly large number discarded this belief in search of the simple pleasures of earthly life. This was the consequence of the revival of pagan, classical literature which the Church had tolerated. Self-abnegation gave way to self-advancement, asceticism to worldliness; the theological middle ages to secular antiquity. This was the subversive thought which at first unconsciously and later consciously challenged the very doctrines upon which the theology of the Church was based. The Humanists in Italy who championed this intellectual movement had no timidity about criticizing the Church and not a few, carrying the secular tendency of their thought to its logical conclusion, divorced themselves completely from the Church. It might have been expected that the Papacy would have foreseen the ultimate consequences of this; but instead it absorbed the spirit of the movement

and became, paradoxically enough, its greatest patron. Several distinguished Humanists, such as Nicholas V and Leo X, even occupied the papal chair. Others, who were not Humanist, held the humanistic attitude toward life.

Humanism created a state of mind which rebelled against theology. More than that, it gave rise to classical scholarship which exposed errors and falsehoods in some of the teachings and practices of the Church. Although this developed wherever secular thought flourished, it achieved its greatest distinction in northern Europe. The Humanists of the north were more devoted to the Church than their Italian contemporaries, but theirs was not a blind devotion. From careful studies of Biblical texts and critical examinations of the early history of the Church, they concluded that existent evils were the accretions of time, and, as such, could and should be removed. They called for a return to the apostolic virtues which they believed could be effected by peaceful means. The northern Humanists were conservatives and reformers, not revolutionaries. The greatest of their number, Erasmus, attested to this when, after a long life devoted to criticism of the Church, he recoiled before the violent revolution which Martin Luther led. Yet, in precipitating that revolution Erasmus and his Humanist friends had contributed no small share.

The temper of the times precluded the possibilities of peaceful change such as the Erasmian reformers envisioned. The spirit of revolt was abroad, and while this need not necessarily have turned against the Church it was prepared to do so at a convenient opportunity.

There were men prepared to conduct a revolution against the Church, like the militant German reformer and nationalist, Ulrich von Hutten, and for these there was at hand the example of previous revolts. In the fourteenth century there had been a variety of these, stimulated by the Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism, and led by a group of men who have commonly been called the pre-Reformers. Among the most conspicuous of these were John Wiclif of England (1324-1384) and John Hus of Bohemia (1369-1415). Wiclif, the more original thinker, had become incensed at the immorality of the contemporary Church and advocated the abolition of the temporal power together with the repudiation of papal authority. He trained his own clergy, had his own Bible translated, and set up the Scriptures as the supreme authority. For a time he had a considerable following, but all of these were ultimately compelled to recant. Wiclif's greatest victory was not in England

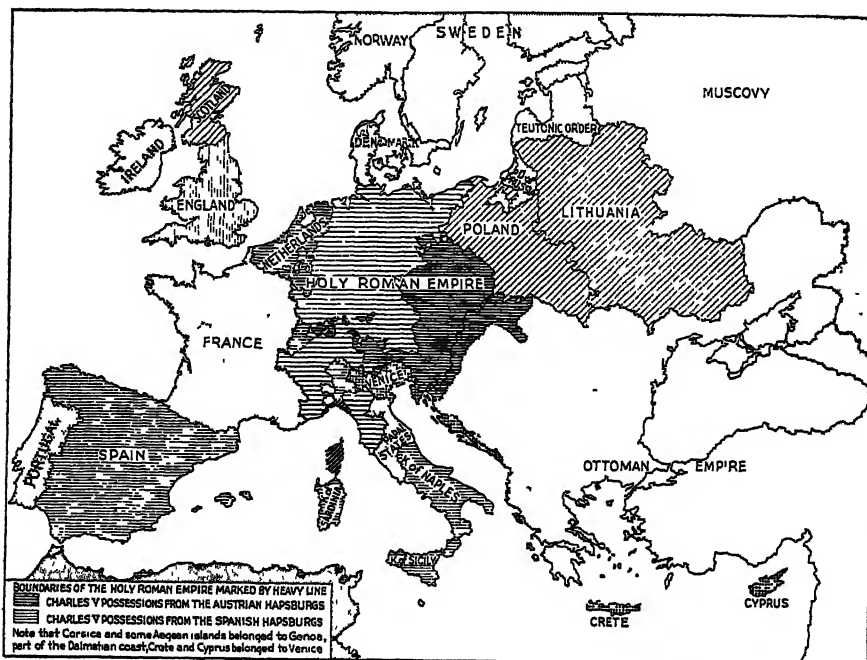


Courtesy of the New York Public Library

JOHN HUS, BURNING

but in Bohemia whence his doctrines were carried by students and fully appropriated by John Hus, the rector of the University of Prague. When the German students of the university denounced his teachings they were duly expelled. Hus had become not only the leader of a religious revolt in Bohemia but through it the official spokesman of Czech nationalism as well. When the Council of Constance assembled in 1415 he was delivered up to it as a heretic, was tried and burned at the stake. His death kindled a ferocious war in Bohemia which was both national and religious in character and of such wide proportions that the Church was compelled to recognize the futility of trying to exterminate the Hussite movement. A peace with the revolutionaries was consequently arranged. They lingered on as the Bohemian Brethren and continue today as the Moravians. To the pre-Reformers, particularly to Hus, the Protestant revolutionaries of Germany owed a heavy debt.

There had always been heresies in the Church and they had always been more or less successfully suppressed. The Hussite victory was an evil omen of what was to come. Common men no longer had complete faith in the Church, monarchs coveted its property, bourgeoisie resented its interferences, and intellectuals challenged



MAP 16. EUROPE IN THE TIME OF CHARLES V

the theoretical bases of its practices. All of the unique developments of the sixteenth-century society conspired simultaneously against the Church and foreshadowed its collapse as the explosion in Germany was soon to show.

C. THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The general factors tending to produce religious unrest were heightened in the Germanic part of the Holy Roman Empire by local social and political conditions. It is customary for the sake of convenience to speak of this area as "Germany," but there was no German nation. On the contrary, despite some racial and linguistic unity, the region was divided into over two hundred petty states. Germany was only a geographic expression.

The governing of Germany was theoretically in the hands of the emperor who was assisted by a Diet, composed of lay and ecclesiastical princes. The real political power lay with these feudal lords. The emperor was a non-resident and his nominal vassals frequently and successfully flouted his authority. They were sure to support any cause which tended to increase their power at the im-

perial expense. Lack of loyal support in Germany was by no means the only problem which faced the emperor. The slow and tedious communication system made it impossible for one man to control so large an area, while the diversity of imperial interests effectively kept the emperor from concentrating for long on any one problem. The Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1519) and his grandson, Charles V (1519-1558), were too occupied elsewhere to pay more than casual attention to the events which were shaking Germany to its foundations.

The German social system was predominantly feudal. The classes of privilege were the princes and the lesser nobility, the knights. The advent of economic and social changes had borne heavily on this latter group whose powers and prosperity had been seriously curtailed by the rising towns and townsmen. They seethed with discontent born of the comprehensible desire to recoup their losses. The bulk of the population, the peasantry, were at the bottom of the social scale. Ground down into all but hopelessness by centuries of repression, any change seemed to promise them hope and possible freedom from their fetters. There was also one class whose presence rendered all the rest of the system anachronistic. This was the numerically small but increasingly powerful group of bourgeoisie. In Germany, as elsewhere, they were the class of change. From them came the chief moral and material support of revolution.

Among the special factors which tended to produce ferment in Germany was the religious revival which took place in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This seems to have been due in large measure to a common fear which infected the majority of the people of all classes. Recurrent plagues and the menace of an advancing Turk added a strange restlessness to the normal religiosity of the German people. Throngs of pilgrims crowded the highways,



Courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library

EMPEROR CHARLES V. FROM
HIS BOOK OF HOURS. FLEMISH,
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.



Courtesy of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan

MARTIN LUTHER. BY LUCAS CRANACH (1472-1553).

Lucas Cranach, court painter to the Elector of Saxony, was a close personal friend of Martin Luther and left a number of portraits of the revolutionary; he painted pictures and made drawings for woodcuts which would illustrate and advance Luther's teachings. He is known for his allegories which have a naive charm.

hurrying from shrine to shrine seeking relief from their terror. The traditional faith failed to comfort them, and they sought other ways of escape. New cults arose, and new superstitions were added to the old. Often the clergy were held to be at fault and laymen took church matters into their own hands.

Into this turbulent era Martin Luther was born at Eisleben in Saxony on November 10, 1483. Nothing in his early career indicated that he was the catalyst who would one day combine the many elements of change to produce a religious revolt. His parents were peasants who had risen sufficiently in the economic scale to give their son a university education. His studies at the University of Erfurt did not make him a Humanist, but did broaden his outlook and arouse his intellectual curiosity. His father wished him to become a lawyer, but instead, he impulsively entered the service of the Church. The astonishment of his friends when he told them of his decision

to become a monk makes it appear that his decision was not premeditated. No absolute reason for his action is known, but the probable explanation involves his personal reaction to the strong religious character of the times. Whatever the reason, Martin Luther began his novitiate in the Augustinian Order in June of 1505, becoming a full-fledged monk two years later. In 1510, an ordained priest, he was appointed to the faculty of the University of Wittenberg as a lecturer on the Bible, a position which he held for the rest of his life. He was sent to Rome in that same year on business for his Order. He was deeply impressed by the sights of the Christian capital, but there is no basis for the old tale that the depravity of the papal court turned him from the Church. Certainly it did not have that immediate effect for he continued to serve his Order so well that in 1515 he was rewarded by being made vicar over eleven monasteries.

The second turning point in Luther's life came in 1516 when a Dominican monk, John Tetzel, appeared on the borders of Saxony peddling indulgences. He was the unscrupulous agent of unprincipled masters, Pope Leo X and Albert, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg. Luther, who had long opposed the abuse of indulgences, now appealed to the Church authorities to restrain Tetzel. When they paid no attention, he resorted to a device popular with scholars who wished to provoke discussion of a problem. On October 31, 1517, he posted on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg ninety-five topics for debate. These theses, as they were called, were evidently not intended for the common man for they were written in the Latin of scholars. Moderate in tone, they admitted the validity of the theory of indulgences but inveighed against their abuse. Critics of the Church seized upon them as a weapon with which to attack the institution, translated them into German, and scattered them broadcast. They met with wide acclaim, and to Luther's surprise he found himself the leader of a numerous group to whose inarticulate grievance he had given voice. The sale of indulgences declined so sharply that Leo felt impelled to call upon Luther to retract the offending theses. Instead, the monk reaffirmed and expanded them. When in a long debate at Leipzig in the early summer of 1519, the papal theologian, John Eck, maneuvered Luther into an apparent support of Hussite doctrines, the break was made. Luther had become a revolutionary.

The dialectics of Eck and the logic of events drove Luther into an increasingly radical position. He dropped his plea for reform in favor of a biting and revolutionary attack on the Church. 1520 saw

the height of his offensive when he produced three pamphlets aimed at the Church. The first, *An Address to the Nobility of the German Nation*, laid down a program of reform and urged the temporal princes to carry it out. A more effective appeal to the greed and nationalistic ambitions of this class, especially since the emperor remained the champion of the Church, could not have been conceived. The second, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, was a powerful indictment of the sacramental system and constituted a thorough break with medieval theology and ideology. Its appeal was primarily to the Humanists, intellectual critics of the Church. The third, *The Liberty of a Christian Man*, set forth in simple terms his doctrine of salvation by faith and his reliance upon the Bible as his final authority. Papal condemnation of Luther as a heretic followed inevitably in 1520. A year later he was summoned to appear before the Imperial Diet at Worms to answer charges.

Since it was customary to try cases of this sort in Rome, the fact that Luther was tried in Germany shows that he had powerful friends. It also typifies the nationalistic motives of the groups who had raised him to a position of leadership. Princes, knights, bourgeoisie, and peasants all saw in him a champion of their interests as Germans against the Italian curia. The brilliant Diet assembled to try him filled Luther with awe, but the support of the inhabitants of Worms restored his confidence. His refusal to recant made him the hero of the German people and an outlaw from the Church and from the Empire. His temerity might have cost him his life, as it had John Hus, had not his princely patron, Elector of Saxony, hustled him off to the sanctuary of the Electoral castle at Wartburg. Luther remained there until it was again safe to return to Wittenberg. During his enforced idleness he translated the Bible into German. Since he had set up the Holy Writ as his final authority, it was most important that it be available to his followers. The German Bible proved to be his strongest weapon in the continuing fight against the Church.

The Lutheran standard of revolt attracted to it all the malcontents of Germany. Extreme Waldensians, known as Anabaptists; penniless and belligerent knights; downtrodden peasants; disaffected Humanists; ambitious princes; and the secular middle class all saw in Luther an advocate of their individual hopes. For a brief moment almost all of Germany was massed behind him, but as it became apparent that his aims were not theirs, one group after another dropped away.

The Anabaptists were the first to go. They wished to carry his reforms to their logical conclusions, always an unpleasant thing for a reformer. Luther gave them no encouragement and when some of them appeared at Wittenberg claiming to be prophets he drove them out. This action had the not unwelcome result of turning the radicals from his movement.

The knights in 1522 and 1523 used the Lutheran Revolt as a screen to mask a rebellion of their own. Ostensibly seeking to unite and centralize Germany, actually they wished to regain the powers they had lost. A futile attempt at retrogression, the movement failed with the death of the knightly leader, von Sickingen. Luther's round condemnation of it deprived him of the support of this group.

Impelled by the great forces of change and encouraged by the revolt of Luther, the peasantry in 1524 and 1525 rebelled against their masters. That this was a social and economic movement of both urban and rural underprivileged was made clear by the eclectic *Twelve Articles*, its most famous general program. The rebels turned to Luther because he had explicitly and successfully flouted authority, and implicitly exalted the forgotten man. To the pained surprise of the lower classes Luther severely criticized the movement on the very medieval ground that revolt against the State was revolt against God who had established the State. So bitter was their disappointment that the peasantry deemed Luther a traitor and dubbed him a liar. Almost to a man they deserted the Lutheran Church.

The Humanists first hailed the revolutionary Luther with an enthusiasm which waned as he began to set up his own church. At first he had appeared to be the apostle of free inquiry, but as the movement progressed he proved to be violent, dogmatic, and intolerant. After considerable hesitation Erasmus finally condemned Luther and his revolt, and the majority of the Humanists followed their great leader. This was the most important defection of all because the loss of the intellectuals made it impossible for Lutheranism to remain the party of progress.

Five years after its inception Lutheranism had alienated all save the bourgeoisie and a few of the princes. They constituted a very small but disproportionately powerful minority of the German people. Motivated either by sincere faith or by self-interest they joined the Lutheran Church which was consequently strongest in the towns. The creed of the Church was set forth in the Augsburg Confession, written by Luther's colleague, Philip Melanchthon, and presented at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. The fundamental theological differ-

ence between the new faith and the Catholic Church pertained to salvation. The Catholic Church maintained that salvation was to be attained through its instrumentality by means of the sacraments and good works. The Lutheran dogma denied the efficacy of both these, and taught that salvation was to be attained by faith alone. Aside from this major theological difference the new faith bore many traces of its debt to Roman Catholicism. Much of the ritual of the service and not a little of the dogma of the old church were retained in the new. Lutheranism was characterized by a less rigid distinction between laymen and clergymen, and particularly by a popularization of the mass. In church organization, the Lutherans retained some of the hierarchy, changing only the names, but in government Lutheranism was always distinctly national. The secular ruler of a state was the head of the Lutheran Church in that state.

The legal status of Lutheranism was determined by a series of imperial Diets and by a peace following the religio-political Schmalkaldic Wars (1546-1547). The first Diet, held at Speyer in 1526, found Charles V too occupied in fighting against France to attack Lutheranism and the Diet vested in each prince the right to choose whether his state should be Lutheran or Catholic. At a second Diet at Speyer in 1529 and again at the Augsburg Diet in 1530 this decision was reversed and Lutheranism was outlawed. By that time the Emperor had need of the support of the Lutheran middle class so that the laws against the new religion were not strictly enforced. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) returned to the principle of the first Diet of Speyer by reaffirming the right of princely choice. This hopefully named "Peace" was in fact only a truce because of its failure to settle the question of confiscated church property and because it failed to recognize two new faiths, Zwinglianism and Calvinism, which had grown up meanwhile in Switzerland.

The influence of Luther's revolt spread out through Europe like ripples on water. Germany remained the chief seat of Lutheranism but Denmark, Sweden, and Norway became predominantly Lutheran and scattered adherents were to be found almost everywhere. Perhaps of greater importance than the spread of Lutheran churches was the impact of Luther's ideology and the infectious example of a successful revolt. Of all the areas affected, Switzerland was the first to experience a violent reaction.

Sixteenth century Switzerland was a loose confederation of thirteen self-governing cantons. Originally a part of the Holy Roman Empire it had freed itself by a process of slow divorce from all save

a purely nominal allegiance to the emperor. The Swiss were the only free people in Europe. There was sharp cleavage between the agricultural, forest cantons like Uri and Schwyz and the industrialized urban cantons like Zurich and Geneva. The former like most agricultural communities were apathetic if not hostile to change. The latter, more affected by the secularizing Renaissance and commercial revolution, were in a state of flux. Not a land blessed with abundance, Switzerland's leading resource was her young men who hired out as mercenary soldiers. Since the pope often employed Swiss mercenaries, the connection between Switzerland and the Papacy was close, and many Swiss, especially of the forest cantons, were bound to Rome by ties of former service. In contrast a considerable portion of the people deplored the practice of exporting young men on the nationalistic ground that it weakened the state.

Among the voices raised in protest against the custom the loudest was that of Ulrich Zwingli, young preacher of the cathedral church at Zurich. Like his German contemporary, Luther, Zwingli came of peasant stock. He was educated at the universities in Basle and Vienna, and in contrast to Luther's reaction, his studies of the classics and of the New Testament roused an intellectual dissatisfaction with the teachings of the Church. Nevertheless, he entered the service of the Church, but in a carping state of mind. The abuse of indulgences, what he termed the false miracles which unscrupulous monks imposed upon the credulous, and the use of Swiss mercenaries by the pope all aroused his ire.

Long an admirer of Erasmus, Zwingli fell under the influence of Luther after he had been appointed to the church at Zurich. That canton, under his leadership, renounced the authority of its bishop in 1520, and partially accepted the Lutheran dogma of salvation by faith. The forest cantons threatened to attack Zurich, but Zwingli warned them off. Their opposition, however, did have an effect: it drove him farther along the path of revolt. A papal demand for troops in 1521 called forth a fierce denunciation of the Papacy from this recalcitrant son of the Church. Reform and anti-reform factions in Zurich contended until a public hearing was held in 1523 to settle the question. Zwingli, in sixty-seven radical theses which denied the divinity of Christ and the authority of the Church, set forth the case for revolt. His arguments convinced the town council, and Zurich withdrew from the Catholic Church. The break was completed in the following year by abolition of the mass and the destruction of the Catholic shrines.

The revolt spread during the next several years to other industrialized cantons. Berne, Basle, and other cities were won to the support of Zurich and Zwingli. The latter rapidly established himself as the tyrant of Zurich and subordinated the state to the church. In 1529 he forced Zurich and her allies to make war against the Catholic cantons which had leagued themselves with Catholic Austria. Austrian support failed to materialize so the outnumbered Catholics made peace without risking a battle. Two years later the tables were turned. Berne refused to support Zurich and the army of the Catholic cantons triumphed over the Protestants of Zurich in the Battle of Kappel. Zwingli, who had accompanied his army as chaplain, was killed in the fighting. The terms of the subsequent peace were moderate, but the loss of the leader was irreparable and both Zurich and Zwinglianism rapidly declined. Another city, Geneva, and a new sect, Calvinism, became the Protestant leaders of Switzerland.

Zwinglianism was not without influence, although the period of its greatest activity was short. At the least, it added one more sect to the existent confusion; at the most, it served as a forerunner to the Protestantism of Calvin whose dogma showed traces of Zwinglian theology. A case in point and a convenient index of change are the theories of the Eucharist held by the various groups. The Catholic belief, transubstantiation, was that an actual change from the bread and wine to the substance of the body and blood of Christ was effected by the miracle of the mass. Luther denied this and taught the theory of the real presence of Christ within the bread and wine used in the mass. The Zwinglian position was that no change took place in the elements which were only symbolic. The teaching of Calvin, more radical than that of Luther, less radical than that of Zwingli, was that the elements underwent a spiritual change in the celebration of the service.

John Calvin, leader of the more important religious revolt in Switzerland, was born at Noyon, France, in 1509. Calvin's mother died when he was very young, and he was cared for by friends. Lack of parental love and of a real home during his formative years may explain his later haughty sternness and cruel aloofness. Aided by a Church benefice, the medieval equivalent of a modern scholarship, Calvin studied theology at the University of Paris. After receiving his degree he began a study of law and this legal training was later manifest in his theology and in his concise and lucid style. A scholarly student, Calvin's contact with the Humanists led him first to a study of the work of Erasmus and later of Luther. The impact of these



Courtesy of the New York Public Library

JOHN CALVIN

powerful stimuli turned him from Catholicism. In 1533, he felt himself called, to use his own phrase, to leave the Catholic Church. His Protestantism forced him to flee before a wave of persecution which swept over France. He went first to Basle, then to Strasbourg, and finally to Geneva where, except for one short period, he lived out his life.

The city of Geneva, aided by the Protestant city of Berne, established its independence in 1536. Largely for reasons of political expediency, Geneva adopted the faith of its benefactor, and called a fiery French evangelist, William Farel, to be its pastor. The Genevans proved only moderately responsive even to Farel's eloquence, and when his old friend Calvin appeared in the city en route from northern Italy the preacher asked his assistance. Calvin was reluctant to abandon his journey, but yielded finally to Farel's importuning and stayed.

John Calvin came to Geneva with a definitely formulated theory of the proper relations of Church and State, and began at once to translate theory into practice. The State was subordinated to the Church, a form of government known as theocracy, and the whole was subordinated to Calvin. Under him, the most powerful body in Geneva was the Consistory, composed of six ministers and twelve elders of the church. Charged with the administration of an ever-increasing number of severe and comprehensive blue laws, this group exercised the strictest possible surveillance over the private lives of the citizenry. The harsh punishments inflicted for the least infraction of the rigid moral code were administered by the state, acting as a subsidiary of the church. Dancing, card-playing, and the singing of secular songs were forbidden; failure to attend church, and overly luxurious dress were subject to regulation and harsh punishments. Calvin and his Consistory established the most puritanical regime ever seen. Calvin's personal power goes far toward explaining his success in transforming Geneva into his ideal Puritan city, but what may be termed the survival of the fittest was also important. On the one hand, execution and exile ridded the city of those who would not or could not conform to his laws, and on the other hand, Puritans from all over Europe flocked to Geneva to learn at the feet of the master.

Successful tyranny bred in Calvin an insatiable lust for power and he showed himself capable of despicable action to maintain his authority. His persecution of Servetus,¹ and his use of the rack literally to break his opponents, the Libertines, or Free-thinkers, are cases in point. So far-reaching and so petty was his tyranny that the Genevan town council dared not venture to install a new heating apparatus in the town house until he had given it his approval.

The theory of Calvin's theocracy, and his theology, were contained in a remarkable book, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which he wrote and published at Basle in 1536. This original Latin edition was revised, enlarged, and printed in many languages before he died. The *Institutes* contained the first clearly reasoned and logical presentation of the Protestant case, and, as such, proved the most

¹ Servetus is the Latinized name of the Spanish Unitarian, Miguel Serveto (1511-1553). Outwardly a professing Catholic, he secretly wrote a religious treatise in which he denounced the generally held views of the Trinity and of the divinity of Christ. He was so ill-advised as to send a copy of this treatise to Calvin who promptly denounced him to the Catholic authorities of Vienne where he was serving as personal physician to the Catholic archbishop. Forced to flee, Servetus hastened to Geneva and placed himself under the protection of Calvin. The latter promptly tried him for heresy, convicted him, and had him burned at the stake.

effective weapon possessed by the Protestant cause. Calvin sought to reconstruct the bases of primitive Christianity by showing the additions which had been made throughout the centuries to the Apostolic Church. Like Luther, to whom he owed a debt he never acknowledged, Calvin set up the Bible as the supreme authority. From that premise which he deemed infallible he sought by rigid logic to deduce an unchanging dogma.

The focal point of Calvin's theology was the exaltation of God whom he conceived of as the Almighty Will. Source of all thought, of all action, of all moral standards, and of all happiness, Calvin's God was literally omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent. Beside such incomparable power and majesty man was reduced to utter insignificance. Logical corollary of this legalistic conception was the Calvinistic theory of salvation. Rejecting both the Catholic and Lutheran theories, Calvin maintained that salvation was by God's will alone. The destiny of each soul was arbitrarily determined by God at man's birth and no human action could change this predestined fate. The minority to be saved were the "elect," who were said to be in a "state of grace." All others were the "damned." Calvin's precept and example kept this philosophy from resulting in an immoral or amoral society. Thrift, prosperity and ethical conduct were held to be the outward signs of the "state of grace." The very human desire to appear as one of the "elect" did the rest. It should be noted that the Calvinistic gospel of thrift and prosperity was of strong appeal to the rising commercial class, many of whom became ardent Calvinists.

Calvinism, to a far greater degree than Lutheranism, became an international religion. France, which remained staunchly Catholic,¹ felt the impact of the new faith. French Calvinists, known as Huguenots, although they never comprised more than one percent of the total population, won power far beyond the weight of their numbers. Elsewhere in Europe, the northern provinces of the Netherlands became Calvinist in the late sixteenth century. It was for this reason that the English Pilgrims, who also were Calvinists, first sought sanctuary in Holland. In Germany, the leaven of Calvinism produced the "Reformed Church." Never very large in numbers, the German

¹ Effective reforms of ecclesiastical abuses in the late fifteenth century contented the mass of the French people with the Catholic Church. The Concordat of 1516 which vested the appointment of bishops and other important church officials in the French Crown removed the danger of a princely attack on the Church. Henceforward, the Church in France was predominantly national, and mutual support of Crown and Church became traditional.

Calvinists were an added element of trouble in an already badly confused religious situation. Failure to extend the benefits of the Peace of Augsburg to them was one of the major religious causes of the Thirty Years' War.

The chief center of Calvinism beyond Switzerland was Scotland. Introduced by Calvin's stern and tactless disciple, John Knox, the faith rapidly became the religion of the Scottish people. The governing bodies of the churches, and often of the state, were the elders, or presbyters, whence came the name commonly applied to Scottish Calvinism: Presbyterianism. Since the organization of the Presbyterian Church served also as an organization against the hated and distrusted power of England, early Presbyterianism had a strong political tinge. In England itself the violent reaction of Calvinism and Anglicanism caused a schism in the English Church, and produced the father group of the Pilgrims, the Independents. A milder reaction resulted in the formation of a reform group, known as the Low Church or Puritan party, which sought to widen the breach between England and Rome.

Because the original schism between Rome and England was intimately bound up with the divorcing of his Spanish Queen, Katharine of Aragon, by Henry VIII, writers of fiction and partisan history have often confused the issues. More clearly than in any other country, the religious revolt in England was essentially political and nationalistic. It is indubitable that the common economic, social, and intellectual motives were present, but the initial impetus was dynastic necessity and the course was the channel of nationalism.

As early as the fourteenth century the English had signified by regulatory laws their opposition to papal taxation and to the extensive papal jurisdiction. Enforcement of these laws was sporadic, but they were never repealed. Growth of royal power in England was accompanied by sharp collisions between canon law and English common law, a tradition to which the Tudors fell heir. As elsewhere, the ambitious commercial class found papal taxes and ecclesiastical regulation very irksome, and the sight of the rich acres of the Church filled many with greed. Anti-clericalism, which was common among the English people of the sixteenth century, had its roots partly in the recurrent antagonism of the peasants toward their landlords, of which the Church was one, and partly in the rife and disillusioning clerical abuses. England also shared the intellectual quickening of the Renaissance. Indeed, the leader of the English revolt, Henry VIII,



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

HENRY VIII. BY HANS HOLBEIN, THE YOUNGER (1497-1543), IN THE PALAZZO CORSINI, ROME.

During the last decade of his life Holbein was court painter for Henry VIII.

was a product of Renaissance learning and culture. It was none of these factors, however, which precipitated his break with Rome.

When women were held to be inferior to men, the continuation of a dynasty depended on the provision of a male heir to the throne. Failure to have a son meant the end of the dynasty; failure to have a legitimate son was likely to mean a struggle for the throne and consequent civil war. Katharine bore Henry only a daughter, Mary, and when it became apparent that she would not bear him a son, the situation became acute. Henry determined to divorce his queen and remarry in the hope that a legitimate male heir might be forthcoming.

Katharine was the widow of Henry's brother, Arthur, and the divorce was sought on a technical question concerning that mar-

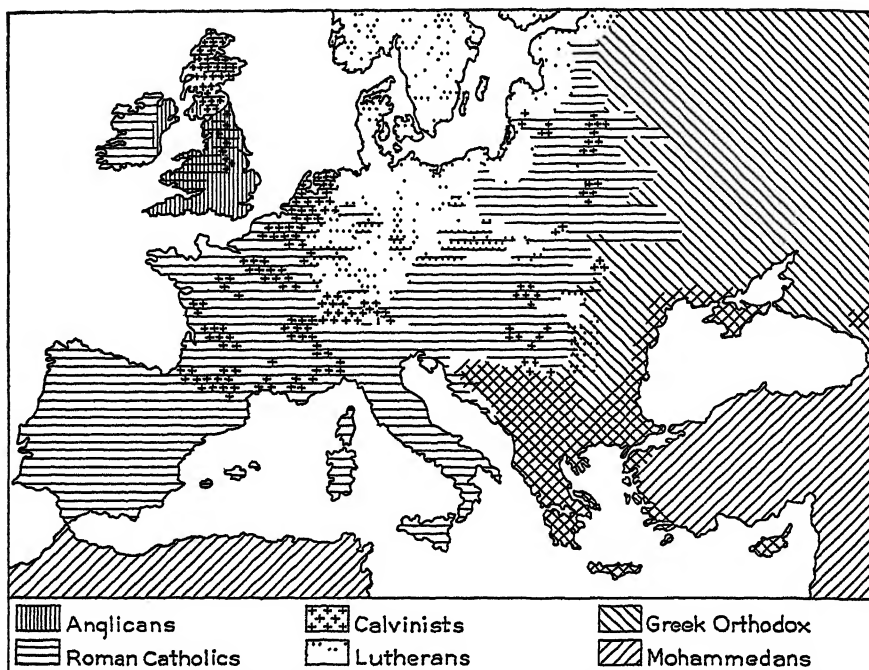
riage. Had it not been for the international ambitions of the Emperor Charles V, nephew of Katharine, and King of Spain, Pope Clement VII might have granted Henry's persuasive appeal. Shortly before the request was made, Charles had captured and sacked Rome. The hapless Pope was forced into a position of utter dependence upon the Emperor. It was obvious that the divorce would have seriously offended the latter, and that Clement dared not do. To be balked by a rival sovereign added nationalistic pride to political expediency. Henry prepared for war with Spain and again besought Clement to release him from Katharine. The inevitable papal refusal merged the problem of divorce from a wife with the larger question of divorce from the Roman Catholic Church. Henry resolved on the desperate measure of denying papal jurisdiction and granting his own divorce.

Pursuant to this plan, in 1531, he demanded that the reluctant English clergy recognize him as head of the church in England. Unable to withstand the pressure he put upon them, the clergy gave him their grudging recognition with an impotent reservation. Two years later Parliament forbade the submission of appeals to the papal court, and three years later, Parliament by legislative act bestowed on Henry the unqualified title of Supreme Head of the Church. That same Parliament also made definitive a conditional act, passed originally in 1532, which forbade the payment of annates to Rome. The climactic year was 1533. Anne Boleyn, whom Henry had chosen to succeed the Queen, became pregnant and to ensure the legitimacy of the child, Henry committed bigamy by marrying her in January of that year. The marriage was kept a close secret because Thomas Cranmer, newly elected Archbishop of Canterbury, had not received the papal bulls of consecration. It is an illuminating commentary upon Henry's theological orthodoxy that he felt it necessary to wait for his archbishop to be confirmed by the very authority he was engaged in flouting. His allegiance to the theology of Catholicism could not have been more clearly shown. Cranmer was consecrated in March and promptly denied further dependence on Rome. At his bidding the now submissive clergy, in April, declared the marriage of Katharine and Henry to be null and void. Two months later Anne was crowned Queen of England, and in September, to Henry's chagrin and disgust, was born a girl child who was named Elizabeth. For this he had suffered excommunication and had run the grave risk of having a crusade launched against his kingdom.

Precedent had proved so useful in denying the political power of the pope that Henry made use of it to effect a settlement of the benefits of Church lands upon the Crown. By decrees passed in 1536 and 1539 the monasteries and convents of England were dissolved and their holdings confiscated by the Crown. To make this act more palatable to his people, Henry explained it on the ground that the immorality of the clergy forced him to it. It was as good an excuse as any. By this act hundreds of religious were forced into the world which they had renounced, and many were reduced to beggary. The needy also suffered severely since, at a stroke, the chief charitable institution of the realm was destroyed. Eventually the state was forced to take over the functions which it had rendered the Church impotent to perform. Henry's action had one more vastly important result. The confiscated lands were sold mostly to the crecive commercial class. This created a vested interest in the continuance of an independent church in England. Not even the hyper-Catholic Mary dared try to regain these lands. As long as they remained in private hands no complete return to the Roman fold was possible.

Despite the completeness of the break with the pope, Henry and his people remained Catholic in theology. Positive proof of this is found in the Six Articles (1539), a law by which the fundamental tenets of Catholicism, including transubstantiation, were maintained. Neither the king nor his subjects found it incongruous that after his revolt from papal authority he continued to use the title, "Defender of the Faith," bestowed on him for an attack upon Luther's apostasy. Nor did Henry permit any deviation from his faith. Failure to conform to the creed set forth in the Six Articles constituted heresy and was treated as such.

At Henry's death in 1547 the crown passed to Edward, his son by his third wife, Jane Seymour. The actual power, however, was in the hands of regents, first the Duke of Somerset and later, the Duke of Northumberland. Acting of course in the name of their sickly boy-king, Edward VI, these men sought to force a doctrinal reformation upon the English people. By legislative acts (1549 and 1552) there was enjoined upon the churches the use of an English prayerbook, written by Archbishop Cranmer. Protestant in tone, the book was much closer to Lutheranism than to Catholicism. Cranmer's masterly prose has won his work an immortality as a gem of English literature. In 1553, last year of Edward's reign, the Six Articles of Henry were replaced by the definitely Protestant Forty-two Articles of Faith. This change in dogma was a premature, state-made



MAP 17. PROTESTANTISM, CATHOLICISM, AND MOHAMMEDANISM
AROUND 1560

reformation which was ill-received by the English people. They were not ready for Protestantism, and the next reign was to prove that they were unwilling to return to the old beliefs.

Mary, daughter of the discarded Katharine, ascended the throne at the death of her half-brother. Her five-year reign was marked by a marriage alliance with Philip II of Spain and by a transient reappearance of Catholicism. Her marriage, which made England virtually a Spanish province, was most unpopular with her subjects. Since Philip was the strongest son of the Catholic Church, their nationalistic hatred of him as a Spaniard tended to produce also a hatred of Catholicism. To the English mind, Catholic became synonymous with foreign, and, conversely, Protestant with English. Once again the tremendous force of nationalism was determining the faith of a nation. Unaware of this, Mary sought to restore the religion of her mother by decrees as despotic as any her father had ever issued. Two Acts of Repeal (1553 and 1555) swept away the theological reforms of Edward, and all the revolutionary politico-religious laws of her father, save those affecting the monasteries. In addition, the pope was again recognized as the head of the Church

of England. The persecutions of heretics which marred the last two years of Mary's reign were only partly due to her religious fervor. Many of them were inspired by Philip in a vain attempt to cow the English people into submission to the half-Spanish crown. This attempt was native to the time but, unfortunately for the sovereigns' Church, Englishmen saw in it further proof that Catholicism was a foreign religion, and a revulsion began against the restored Church. England, too Catholic to follow Edward, was nonetheless too Protestant to follow Mary and Philip.

Mary's death brought to the English throne Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth, last of the Tudor line. Unlike her predecessors, Elizabeth had no strong religious faith, and, what is more, the insecurity of her grasp upon the scepter made it imperative that she unite her people both religiously and politically. She could not afford the luxury of religious intolerance which would alienate either the strong Protestant minority or the Catholic majority among her subjects. Her settlement of the religious question was a broad compromise which, if it did not please a majority of her people, at least did not violently offend them. The Church of England was established by three acts. The Act of Supremacy (1559) again denied papal authority and gave the English Crown jurisdiction over the English Church. Because of her sex, Elizabeth did not assume the title, "Supreme Head of the Church in England," which Henry had used, but she had the power although she lacked the name. The Acts of Uniformity (1559) combined and modified the two Edwardian Acts. The second prayer book was restored with three changes designed to make it more acceptable to the Catholic masses of the people. Lastly, the basis of the Anglican faith was set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles which were adapted from the articles of Edward.

This specially designed church was definitely Protestant without being extremely so. Further from Rome than Lutheranism, it was much more conservative than Calvinism. Broad enough to please all but the extremists, Anglicanism rapidly became the national religion. Proof of its strength was the fact that despite papal bulls and Jesuit proselytizing the number of English Catholics so rapidly declined that by 1585 they constituted less than three percent of the total population of England and Wales. Moreover, Anglicanism became identified with the Crown to the mutual strengthening of both. Uniformity in faith became a test of loyalty to the Crown.



THE BURNING OF SERVETUS

This sixteenth century French caricature shows the burning of Michael Servetus at the stake. See footnote, p. 412.

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Sectarianism

A. THE BASIS OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

It must not be supposed that the Protestant revolutionaries fought for religious tolerance, despite their frequent appeals to individual conscience and individual judgment. When occasion warranted, as they frequently thought it did, they oppressed their enemies with as much fury and vengeance as the Church which they condemned. Witness the cruel burning of Servetus by John Calvin, or Luther's denunciation of the Anabaptists, or the Puritan attacks upon non-conformists in New England. Instead of inaugurating an era of religious toleration, the first fruit of the Protestant Revolution was a wave of uncompromising religious fanaticism which swept aside all hope of religious tranquillity. Protestants, as well as Catholics, were convinced that they held a monopoly upon truth and would brook no deviation, whatever might be the costs.

Yet unconsciously and quite unintentionally, the Protestant revolutionaries helped prepare the way for religious toleration. Their continuous assertion of the rights of individual conscience and individual judgment, though at first honored more in the breach than in the observance, was eventually bound to influence opinions. Certainly it provided the justification for the establishment of many small sects within the Protestant fold. The constantly growing number of these, each claiming a monopoly of truth, made many skeptical of the claims of all. The Protestant revolution shattered the religious uniformity which had obtained during the Middle Ages and thus helped give rise to a belief that in religion, truth was a probability. This lesson had to be learned before religious tolerance was possible. It was learned slowly, to be sure, for experience and tradition could not be obliterated in a decade or even a century.

In fact, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the

desire to enforce religious views prevailed. The governments accepted oppression of religious minorities as one of their duties and forcefully sought to achieve religious uniformity at home and abroad. The result was widespread persecution and religious wars. But even these contributed eventually to the general cause of religious tolerance, for they demonstrated not only their costliness but also their utter futility. The Spanish crown lost one of its most prized possessions, was reduced and humbled because of it; Germany was impoverished and depopulated without any religious faction having gained the ascendancy. Local persecutions produced substantially the same results. Religious minorities could oftentimes be forced to change their religion outwardly but there could be no guarantee that their convictions had changed, and the task of suppressing them often had to be repeated. Complete annihilation or enforced exile might eliminate the dissidents, but it was soon discovered that it also deprived the state of active and industrious peoples.

As intolerance proved futile and expensive so it was shown that toleration paid. Religious peace in Holland, for example, was no small factor in accounting for its prosperity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when other states indulged themselves in the luxuries of religious strife. Probably the greatest demonstration of the material benefits to be realized from religious toleration were demonstrated by the Electors of Brandenburg-Prussia in the seventeenth century. By being willing to invite the exiled Huguenots of France into their dominions, they raised the level of their economic life and thus gradually prepared Prussia for the ascendancy it was to enjoy in the Germanies in the era of Frederick the Great.

Simultaneously, many of the economic and social developments of the times broadened the foundations for religious tolerance. The extension of commerce, with its emphasis upon things material, helped to divert attention from religious strife. Improved facilities of communication, encouraging travel and intercourse among peoples, together with the dissemination of knowledge made possible through the printing press, helped break down the provincialism of medieval life. Knowing others is to understand them, and to understand them is to tolerate their views. The increasing cosmopolitanism of early modern times was therefore a boon to religious peace.

Even before the gathering material forces of the age brought their full influence to bear, and before sad experience with religious intolerance taught its futility, a broad theory of tolerance was taking form in intellectual circles and was gaining converts. Rational defense

of toleration is essential to its realization. The men of learning who produced this therefore contributed no small share to ultimate victory. It is significant that most of these exponents of toleration were members of smaller religious communities exposed to oppression, and that they were citizens of countries in which personal liberties were most fully protected. None came from Spain and almost none from the Germanies, but in Holland and England and to a lesser degree in France, they were fairly numerous. Of these, special mention should be made of Benedict Spinoza, Dutch philosopher of Jewish extraction; John Milton, English poet and a Puritan; and Montaigne, the great French skeptic.

The views which these men held differed in detail, but they reflected the potent spirit of developing science which was attacking the foundations of dogmatic religion and demonstrating ever more clearly the virtues of reason. They asserted that religion was a matter of opinion, and that therefore not force but merely persuasion must be employed in its behalf. They declared it absurd that the Christian doctrine which taught love and peace should be twisted to defend hate and war. They emphasized the fact that in the fundamental matter of salvation, the differences between the sects were minor and unimportant, and that therefore the conflict over such issues as creed and formality was wholly unreasonable. Some of them even advanced the opinion that religion was not the business of the state, and called for unlimited tolerance of all kinds of religious opinions; but the number of these was few. The extent of tolerance which most were willing to grant was measured by political considerations. Hence the English theorists, depending upon their own convictions, would exclude atheists, Protestant dissenters, and Papists.

The accumulation of all these intellectual, social, and material forces eventually culminated in widespread religious tolerance. When this was achieved, it was nothing really new for the citizens of ancient Greece and ancient Rome had long enjoyed it, but it was new to Christian civilization. From the beginning of the middle ages, adherence to established doctrine had been regarded not only as essential to individual salvation but as the highest social good. Persecution and oppression of religious minorities had therefore been regarded as disagreeable necessities, and were confirmed by established law. To break this tradition was then, as it still is today, an extremely difficult task. It was not accomplished until conflict between the Protestant sects and the Catholic Church, strengthened and revived by the Catholic Reformation, had taken the lives of hundreds of thou-

sands, and demonstrated its futility. But the lesson then learned has not been wholly forgotten. Persecution such as there is now, and there is much of it, to be sure, is based not upon religious non-conformity but upon political, economic, and social issues.

B. REFORM IN THE CHURCH

The victories won by the Protestant revolutionaries were so sweeping as to incite wonder that they were halted. This seems especially surprising in the case of Italy which appeared peculiarly open to German influence because of its many commercial bonds. Then, too, Italy, like Germany, was politically disunited—a factor which had facilitated the German movement. Italians did, of course, feel some of the effects of the upheavals across the Alps, but in the end they repudiated any similar change. Long examination of the problem by many scholars has revealed the reasons for Italian steadfastness to the Catholic Church.

Of paramount importance was the continuing loyalty of the vast majority of Italians to Roman Catholicism. For one thing, most of these people were peasants, always slow to abandon the old for the new. The old faith had served their fathers and grandfathers and they saw no reason to change. The social and economic motives so important in bringing the revolts of the German peasantry were lacking in Italy. The average lower class Italian had been affected little, if at all, by the Renaissance. That great development was primarily one of the privileges of leisure and wealth and the Italian peasant had neither. Moreover, Italian humanism never became the reforming force that northern humanism did. Italian humanists were esthetes, classicists, and individualists, not reformers. With their insistence upon the perfectibility of man, they could not accept the Lutheran and Calvinistic dogma that human efforts had no merit in the winning of salvation. Born in the Church, most Italian humanists remained loyal to it. Some gave it only formal heed, but others were sincerely devoted. This latter group frequently formed organizations consecrated to the furtherance of their religion. Typical of many such groups was the "Oratory of Divine Love," founded at Rome during the pontificate of Leo X, and dedicated to the revitalization of the Church through reform.

The political disunity of Italy seemed greater than it was. The divided Italian states were too weak to withstand the power of Spain

which was rapidly bringing all of the peninsula under her domination. More fiercely than Italy, Spain remained a Catholic country. The Spanish peasant was of no mind to rebel even had the chance offered—which it did not, and the bonds between the Church and the Spanish Crown were old and strong. It was the Church which had made possible the nationalistic and economic victory of the Crown over the Moor and the Jew and which now greatly strengthened royal absolutism by its insistence upon divine-right monarchy. The zeal of the Crown for the Church was rooted in gratitude and keen self-interest as well as in pious devotion.

The fact that the seat of the Papacy was in Italy also acted as a powerful deterrent upon revolution especially after the character of the popes abruptly changed for the better with the election of Paul III (1534-1549). Paul himself was a transitional figure. Eager to do his duty, he was sincerely desirous of raising the moral tone of the curia, and though he was guilty of some typical Renaissance deviations from the strait and narrow, he did much to accomplish his aim. At the least, he established the papacy upon a new and higher plane below which it has never since descended.

From these sources of strength and from the revival of asceticism which found expression in the establishment of many new religious orders, came the Catholic Reformation. The Protestant Revolt was undeniably a factor, but only one of many. Catholic reform had begun in Spain before the Revolts, and the latter acted primarily as stimulants. The impulse of self-preservation is discoverable in institutions, as well as in individuals, and the Church's very existence had been threatened. That a thorough reform was the best antidote for Protestantism was obvious, but there were many difficulties to be surmounted before reform was possible. Lack of leadership was perhaps foremost but that lack was supplied by Paul and his successors. Proposals for improvement, made before the various fifteenth century councils, failed primarily because their members feared any reforms which inevitably would have curtailed their personal powers. Paul and the popes after him finally rid themselves of this incubus of vested corruption by improving the quality of church officialdom through careful appointments. Headed by a purified Papacy, the hierarchy rapidly improved in both morals and morale. Political complications had also operated in the past to prevent a reform in the Church. This difficulty the new leadership managed to surmount by a policy of judicious opportunism. Reforms were pushed when



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IGNATIUS LOYOLA

conditions were favorable, dropped when they were not. Chief instruments of the purge were the Society of Jesus, the Council of Trent, and the Inquisition and Index.

The Society of Jesus, more popularly known as the Jesuit Order, was founded by a *quondam* Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556). His military career cut short by a wound, Loyola determined to become a soldier of the Cross. When he discovered that he was handicapped by lack of education, Loyola courageously began at the bottom to remedy the want. In due time he became a student at the University of Paris and it was there that he and a small group of like-minded zealots banded together in 1534 to carry Catholicism to the Moslems. Pursuant to this pledge, the little band gathered at Venice in 1537 but a war between the Venetians and the Turks prevented their departure for the East. It had been agreed previously that should this plan fail, the group would place itself at the disposal

of the pope. Loyola now did so and a papal bull in 1540 gave formal recognition to the Order.

The outstanding characteristics of the Jesuit Order, and the main-springs of its strength, were its rigid military discipline and the excellent training it gave its members. The period of novitiate was two years and of training about twelve; only then did the candidate become a full-fledged Jesuit. The leader, called the general, the provincial heads and the rectors of the houses were all chosen by the general congregation of the Order. All members were solemnly bound to give unquestioning obedience to their superiors. Wherever the Jesuits went—and they went everywhere—they carried their insistence upon rigid obedience and upon education. Their zeal and their valor won them merited renown. They became the zealous “shock troops” of the Catholic Church, often going into countries where a Protestant majority had decreed death to all their kind, and where discovery meant instant execution. They went as missionaries and explorers to the far places of the earth—the Americas, China, Japan, and the islands of the East. They became the finest teachers and educators in the world and their schools were respected even by their enemies. Figuratively and literally, the Jesuits won back lost ground and checked the spread of Protestantism. As much as any other single factor, this compact, efficient, and devoted army revitalized the Catholic Church.

Six years after he had given formal recognition to the Jesuits, Pope Paul summoned a general council of the Church to meet at Trent for the dual purpose of ridding the Church of corruption and laying a firm foundation for an attack upon Protestantism. The first session of the Council opened at Trent late in 1545, was transferred to Bologna in 1547 and adjourned two years later. At the insistence of the emperor, the council was again convoked at Trent in 1551 and remained in session until political unrest caused its adjournment in the year following. The third and final session was opened a decade later and was finally dissolved in 1563. The interrupted course of the Council of Trent bears witness to the problems which faced it. Not only were there the great questions of reform and of Protestantism, but there were also internecine struggles for power between the popes and the Council, and between the popes and the emperors. By careful manipulation, including adjournment when necessary, the Papacy successfully maintained its hegemony of the Church. Compromises were made, many of them, but withal the successive popes skillfully made the Council an organ of the papal will.

The accomplishments of the Council may be summarized under three major heads. First, the basic doctrines of Catholicism were clarified and reaffirmed so that its creed became a model of unity in contrast to Protestant diversity. Despite some ambiguity, these doctrinal pronouncements have largely remained the best statement of Catholic theology. Secondly, the flagrant abuses were rectified by sweeping reform decrees and by setting up machinery to carry them out. Not the least important part of this machinery were seminaries which were established for the training of priests. Thirdly, heresy was roundly condemned and a vigorous attack launched against it. The tradition of enforcing conformity by means of trials for heresy was revived and the Church resumed her persecuting and proselytizing. It must in fairness be noted that the Protestants were guilty of like intolerance.

The Council of Trent as part of its war against abuses and heresies published a list of books which Catholics were forbidden to read. Such attempts to mold men's thoughts were not new; the burning of heretical manuscripts had long been a common practice of the Church. The development of printing made such censorship more important and in the late fifteenth century and the sixteenth century both Church and kings sought to limit the printing and distribution of books judged to be dangerous. The first general catalogue, or *Index*, of forbidden books was issued by imperial order in the Netherlands in 1546, and a similar *Index* was issued at Rome at about the same time. The *Index* promulgated by the Council of Trent was stricter and more comprehensive than the earlier ones, and a special body was later set up to keep the list up to date. *Indexes* are still issued by the Roman Catholic Church but the same emphasis is no longer placed upon them. Whether or not the *Index* really served its purpose is a moot question. It is probable that it enabled the Catholic Church more effectively to mold the minds of the faithful, but it is doubtful if it accomplished more than that. Fortunately there is no wholly effective antiseptic against the infection of ideas, and no permanently effective method of enchaining thought. If there were, all the world would be authoritarian and liberty a farce.

Catholics and Protestants both resorted to force to achieve conformity but the odium of such action has been attached chiefly to the former, since its persecutions were more consistent and more effective, though not more brutal. Much of this unfortunate and only partially justified reputation was due to the operation of the Spanish and Roman *Inquisitions*. The medieval Church had frequently made

use of Inquisitorial Courts, and the Spanish Inquisition antedated the Protestant Revolutions by a generation. With the threat of Protestantism, however, it became much more terrible, frequently defying both royal and papal commands. Actually less than two thousand Protestants were executed by the Inquisition in sixteenth century Spain. It was chiefly concerned with heresies and other crimes within the Catholic fold. The accused had little chance since his guilt was already assumed. If he hesitated to confess, brutal tortures were applied. Acquittals were rare and punishments, which were inflicted by the state at the Inquisition's orders, ranged from whipping to burning at the stake. Such executions were termed *autos-da-fé* (acts of faith) and were commonly presented as gruesome holiday spectacles for the crowd. The Spanish Inquisition was operative only in Spain and some of her possessions, and the Roman Inquisition only in parts of Italy. Several Catholic countries repudiated this system and refused to permit its establishment. It should be noted that the methods of the Inquisition differed from those of civil courts only in scope and efficiency. Its notoriety is due largely to the feelings of horror roused in more humanitarian periods by records of its cruelty, and by the fact that it was sponsored by the Church which claimed to be the instrument of God's gentle forgiveness.

By the opening of the seventeenth century, Protestantism had been well established and Roman Catholicism,¹ recovering from the shock of the revolutions, had put its house in order. Doctrinally, there were still many similarities between the two since much of Protestantism had been borrowed. Belief in the Trinity, in the theory of original sin and of salvation, and in heaven and hell remained common to Catholics and most Protestants. The most fundamental theological differences between them were on the question of authority, the acceptance of the sacraments, and the way of salvation. The Catholics insisted that authority rested wholly with the infallible Church, a point of view which laid great emphasis upon uniformity. The Protestants set up the Bible as the final source of authority and though few of them were prepared to admit it, this implied an inherent right of individual interpretation which could result only in increasing diversity. The Catholic Church clung to the seven sacra-

¹ Orthodox Catholicism differed from Roman Catholicism chiefly in its refusal to admit the divine right of the pope to govern the church. There were also minor differences in dogma and ritual. The sixteenth century saw the practical nationalization of the Orthodox Church into Russian and Greek branches. The two contended with each other in the Balkans. Hereafter, the terms Catholic and Catholicism will be used in reference only to the Roman Catholic Church.

ments; the Protestants ranged from a denial of all sacraments to an acceptance of several. The Catholic teaching continued to be that man was saved by participation in the sacraments. Lutherans taught salvation by faith in Christ, Calvinists by predestination, and Anglicans by an apparent combination of both.

There was sharp cleavage between Catholic and Protestant, and wide divergences among the Protestants themselves on matters of ecclesiastical organization and administration. The organization of the Catholic Church remained a compact, neatly graded hierarchy with control vested in a professional class, the clergy. Protestant churches ranged from hierarchical, as in the Anglican, to congregational control, as in the Calvinist groups. By and large, however, laymen were much more important and powerful in the Protestant church governments.

Because of the presence of religious minorities in all countries, and in the absence of complete statistics, it is impossible to give an accurate picture of the territorial division of Europe among the various religions. Speaking in general terms only, Catholicism was dominant in: France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Poland; and in the southern portions of Germany, Ireland, and the Netherlands. Anglicanism was centered in England. Switzerland, Scotland, eastern Germany, the north of Ireland, and the northern provinces of the Netherlands were Calvinistic. Lutheranism was largely confined to Prussia, Scandinavia, and northern Germany.

The student who seeks to discover and summarize the changes wrought by the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century faces a difficult task. The movements were so complex and their ramifications so extensive that one must constantly guard against exaggerating their influence. Conversely, there are few things which were not affected by them directly or indirectly. Sound judgment would seem to dictate a middle course between these two extremes and to emphasize the fact that the great trends discussed below were concomitants as well as consequences of the religious developments.

Nationalism, for example, existed long before the sixteenth century and was one of the major causes of the Protestant Revolts, yet it was greatly strengthened in consequence thereof. Protestant churches were frequently bent to the service of the State. In Lutheran countries, the ruler of the state was by that very fact also head of the church. This revival of an ancient relationship measurably strengthened the power of the secular ruler by adding the moral authority of the church to his other attributes. The confiscation of church

lands in all Protestant countries commonly enriched the State and its princes and thus augmented national strength. It has been pointed out that in England loyalty to Anglicanism was identified with loyalty to the Crown to the reciprocal advantage of both. Even the Catholic Church tended to become nationalized in organization and administration. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges¹ and the Concordat of Bologna (1516), which gave the French Crown the right to choose the more important members of the French clergy, virtually created a Catholic Church of France. The same tendency, though to a lesser degree, was apparent in the other Catholic countries, and increasingly, Catholicism reflected nationalistic differences.

Intolerance, also, had been evident long before the sixteenth century, but it, too, was intensified by the irreparable religious schism. The ideal of unity and the ambition for universality continued to exist among all sects. Each claimed a monopoly of truth and each became a persecuting sect to prove the truth of its claim. Instead of one church demanding the adherence of all, many churches demanded it. The result was a cruel intolerance which harried all those who would not or could not conform to the dominant group. Tolerance has not yet been achieved, though intolerance has decreased since religion has ceased to be of paramount importance to the majority of men. Tolerance, in other words, is a by-product of secularization to which the Protestant Revolution contributed much.

In considering the relations between the religious changes and the growth of democracy, it is necessary to draw a distinction between the revolutionaries and the movements which they began. The former were bound by their times, the latter were not. Both Luther and Calvin were autocratic, both preached the necessity of obedience, yet Luther's action in defying the pope belied his words, and Calvin taught that sovereignty resides in the people. Most of the Protestant sects laid great emphasis upon the right of free inquiry and the priesthood of all believers. Insistence upon the former implied individual liberty; upon the latter, the equality of all men. Moreover, the congregational form of church government offered excellent training in political self-government. It is not to be deduced, however, that democracy either came solely from Protestantism or followed directly upon its appearance. Other factors intervened to strengthen or vitiate the implications of the Protestant demands and actions.

Individualism, thus implicitly stressed by the revolutionaries, had far more than political implications. To the Catholic denunciations

¹ See p. 280.

of the taking of interest as usury, it opposed the Calvinistic doctrine that such practice should be determined by personal conscience and thereby furthered the growth of capitalism. Moreover, the Calvinistic belief that prosperity was one evidence of "election" stimulated individual enterprise and put a premium upon individual thrift and business sagacity. Similar emphasis upon individual judgment in other fields spread and popularized the humanistic character of the Renaissance. Denial of traditional authority forced men to think for themselves. To the masses this was perhaps more of a burden than a blessing, but to the intelligent minority it was the blood of life itself.

The most significant of all the results of the religious upheavals was the increase of secularism. During the Protestant Revolutions the Catholic Church was stripped of many of its possessions, some of its functions, and much of its hold on men's minds. The Catholic Reformation only partially recovered these losses. The confiscation of Church lands by Protestant princes increased the latter's wealth and power at the expense of the former. When these lands were used to endow Protestant churches, the Catholic Church was further weakened by this strengthening of her opponents. Frequently, as was the case with the confiscated monasteries in England, these lands were sold to laymen, thereby filling the royal coffers and creating a group whose wealth and well-being depended upon a continuance of Protestantism.

Throughout the medieval period, the Church had performed notable social service in the fields of education, charity, and public health. These services the Church, deprived of property and authority, was no longer able to perform in Protestant countries. The Protestant churches assumed some of the burden but increasingly the state was forced to shoulder it. From this necessity there grew, in time, public schools, supported and controlled by the state; public measures for the relief of the poor; and secular laws for the control of sanitation and hygiene. Cases in point are the first Protestant school founded by laymen, which was established at Magdeburg in 1524, and the numerous statutes passed by Elizabeth of England for the oversight and care of the poor. Similar secularization in Catholic countries was delayed for more than two centuries.

Hardest of all to assess, was the secularization of the mind due in part to the continuing spirit of the Renaissance, in part to Protestant individualism, and in part to the shattering of the ecclesiastical claim to supernatural powers. Religion long continued to be a dominating force, but it had lost its pre-eminence. Slowly, but in increasing

numbers, men turned their attention from the *hereafter* to the *here*. So revolutionary a change did not—could not—come at once. Rather it was the work of centuries. The church still continues to press its claims, but with diminishing success.

No summary of the effects of the religious upheavals would be complete without reference to their effects upon the arts. The architecture and the painting of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, known as baroque from the Spanish word *barroco*, meaning a huge, irregularly shaped pearl, mirror the changing needs of state and church and the troubled character of the newly secularized society. Both in sculpture and architecture, baroque was distinguished by exaggeration of form and decoration. Buildings and their ornaments became, in effect, weapons of propaganda to win supporters by impressing men with the pomp and power of the institutions which erected them. The Jesuits, especially, made such wide use of the style that their name is sometimes substituted for "baroque." The popularly used phrase, "the Jesuit church," is likely to refer to a baroque building. The state, too, sought to make an impression upon its subjects by erecting ornately designed and lavishly decorated buildings. The style spread all over Europe, but its homeland was the south, and its pioneer was an Italian, Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini (1590-1680). The colonnades and the bronze canopy of St. Peter's in Rome are his work, as are also many of the impressive fountains of the city.

Spain, fatherland of Loyola whose Jesuits were so much responsible for the wide employment of the baroque style, was also the home of the most typically baroque artists. In painting as in building, the baroque reflects the emotionalism and the religious intensity of the age. One of the first and greatest exponents of the style was Domenico Theotocopuli, born a Cretan and known in his adopted country of Spain as El Greco (c. 1548-1625). Colors and forms are deliberately exaggerated in his work in order to arouse a more intense emotional response. Others of this Spanish school of the baroque were: Murillo (1617-1682), whose religious paintings were intended to appeal to the masses; Zurbarán (1598-1662), depicter of monks whose faces were marked with fanatical piety; and de Ribera (1588-1658), famed for his spectacular treatment of Christian martyrdoms. Contemporary with these men, but lacking their extreme religiosity, was Diego Velasquez (1599-1660), whose superb portraits reflect the aristocratic character of the Spanish grandes who led the Catholic counterattack.



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

BURIAL OF THE COUNT D'ORGAZ. BY EL GRECO (DOMENICO THEOTOCOPULI) (1542-1614). S. TOME, TOLEDO.

A Cretan by birth, El Greco studied with Titian in Venice and with Michelangelo in Rome but settled in Spain to paint in his own style. He probably gives the best expression of the fanatical zeal of the Spaniards in the times of the great Inquisition. El Greco closely followed the prescription of the vicar of S. Tomé in this painting of the miracle of the Burial of the Count d'Orgaz. Saints Augustine and Stephen appear before the assembled company, lifting the body for burial, while the soul is borne to heaven. St. Peter with his keys, St. John, the Virgin, the Apostles, many of the blessed, and Christ may be seen. The elongation of forms seems to emphasize the spiritual intensity of El Greco's work.



Courtesy of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

INNOCENT X. PORTRAIT BY (?) VELASQUEZ (1599-1660).

This portrait of the Farnese Pope is said to be a life study for the seated figure shown in the Doria Gallery, Rome. The vigorous sketch shows Velasquez' skill with the brush and his keen observation. He has been called the first impressionist.

It was to be expected that the Spanish baroque would find its way into the northern possessions of the Hapsburgs. The outstanding Flemish master was Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Like the great figures of the Renaissance, Rubens was a versatile genius, winning fame as a scholar and a statesman as well as an artist. His work combines some of the religiosity of Murillo with the aristocratic tone of Velasquez, but he was far more than a mere imitator. His paintings have a fire and a vitality that mark him as one of the great.

Neighbors to Flanders but as different in art as in politics and



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE ANATOMY LESSON. BY REMBRANDT HARMENSZOOM VAN RIJN (1606-1669). ROYAL PICTURE MUSEUM, THE HAGUE.

Rembrandt's genius was recognized early. In 1632, the Amsterdam Surgeons asked him to paint an anatomy lesson for their Guild room. There is skillful grouping and expressive rendering of the individual heads.

religion were the Protestant Dutch Netherlands, only recently freed from Spain. Dutch Calvinism had no place for the flamboyant "Jesuit art," and the proud and dominant bourgeoisie no sympathy for the aristocratic tradition of the Spanish school. Yet Dutch art, despite its secularity and its reflection of bourgeois rather than noble society, was baroque in its emotionalism and in its wide use of the diagonal composition. Greatest of the Dutch painters and one of the masters of all times, was Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn (1606-1669). To compress the story of his mastery of technique into a few words is impossible, but, fortunately, his genius and his enduring fame rest less on technical skill than on the understanding, human qualities of his work. Portraits or groups, etchings or oils, Rembrandt's pictures vibrate with life and with an inner quality which cannot be caught in words. More skillfully and more successfully than his pious Spanish contemporaries, this unchurchly man caught something of the universal truth and fixed it on his canvas in a way that reaches the heart. Baroque had nothing finer to offer.

C. THE CONFUSION OF RELIGION AND POLITICS

Because of deeply rooted traditions it was natural that the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century should have been accompanied by a political upheaval equally profound and significant. Men still thought of politics in terms of religion and of religion in terms of politics. To separate the one from the other seemed unnatural and wholly unreasonable. Religious uniformity was considered a prerequisite to political solidarity, and a strong state was believed necessary to ensure religious tranquillity. It did not seem improper, therefore, that dissenters should be oppressed or harried out of the land in England, that the Huguenots should be driven from pillar to post in France, that Catholic and Protestant princes should oppress non-conformists in Germany, or that the Inquisition should be made more efficient to stamp out Moors, Jews, and Catholic heretics in Spain. Such policies were always seconded by churchmen who felt that force alone could make the truth prevail. What is certainly more significant is the fact that the majority of the people acquiesced, partly through indifference but more because of tradition and usage.

This confusing intermixture of political and religious elements operated not only to influence the character of domestic government, but it also profoundly affected international relations. If religious uniformity at home was held essential to domestic peace, it followed logically that religious uniformity abroad was believed indispensable to international peace. At all events, the desire to establish such religious uniformity was often made the moral excuse for an aggressive adventure against one's non-conforming neighbors. Religion could cloak the most selfish political ambitions as the so-called religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrate.

All political thinking was clouded with religious preoccupations. Catholics or Protestants could defend arbitrary government or denounce it with equal fervor, depending upon which enjoyed ascendancy and stood to profit most from absolute princely authority. Each in his own interests could claim divine origin of political power and defend oppression of religious enemies on the ground that the will of God was being realized. But if one happened to be the victim of such oppression, he could denounce the prince as a tyrant who frustrated God's will out of selfish motives and endangered his sub-

jects' salvation. Against such sovereigns popular rebellion or the assassin's dagger was an absolute if painful necessity. Whether one supported established authority or preached revolution was determined largely by one's religious views and especially by the extent to which these views were enforced upon or denied to others. It is significant that minority factions, whether Catholic or Protestant, were usually on the side of revolution. Thus the Calvinist Huguenots of France advanced arguments to support the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and asserted the right of the community of individuals to independent government. For the same reason, Catholic theorists defended attacks upon established authority. Perhaps the most interesting example of this type of religio-political speculation is to be found in the writings of Mariana (1536-1624), a Spanish Jesuit¹ who advocated tyrannicide as the most effective means of disposing of a prince who, through his religious policies, threatened his people with eternal damnation. Mariana, like many other Catholics, was convinced that the widespread denunciations of papal supremacy in his time were due to princely selfishness and not to popular desire. To save the people who were not responsible for the tyrant's course, which would nevertheless lead them to damnation, it was desirable and necessary that the tyrant be killed. What was right and proper for government in this age was obviously determined by one's religious predilections.

Every state in Europe witnessed the unhappy conflict between religious sects, and in all of them religion and politics became badly confused. Spain was merely the most striking example. Here the traditions of centuries had operated to establish a close bond between Church and State. From the eighth century, when the Moslem Moors had conquered most of the peninsula, the ever-expanding Christian communities of Spain had conducted the offensive against the infidel. Church and State alike stood to profit from success. Little wonder, therefore, that the clergy encouraged the ambitions of Christian princes, or that the princes came to regard the Church as their most useful ally. The alliance thus arranged on the basis of mutual self-interest did not always produce reciprocal advantages. As the frontiers of the Mohammedan receded, the powerful princes, following the example of their Christian brothers elsewhere, set forth to bend the Church to their will. Without renouncing their faith, they made the Church an instrument of the State, which in turn was obedient to the Crown.

¹ Mariana's teachings were condemned by his own Order.

It was during the late fifteenth century that this union of Church and Crown in the latter's interest was completed. In 1469, the ruling families of Aragon and Castile were united through the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, who subsequently completed the territorial unification of the peninsula by conquering Granada from the Moors in 1492. Simultaneously, these sovereigns subdued the nobility, expanded the central government, and enlarged the royal powers. As elsewhere, the establishment of royal absolutism necessitated the subordination of the Church, though in this case it was achieved without a serious struggle. Ferdinand and Isabella were genuinely religious, and at their behest the pope gave the Crown almost complete control over religious affairs. Almost at once they set out to reform the Church, at the same time reviving the medieval Inquisition and driving thousands of Jews from the kingdom. In all of this there was a curious mixture of real religious devotion and political cunning. National unity was to be made more secure by religious unity.

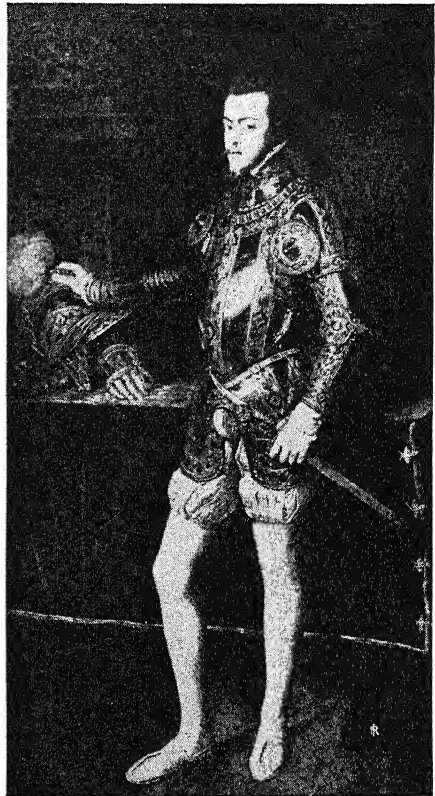
There was no alteration of this policy after the deaths of Ferdinand and Isabella, for their grandson and heir, Charles I, was by nature and inheritance devotedly attached to the twin causes of the Catholic religion and royal absolutism. It was this Charles who by the fortune of birth became Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, and prince of the Netherlands, as well as king of Spain and its growing possessions beyond the seas. Little interested in his Spanish inheritance to begin with, except for the resources which it could bring him, and deeply absorbed by the complicated affairs of the continent during the period of the Protestant Revolution, Charles rarely visited Spain and almost never took a direct hand in its affairs. It was with genuine relief that he bestowed the Spanish crown together with that of the Netherlands and certain of his possessions in the Italian peninsula on his son Philip II in 1555 and 1556.

Philip II (1556-1598) ascended the throne at the time when Spain was regarded as the greatest power in Europe. Her explorers had planted the Spanish flag in remote regions of the world, from which an unprecedented stream of wealth flowed into the mother country. Her dynasty was directly related to the imperial Austrian Hapsburgs, partaking of its glories but also, unfortunately, of its troubles and misfortunes. Her armies were reputedly the most efficient on the continent, and her navy practically dominated the seas. That much of this prestige was based upon an insubstantial social, economic, and political foundation was not fully appreciated either in

Spain or abroad. Appearance was confused with reality. Fundamentally, Spain was too weak to endure the burdens of greatness. Her small population had been deprived of much of its best man power in fighting the wars of central Europe for Charles V, to say nothing of the drain upon her meager resources occasioned by these foreign enterprises. Agriculture was poorly organized and the peasants were victimized by the nobility. Her productive facilities and internal financial stability were jeopardized by the persistent persecution of the Moriscos and the Jews. All the precious booty of the new world could not repair these deficiencies.

Philip was endowed with none of the qualities of statesmanship necessary to see and repair these crumbling foundations. A patriotic Spaniard, conscientious and industrious in the exercise of his duties as he understood them, he lacked vision, foresight, and understanding. He allowed the economic condition of the country to deteriorate while he enlarged the royal powers and sought with sincere devotion to the Church to guarantee religious unity by force. His foreign policy, largely determined by religious considerations, embroiled his people in costly foreign adventures which ultimately spelled their ruin. When Philip died Spain was already rapidly descending to the position of a second- or third-rate power.

Nothing betrays more clearly his shortsighted zeal in the cause of the faith than the policies which he pursued in the Netherlands. This prosperous possession on the North Sea was not a dependency



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PHILIP II. BY TITIAN (TIZIANO VECELLI) (1477-1576). PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID.

This portrait was done 1550-1551 on Titian's second visit to Augsburg, in response to Charles V's urgent and repeated entreaties. It was sent to England in 1553 during the marriage negotiations between Philip and Mary Tudor.

of the Spanish Crown but a territory which had come by chance to share the same sovereign. The people, jealous of their traditional independence, regretted that fate had thrown them to Philip whom they heartily disliked, a feeling which Philip, incidentally, reciprocated. They had endured the heavy demands of Charles V for they regarded him as one of themselves, but they found it intolerable to supply Spain and a foreign prince with financial resources. Most of all, a strong and growing faction of Protestants there feared Philip's obvious plan of enforcing the Catholic doctrine upon them. Philip did nothing to dispel fear and dislike, but did much to accentuate them. He tampered with the local liberties of the provinces, made heavy exactions upon their subjects, quartered Spanish troops among them, and through the Inquisition attempted forcefully to impose Catholicism. Opposition to these measures did not at first take the form of open rebellion, but in 1566, when Philip had at long last agreed to lift the Inquisition, accumulating discontent among the Protestant element flared into an ugly and destructive insurrection. Abandoning all pretense of concession with this incident, Philip reinforced the troops in the provinces and despatched the Duke of Alva, Spain's ablest general, to command them. Alva established an arbitrary tribunal, popularly known as the "Council of Blood," to bring to execution thousands who were accused of treason, and he imposed enormous taxes upon the citizenry to force them into submission. Against such measures Catholics and Protestants alike united in revolution under the leadership of William the "Silent," Prince of Orange (1533-1584). The rebels were deficient in numbers and equipment but they more than compensated for this in fighting skill and strategy. Alva soon tired of the struggle with them and in 1573 requested that he be retired. Three years later, to show how completely the Spanish policy had failed, deputies of the seventeen provinces united to pledge continued resistance against Philip until the Inquisition should be abolished and their liberties restored.

All was not yet lost for Philip. In 1578 he appointed as governor of the Netherlands Alexander Farnese, a man with an enviable reputation as a soldier and diplomat. Recognizing fundamental differences between the ten southern provinces, which were Flemish and Catholic, and the seven northern provinces, which were Dutch and Protestant, Farnese set out to sow discord among them, particularly to arouse fear of the Calvinists among the Catholics. This policy succeeded and in 1579 the southern provinces organized a defensive league against their neighbors. Having thus separated Catholics from

Protestants, Farnese was able to turn the whole of his attention to the latter. This reduced but did not greatly simplify his task. The Dutch rebels pursued their former tactics, avoiding the open field, flooding the country to imperil the invader's infantry, and fitting out a fleet which effectively preyed upon Spanish shipping. Moreover, volunteers from Protestant countries of the north and especially from England came to the assistance of the rebels. Farnese made little progress under these circumstances, nor did any of his successors, though Philip obstinately persisted with the struggle. While the war continued, the seven provinces, now known as the Netherlands (Holland), declared their independence of the Spanish Crown in 1581. This was subsequently recognized by the Powers in the Peace of Westphalia (1648). Spain was left with the ten southern provinces (Belgium today), and an impoverished treasury.

This futile struggle with the Dutch directly contributed to an even more fateful contest with England. From the beginning of his reign, Philip had taken more than a casual interest in English affairs, both because the island kingdom was rapidly developing into a formidable commercial rival and because his zeal in the cause of the Church made it appear desirable to use his influence there. It would be improper to say that religious motives dominated Philip's policies in this case, but they certainly played an important part in his general program of bringing England under Spanish control. During the early years of his reign, the prospects of achieving his objective seemed unusually good since through the influence of his father he was able to arrange a marriage alliance with Queen Mary Tudor. Mary, it will be remembered, was Catholic, and scarcely needed encouragement from her husband to repeal the Protestant settlement of the previous reign and return her country to the fold of the Church. Indeed on this matter of Catholic re-establishment Philip counselled moderation and delay rather than persecution and unreasonable haste which might lose all. Nevertheless, in the eyes of Englishmen who opposed Mary's Catholic policy, Philip was guilty. Among the Catholics who should have been his chief support Philip's plans of co-ordinating English foreign policy with that of Spain, and especially of using the English fleet against his continental rivals, were thoroughly distasteful. Mary's Catholic counsellors were first of all staunch patriots who disliked Philip as a foreigner and refused to do his bidding.

Frustrated during the reign of Mary his wife, Philip still hoped to achieve his objectives in England through co-operation with Eliz-

abeth who succeeded to the throne. To facilitate this result, he offered his hand in marriage but was politely rebuffed by the wily queen who had no intention of giving herself or her country to such a master. He then sought to win English friendship by patiently bearing Elizabeth's provocations which, however, grew bolder with each new sign of weakness on Philip's part. English freebooters, oft-times operating in the name of the queen, wrought havoc upon Spanish shipping; Spanish gold was confiscated in English ports; and financial and military aid was sent to Philip's Protestant enemies on the continent. The only alternatives left to Spain were the use of intrigue and force, both of which Philip successively tried. For a time he plotted with Mary Queen of Scots, a Catholic and Elizabeth's rival for the English throne, but the plan was discovered and Mary paid with her head. Nothing daunted, Philip bribed English Catholics, conspired with the Irish, and encouraged zealous assassins to make an attempt upon Elizabeth's life. With the discovery of each new conspiracy, Elizabeth replied with further expeditions against Spanish merchants and additional aid to Protestants in Philip's dominions. At length because of England's active support of the Dutch revolutionaries, Philip determined to invade and subdue the island. For this purpose he fitted out an "Invincible Armada," the largest fleet in the history of Christendom, composed of 130 ships, 8,000 sailors, and 19,000 soldiers to be supplemented by 33,000 additional troops in the Netherlands, and embarked in 1588 for the shores of England. His one real hope of victory depended upon a possible division among the English people over religious issues, but this was denied him. Catholics and Protestants vied with each other in offering their aid to the queen for the defense of the Kingdom. A small but efficient fleet successfully stood off the Armada. A storm completed the destruction which they had begun, and less than a third of the great Armada returned to Spain.

Meanwhile, Philip was pursuing a less disastrous but no more successful adventure in France. The acute rivalry between the Huguenots and Catholics there precipitated a bloody civil war which soon merged with a spirited contest over succession to the throne. The Valois dynasty facing extinction with the death of Francis I's direct descendants, claims to the crown were advanced by representatives of the Guise family who were actively supported by the Catholic party, and by Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot and allied to the Huguenot party. The accession of the latter to the throne

was obnoxious to Philip who, to ensure Catholic success and at the same time to pull France into the Spanish orbit, intervened against Henry. This proved unavailing and Henry succeeded in taking the throne as Henry IV in 1589. Philip nevertheless continued the struggle until in the last year of his life he found it expedient to sign a treaty of peace with Henry and abandon his attempts to interfere with the government of France. The fruit of this hapless enterprise was an aroused and aggressive French nationalism which eventually dealt the death blow to Spanish predominance in Europe.

These uniform failures of Philip's European policy were hardly balanced by his victory over the Ottoman Turks at Lepanto in 1571, important as this achievement was. During the sixteenth century, the Turks after sweeping over the Balkan peninsula and threatening central Europe began to challenge the Christian strongholds of the Mediterranean. Christians were properly alarmed and the Pope, Paul V, called for a Crusade. An international navy was formed for the purpose to which Philip gladly contributed Spanish galleys and a courageous commander, Don John of Austria. The success which he achieved at Lepanto could hardly be accounted a Spanish victory alone, though the Spanish people and Philip basked in its glory.

The exorbitant drain of so many fruitless enterprises upon Spain's meager resources and man power can be easily imagined. The royal treasury was bankrupt; the country ruined, all in vain. Spain had acquired nothing to compensate for heavy losses and what is even worse, the Spanish people were left through Philip's shortsighted domestic policies without the moral and material means to effect recovery. The dream of re-establishing the universal dominion of Catholicism had evaporated. Yet to the end Philip did not despair for he held the unshakable belief that he was doing God's will, and that ultimately his objectives would be realized. Many of his subjects shared this unwarranted optimism and despite all of their sovereign's manifest failures clung to their faith in Philip the "Wise" and the "Good."

With all of Spain's inherent weakness, the fiction of Spanish greatness was not dispelled with Philip's death (1598). It lingered during the reign of his son Philip III (1598-1621) and much of the reign of his grandson Philip IV (1621-1665). In large measure this was due to conditions abroad which operated to preserve the peace for some time, and hence to keep Spain from becoming fatally embroiled with powers whose material strength and military might outdistanced her. Indeed, for the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Spain seemed to be unusually well off. The flow of colonial

wealth was partially restored, though already England was profiting more from Spanish colonies than was Spain herself. Native energies found an outlet in colonial organization and administration, and Spanish art as well as Spanish manners and dress attained a European ascendancy. This was the time when great artists such as Velasquez, Murillo, El Greco, and Peter Paul Rubens flourished; and it is also the great era of Spanish literature, marked by the achievements of Miguel Cervantes, author of *Don Quixote*, and Lope de Vega, the most prolific and one of the most resourceful dramatists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The revival was superficial. Spain still suffered from dry rot: the economic organization which had been poorly adjusted to profit from colonial wealth remained unchanged; and the unfortunate religious policies which sapped the moral and material strength of her most productive citizens were continued and even made more rigorous. Moreover, concern with the religious situation abroad remained an active force in the Crown's foreign policy, although the experience of Philip II should have given his successors pause. Besides, Philip III and Philip IV clung to the dynastic alliance with Austria, and following in the traditions of Charles V co-ordinated their foreign policies with their Austrian cousins. All this meant that Spain continued to waste its resources upon adventures which even if successful would have been profitless. The combination of this myopic foreign policy and continued decadence at home soon precipitated Spain's collapse.

This came with the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) in which Spain as well as most of the rest of Europe became involved, though it began in the German Holy Roman Empire and was fought for the most part on German soil. No event in the history of this period reveals more clearly the extent to which religious and political issues had become confused. In its inception, the war was a logical culmination of the religious feud precipitated in the German countries by the Protestant Revolutions and aggravated by the Catholic Reformation, but from the very beginning rival political ambitions played an important part. Catholic and Protestant states outside intervened ostensibly to defend the cause of faith, though always with an eye to other advantages which might be gained. As the war progressed, political issues came to overshadow and completely obscure the religious element, but religion still remained a powerful argument in defense of intervention. In the end, the war was to show how fruitless it was to enforce religious views upon people and hence was to

prove an important factor in furthering religious toleration and in effecting a more complete separation of religious and political concerns.

The Thirty Years' War was an outgrowth of deficiencies in the Peace of Augsburg and of a spirited dispute over its interpretation. It will be remembered that according to this document the German princes were allowed to choose between the Lutheran and the Catholic doctrines. No provision was made for Calvinists so that these, who had become numerous in the Rhenish district especially, remained thoroughly dissatisfied. Besides, there was widespread misunderstanding over the interpretation of the "ecclesiastical reservations" allowed in the peace. The Lutherans had been confirmed in their seizures of church property up to the year 1555, and assumed that subsequent withdrawals of Catholic communicants from the Catholic Church in favor of Lutheranism, especially on the part of greater ecclesiastics, gave the Lutherans possession of former Catholic property. To this the Catholics naturally objected with increasing vigor as their courage and strength revived with the successes of the Reformation. The dispute over this matter, together with the discontent of the Calvinist elements, reached a critical stage early in the seventeenth century. Under the leadership of the Calvinist Count of the Palatinate the Protestants united for their defense into a Protestant League in 1608, and in the following year the Catholics joined under the duke of Bavaria. An armed truce prevailed between these two factions for a decade before a local rebellion in Bohemia, directed against the Catholic Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, precipitated hostilities.

The rebellion which broke out in Bohemia was only partly religious. It is true that the Czech nobility were generally Protestant and fearful that Ferdinand II of Austria whom they were asked to accept as king would tamper with their religious liberties. Ferdinand, who had thus been singled out for succession to the Austrian throne, had indeed a reputation for devotion to the Catholic cause which was bound to arouse concern among the Protestant elements of the Empire. But it appears that the Czech nobility were less concerned with religious matters than they were about their own nationalistic aspirations. Whatever were their motives, they refused to accept Ferdinand and committed a series of acts against the Austrian agents which were calculated to precipitate war. They then proceeded to elect Frederick of the Palatinate as King of Bohemia, hoping that they could thus enlist the support of the German Protestants.

This proved to be a vain hope. The Lutherans would have been happy to see a Protestant victory in Bohemia, especially if it were not Calvinist, but they thought the time inopportune, since they thought concessions might yet be won peacefully. The Bohemians were therefore left without sufficient support to face the Catholic armies which Austria assembled. Spanish troops were acquired, and these, supported by the forces of the Catholic League commanded by General Tilly, suppressed the revolution.

The victory of the Catholics aroused the fears of the Protestants, since the Catholic Emperor at once set about suppressing Protestantism in Bohemia, and deprived Frederick of Palatinate of his possessions because of his defections. Incidentally, Frederick's territory was given to the Catholic duke of Bavaria. This threatened to destroy the balance of power between the Catholics and Protestants in the Empire. The latter organized for defense with the assistance of the Lutheran king of Denmark, Christian IV. The resulting conflict which lasted from 1625 to 1629 ended in another Catholic victory, largely because of the brilliant strategy of the Duke of Wallenstein, a freebooter and knight of the Empire who mainly out of zeal for imperial unity organized a motley international army of adventurers to support the Emperor. Flushed with victory, Ferdinand II issued (1629) an Edict of Restitution, restoring to the Catholics all of that property which the Catholics claimed had been illegally absorbed by the Protestants since 1555. This policy was most unwise for it made peace, which the Lutherans would probably have agreed to with minor concessions, quite impossible. Even the Duke of Wallenstein regarded the Emperor's action as most impolitic and refused to co-operate in enforcing the edict.

The Protestants were not without the means or the help necessary to frustrate the Emperor's designs. Across the Baltic Sea the Lutheran king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632), had watched the course of affairs in Germany with growing interest, and now signalized his intention of coming to the support of the Lutherans. He was hardly motivated by concern for the cause of Protestantism. Sweden was already a great power, dominant in the Baltic, and Gustavus saw in Germany's plight an opportunity to strengthen his control there. It was this political advantage which the Swedish king had chiefly in mind when he landed on German soil in 1630, and with Protestant German allies, challenged the Emperor and the Catholics. The Swedish phase of the Thirty Years' War lasted until the spring of 1632 when Gustavus Adolphus was

killed in action against the army of Wallenstein, who had been prevailed upon to come to the Emperor's aid. By that time the Empire was already exhausted, both Catholics and Protestants showing a willingness to lay down arms if a reasonable compromise could be effected. As a matter of fact, such a compromise was devised in a treaty negotiated at Prague (1635) among the Catholic and Protestant princes. The government of France had been taking an increasing interest in German affairs and regarded it as unwise to terminate the contest until both Austria and Spain were rendered completely impotent. France made it impossible to enforce the Peace of Prague.

The management of affairs in France was in the hands of Cardinal Richelieu who, despite his religious affiliations, was resolved to take up the cause of the German Protestants in order to humble the Hapsburgs. It should be observed that France was surrounded by Hapsburgs; Spain across the Pyrenees, the Spanish Netherlands, imperial territories along the Rhine, and Spanish and Austrian possessions in the Italian peninsula. The close dynastic alliance between Spain and Austria and the co-ordination of their foreign policies made it seem desirable to French nationalists to use any and every opportunity to break the Hapsburg encirclement. The religious war in Germany, with Austria and Spain deeply involved on the Catholic side, therefore could hardly be passed by lightly. Richelieu was resolved that it should not terminate until his larger political objectives had been realized. For this reason, he had encouraged with subsidies Sweden's intervention and when that had terminated, employed intrigue to frustrate the enforcement of the Peace of Prague. By 1635, French troops began simultaneous engagements with Spain and the German Catholics, and continued these with varying fortunes throughout the next thirteen years in Germany and the next twenty-four years with Spain. There was no alteration of policy after Richelieu died (1642), for his successor, Cardinal Mazarin, pursued the same objectives. This French period of the Thirty Years' War reveals how completely religious issues had been subordinated to political ambition. Protestant and Catholic princes were compelled to continue the useless conflict long after they were prepared to compromise in order that France might weaken her political enemies. It was not until Austria and Spain were hopelessly weakened that peace in Germany and Europe could be assured.

Negotiations for peace were begun as early as 1641, but affairs in Germany were so hopelessly confused and the French so insister

upon a peace with victory that these could not be terminated until seven years later. The Peace of Westphalia then concluded (1648) is one of the great landmarks in the history of Europe. It brought an end to more than a century of religio-political wars; it signalized the passing of Spain as the greatest power of Europe and the simultaneous rise of France to continental pre-eminence; and it established the state system of Europe which with many intervening changes persists to our day. Among the important peace settlements of modern times, Westphalia holds a place with the peace of Vienna in 1815 and the peace of Versailles in 1919.

The Thirty Years' War having ostensibly begun over religious rivalries it might be supposed that the peace which terminated it would have been concerned largely with a religious settlement. It is indicative of the subordination of religious issues that the Peace of Westphalia dealt primarily with political matters. To satisfy France Austria, though left with its hereditary possessions, was deprived of her privileged place in the Holy Roman Empire. Each prince there was left with practically unlimited authority over his own affairs. Moreover, France was given most of Alsace and was confirmed in her seizure of important fortified towns in the Rhenish provinces. Sweden was given privileged positions at the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser rivers, thus consolidating her dominion over the Baltic area. The Protestant electorate and potential rival of Austria in the Germanies, Brandenburg, was enlarged. Several other important modifications of frontiers in the Empire were arranged. Finally, among its political settlements, the Peace of Westphalia confirmed the independence of both Switzerland and the Netherlands.

As to the religious settlements, the treaty extended to Calvinists in Germany the same liberties which had been ensured to Lutherans and Catholics in the Religious Peace of Augsburg; it confirmed in the possession of Protestants and Catholics all ecclesiastical properties held as of the year 1624; and, perhaps most significant of all, it allowed each German prince complete liberty to determine within his own territory what the religious status of his subjects should be. This latter provision opened the way for religious toleration among the more advanced and more liberal German states.


The Thirty Years' War was a tragic way of learning the futility of religious intolerance and especially the folly of attempting to enforce religious uniformity. The Germans who paid the price were left with a devastated country and a population reduced from approximately eighteen to ten million. It was a long time before the


EUROPE AFTER WESTPHALIA

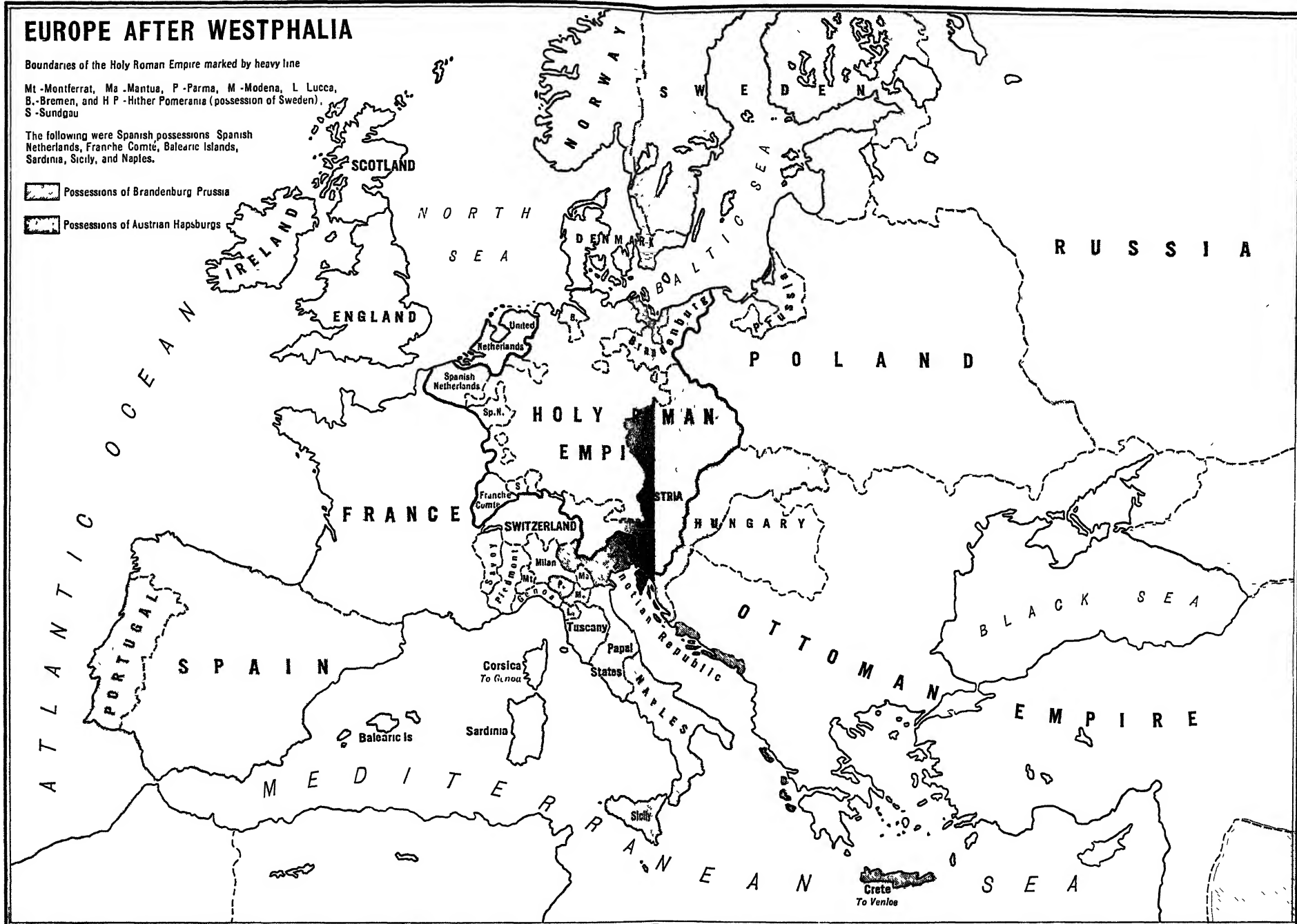
Boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire marked by heavy line

Mt -Montferrat, Ma -Mantua, P -Parma, M -Modena, L Lucca, B.-Bremen, and H P -Hither Pomerania (possession of Sweden), S -Sundgau

The following were Spanish possessions Spanish Netherlands, Franche Comte, Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Sicily, and Naples.

 Possessions of Brandenburg Prussia

 Possessions of Austrian Hapsburgs



Germans recovered from this nightmare. Yet a lesson had been learned, and that was to be continually re-enforced by the lessons of science and common sense.

While men fought the Thirty Years' War and negotiated the Peace of Westphalia, intellectuals propounded the doctrines of religious toleration. Buttressed by the achievements of science which revealed more and more how untenable many of the mysteries of revealed religion were, men of learning pointed to the absurdity of religious fanaticism. These influential scholars asserted that religion was a matter of personal conviction and that matters involving personal conviction should ordinarily be outside the province of governmental action. At least not force but only persuasion could operate effectively in this sphere of human concerns. The argument was even advanced that the religious affiliations of his subjects should generally be a matter of indifference to the prince, since his concern should be not with their salvation but with their material welfare and happiness. All of this does not mean that the advocates of religious toleration in this period had necessarily reached the stage where they would completely divorce religion and politics, broad as might have been their theoretical arguments in defense of religious freedom. Most of them partially nullified their own proposals, like John Locke of England, who, while supporting one's right to his own religious opinions, would not agree to allow Catholicism on the political ground that a Catholic was pledged to support the pope, and would not have given Protestant Dissenters equal political rights with the Anglicans. Despite these limitations, the exponents of religious toleration in this age laid the broad basis for the extension of religious liberties, at a time when practical politics seemed to make that possible. As trade grew, and dynastic ambitions enlarged, religious issues receded. The existence of religious uniformity seemed less important than it once did. Largely for this reason and partly because religious intolerance was intellectually insupportable, European governments slowly, falteringly at times, but nevertheless continuously widened the scope of religious liberties.

The country which extended the broadest religious freedom in this age was the Netherlands. The reasons for this are clear. The division between Protestants and Catholics was nearly equal, so that the little state, emerging from a bitter struggle for freedom, could not indulge in the luxury of religious feud. Besides, the Netherlands was the most prosperous commercial state as well as the most culti-

vated state of Europe so that here the new materialism and intellectual freedom were happily combined to repress religious fanaticism. Toleration was not always complete, Catholics being sometimes repressed, but, on the whole, the Decree of Toleration of 1578 providing that in religion "everyone shall remain free as he shall wish to answer to God" was scrupulously applied. Elsewhere, religious freedom was not nearly so complete though the tendencies were in that direction. In England official policy wavered between persecution of dissenters and Catholics, according to the changes of political fortune. Persecution never became a settled policy, however, and for the most part heresies were winked at though they were regarded as pernicious vices. After the Glorious Revolution of 1689, limited rights were legally accorded to most Protestant Dissenters, though not Catholics, by the Act of Toleration. Only communicants of the Anglican Church could hold political office however, but this limitation was never strictly enforced. Protestant Dissenters found methods of gaining admission to office, and the Catholics who apparently secured no relief and who could have been persecuted were left, for the most part, unmolested.

There was still no thought of extending religious liberty in Spain, but on the rest of the continent a good deal of progress was made in that direction. The Peace of Westphalia opened the door to official toleration of sects in the German countries and this was steadily though slowly accorded. In France also, a beginning was made, although unfortunately its benefits were destroyed eventually by Louis XIV. In 1598, Henry IV of France, a Huguenot originally, in order to ensure domestic peace, abjured his Protestantism, but simultaneously issued a famous edict, the Edict of Nantes, by which he accorded the Protestant Huguenots liberty of worship in their towns, and even gave them a measure of political independence. These latter concessions were regarded as dangerous to the central government by Cardinal Richelieu and were withdrawn, but the privilege of free worship was preserved until Louis XIV withdrew the decree in 1685. It is clear that in France as well as in most of the rest of Europe much remained to be done before religious freedom was fully realized, but at least by the end of the Thirty Years' War a substantial beginning had been made.



CALVIN, THE POPE, AND LUTHER

This caricature, dated "Paris, 1600," satirizes the tripartite sectarian conflict of the sixteenth century. Luther and Calvin were both dead, but their followers, as the artist suggests, were still attacking both each other and the Catholics. Notice the overthrown bishop under Calvin's feet and the papal bull upon which Luther is stepping. The former refers to the Protestant action in Switzerland; the latter, to Luther's public burning of the papal bull which excommunicated him.

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The Growth of Absolute Monarchies

A. THE RHYTHM OF GOVERNMENT

Plato long ago declared that there were six forms of government possible, three good and three bad. The good governments, which ruled under law, were: monarchy, the governance of one; aristocracy, the dominance of the rich; and majority rule. Their three counterparts, made evil by the fact that they were not checked or limited by law, were: tyranny; oligarchy; and rule of the *demos* (mob), or democracy.

Since Plato's day many political theorists and historians have sought and some have professed to discover a sort of rhythmic alteration among these forms. For example, it has been suggested that majority rule degenerates into mob rule, bringing chaos and anarchy. In time there then emerges a small group, or oligarchy, which bends the confusion to its own ends and seizes the power, bringing some order from disorder. One of the oligarchs, it has been further suggested, by ability, craft and fortune makes himself master of his peers, emerging as a tyrant. Success and time enable him to forsake despotism for the ways of law and he becomes a monarch. Exigencies of circumstance, such as personal weakness, tend to produce a division of power under law and so replace the monarchy with an aristocracy. The final phases of the cycle are held to be the extension of power to the majority and its degeneration into democracy.

Such an orderly scheme appeals to the human mind which loves to promote its feeling of security by artificially and arbitrarily attempting to reduce the disorderliness of nature, including human, to logical order. But historians today are wary of what an earlier generation thought to be the "laws of history." The more we know of it, the less likely are we to think of human development as being a logical process of orderly evolution. If there be laws which govern

human development, we are not yet in a position to formulate them. Nevertheless, some generalizations as to tendencies are both permissible and desirable. The reader must once more remind himself that these are hypotheses, not proven facts, and that further knowledge may either confirm or disprove them.

Among the recurrent phenomena of human history is the emergence of strong governments after a period of confusion and divided authority. The new government has varied in form, in composition, in the means used to obtain power, and in the method of exercising power. In short, the scheme of alteration discussed above has not occurred in practice. But these many differences should not obscure the general truth that chaos and weakness in government have again and again been followed by the appearance of strong individuals or groups of individuals who have gathered the power into their hands and replaced the disunity with unity, the weakness with force, and the disorder with order of their own liking and making. So often has this happened that any attempt at full exemplification would be a virtual recapitulation of events already discussed. The "Rule of the Thirty" in Athens after the Athenian defeat by Sparta; the rise of the dictator, Julius Cæsar; the usurpation of the Merovingian scepter by Pepin are all cases in point. So, also, were the rule of such men as Henry II of England and Philip II of France. Early modern history has its Tudors, its Bourbons, and its Cromwells; modern history, its Napoleons and Metternichs; recent history, its Bismarcks; and contemporary times, their Communists, Fascists, and Nazis. It is indeed an oft-told tale.

This chapter concerns itself with illustrating this great trend by material drawn from the histories of sixteenth-century England and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France. Recent discussions, with their emphasis upon the economic, social, and intellectual growths, have only touched in passing these political developments. It is now the purpose to draw these together that they may show still another figure of the great pattern of the human past. The story begins where it left off¹: with the weakness, the disorder, the confusions which followed upon the Hundred Years' War of France and England.

¹ See Chapter IX.

B. TUDOR PATERNALISM

The Tudor family, five of whom became sovereigns of England,¹ rose to power as a result of dynastic feuds. When Henry V died in 1422 the royal title passed to his infant son and namesake, but the royal power became the prize for which the great barons of the King's Council contended. From these quarrels there grew the Wars of the Roses (1455-1485), a series of feuds among the nobility all of whom sought to increase their power at the expense of the debile Crown. This was not a popular struggle, but one between ambitious barons which finally culminated in war between the families of Lancaster and York. This generation-long combat reduced England to a state of anarchy. Rarely have English fortunes been at so low an ebb as they were when Henry Tudor, wearing the red rose of Lancaster, defeated Richard, champion of the white rose of York, at the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485. It was a measure of the English weakness that the triumph of Lancaster was in large part due to the aid which Henry Tudor received from the French king, Charles VIII. Yet to the English people this long feud was a blessing in disguise for it so weakened the great nobles that the Tudors were able to rebuild the monarchy and, through it, to set England on the high-road of power and prosperity.

The first Tudor who, with the acquiescence of Parliament, assumed the crown as Henry VII, was by circumstance and by his own character assigned to an unspectacular role. Young in years—he was only twenty-eight in 1485—war, intrigue, and exile had so hardened his body and sharpened his wits that he appeared much older. Crafty, shrewd, hard-headed and hard-bitten, Henry VII had none of the glamor or the popular appeal of his son, Henry VIII, or of his granddaughter, Elizabeth. His task, however, called less for popularity than for the qualities he possessed.

There were four major problems which Henry had to solve. First, a parvenu, though of the blood royal, he had to secure his grasp on the scepter against the insurrections and intrigues of the Yorkists. His marriage with Elizabeth of York did not end this contest though, by uniting the two houses, it simplified the problem of succession for Henry's children. Second, the habits of civil strife were strong and the authority of the Crown limited and feeble. The

¹ Henry VII, 1485-1509; Henry VIII, 1509-1547; Edward VI, 1547-1553; Mary, 1553-1558; and Elizabeth, 1558-1603.

rebellious barons had to be reduced to subordination if the monarchy were to unite the country under its rule. Third, the royal treasury, emptied by the long wars, had to be replenished. Fourth, the habit of interference in English affairs by alien rulers had to be broken. Of these four, the strengthening of the kingship at the expense of everything else and the elimination of foreign interference were chiefly responsible for that growth in English nationalism which characterized the Tudor regime.

It is a striking thing, and no accident, that few of England's noble families today can trace their nobility further back than the Tudor period. It was a consistent Tudor policy to continue the weakening of the old nobility which the Wars of the Roses had begun. The chief instrument which Henry VII used to rebuild the royal authority was the King's Council, and, more especially, its inner circle, the Privy Council. Once the reserve of the nobility, the Privy Council was transformed by the Tudors into an agent of the royal will. Under them and by them, councilors were chosen not by reason of birth but for skill, ability, and loyalty to the monarch. Chosen mainly from the crescent middle class, these men were often raised to the peerage as a reward for services rendered. They remained, and this was a cardinal point, the servants of the Crown.

The second Tudor instrument was Parliament whose actions and deliberations were largely guided for the Crown by the Privy Councilors. During the reign of Henry VII and the forepart of the reign of Henry VIII, Parliament was seldom summoned. Even after that, Parliament long remained the echo of the Tudor will. But, and this was highly significant, the Tudors always went through the motions of consulting with Parliament. By tampering with elections, by means fair and foul, they kept Parliament under their control though they maintained the fiction of government by Crown and Parliament. This had three important results. First, it trained the parliamentarians in the ways and means of governing and gave them that education by experience which is necessary for any successful assumption of power. Second, it so built up the tradition of the role of Parliament in the government that no monarch, as the Stuarts were to discover to their cost, could safely ignore it. Finally, it laid the foundation for the seventeenth-century rise of Parliament to a place superior to that of the Crown. One further characteristic of the Tudor parliaments should be noted: the increasing numbers and importance in them of the bourgeoisie and of the country gentry.

Third of the Tudor agencies in the recovery of royal power

were the courts. These were of two classes: the ordinary courts, administering Common Law; and the prerogative courts, which more and more introduced the concepts of Roman Civil Law with its premise of an all-powerful executive. The seventeenth century was to see a bitter struggle between the two courts and the two laws, but under the Tudors the latter helped to rehabilitate and strengthen the former. Most important of the prerogative courts was the Court of the Star Chamber, which began as a sort of committee of the Privy Council. Strong enough to bend even the few remaining great barons to its will, the Star Chamber was prized by Tudor England as champion of the weak against the strong.

None of the Tudors had either a standing army or a centralized bureaucracy. The lack was largely supplied by the country gentry who not only rallied men to their sovereign's support but also, as Justices of the Peace, became the agents of royal power. Amateur and independent, since though holding royal commissions they were unpaid, these Justices performed a unique and essential service to the Crown. By Elizabeth's time, their multifarious duties included: the arrest of criminals; trials of petty offenses; maintenance of roads, bridges, and gaols; regulation of wages and prices; and administration of the laws governing the treatment of the poor. Government by the Tudors was essentially government by the Privy Council, the courts, and the Justices.

These, then, were the chief instruments of Tudor absolutism, for the successors of Henry VII built upon the foundations he laid. The full details of his ways and means are no longer of special moment and it will suffice our purpose to suggest only a few highlights of his reign.

Partly because it was his nature to be so, but mainly because the exigencies of circumstance demanded it, Henry has won notoriety as the most parsimonious of England's kings. At the beginning of his reign, when the treasury was wholly bare, Parliament granted him the income from the customs dues for life. Only five times thereafter did he ask Parliament for money, yet when he died there was a surplus of approximately £1,500,000 in the treasury. He had accomplished the unprecedented by practising strict economy; by making sure that he received every farthing due him from the customs, the crown lands, and from the right of escheat; and by methods of extortion which often resembled downright robbery. His ministers, Dudley and Empson, bore the brunt of the unpopularity of

such measures and eventually Henry VIII rewarded his father's too-zealous servants with execution. Such was often the Tudor way.

Henry's foreign policy aimed at the freeing of England from alien tutelage. This was far more than a matter of royal or national prestige; it was vital to both Tudor and English independence. Early in his reign, Henry had to face the threat of foreign-backed pretenders to his throne. The first, that of Symonds and Simnel, supported by Margaret of Burgundy, and launched in Ireland which was strongly Yorkist, was quelled with relative ease. The second was much more serious, and for a decade the pretender, one Perkin Warbeck, was the center of plot and counterplot which led Henry into wars, treaties, and alliances with continental rulers, involving even a "war of sanctions" against the Flemish wool merchants. Three times, twice from Scotland, Henry's enemies attempted an invasion of England. Three times they were repelled and in the end Henry emerged definitely the victor. One by-product of this troubled affair is worthy of note. To punish Ireland, which had supported both plots against him, Henry sent Sir Edward Poynings to re-establish English authority. This, Sir Edward could do only in a small area around Dublin, known as the Pale, but he forced the Irish Parliament to accept the Act (1494) which bears his name and which rendered the Parliament wholly inferior to the English Crown and Parliament. But peace with Ireland was not to be bought so cheaply. Henry VIII and his immediate successors managed to keep comparative peace though their authority never extended beyond the Pale. In the reign of Elizabeth an accumulation of woes, exacerbated by bitter religious partisanship, brought three serious rebellions in which the English and the Irish both distinguished themselves for their vicious and horrible brutalities. More than half of the Queen's special war fund was expended in an effort to conquer the Irish. The victory of her general, Mountjoy, near the end of her reign seemed, incorrectly, to have achieved this aim.

The foreign policy of the first Henry was tortuous and, in his later years, often fruitless. It did, however, successfully eliminate alien interference in English affairs and it also achieved one success whose consequences were far-reaching. After a series of intricate negotiations, which were touched with the ludicrous by haggling over the dowry to be paid, a marriage alliance was arranged with Spain which brought Katharine of Aragon to England as bride of Arthur, Henry's eldest son (1501). Though her bridegroom died within a few months, Katharine remained in England, becoming

eventually the wife of Arthur's brother, Henry, and mother of the fourth Tudor sovereign, the Catholic Mary.

The reign of the first Tudor was stable, not brilliant, and therein lay its merit. The royal absolutism had been established; the power of the great nobles broken; and the Tudors entrenched upon a throne which was no longer menaced by threats of foreign intervention. Pedestrian rather than spectacular, lacking in popular appeal, Henry VII laid a solid foundation for the glories of his house and the power of his nation. If many of the methods he used in achieving his ends were both unjust and dishonest, he merely reflected the general practice of his age. His death evoked no general mourning, and the accession of his well-favored son, Henry VIII (1509-1547), seemed to promise well.

Young King Henry VIII—he was eighteen in 1509—was a product of the age of the English renaissance, and he shared many of the characteristics of the heroic figures of the Italian movement. Handsome in face and endowed with a fine physique, he was a glamorous figure of a king. Bluff, hearty, lusty lover of life, arrogant with the pride of youth, keenly aware of his power, gifted with personal charm, Henry had also a stubborn will and an irascible temper. A man of many talents, both physical and intellectual, Henry was an excellent archer, a fine horseman, a champion at tennis, and a vigorous and powerful jousting. Well-educated, he was master of four languages and gave promise of being an enthusiastic scholar. Well-rounded, he was a great lover of music, a composer of some talent and able to play many musical instruments. All in all, he was the epitome of most that was good and most that was bad among his subjects.

With his throne secure, his treasury filled, and his realm in order, the young Henry was well content to leave the business of government largely in the hands of his competent ministers. Chief among them was Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey, like most of the Tudor servants, a product of the bourgeoisie. Able, industrious, loyal to his master, but arrogant, ambitious, and cursed with a furious temper, Wolsey won his reputation as an organizer and diplomat early in Henry's reign. In rapid succession he became bishop, Archbishop of York, cardinal, papal legate, and finally chancellor. While the king occupied himself with a round of pleasures Wolsey, from 1516 to 1526, was virtually supreme in Church and State, often more master than man.

Since the domestic situation was well in hand, Henry and Wolsey were able to devote their major energies to the persecution of a vigorous foreign policy. Partly because he was bound to Spain by his marriage with Katharine, partly because of tradition, and partly because of personal jealousies, Henry embarked upon a policy of hostility to France which kept the two powers almost constantly at swords' points from 1511 to 1529. Wolsey, however, preferred peace to war, diplomacy to fighting. Under him, England began the "Balance of Power" policy which she has so consistently followed. Very briefly, the theory of the "balance of power" was, and is, that by siding now with one nation, now with the other, England could prevent the strengthening of any power to the point where it could dominate Europe. Often, in practice, this has meant less keeping the peace through a maintenance of relative equality than the dominance of England who was able to gain her ends by giving or withholding her support. For some years, Wolsey played this game with great skill, but eventually he blundered by backing the Hapsburg, Charles V, against the declining power of Francis I of France. The result was the establishment of Hapsburg supremacy which menaced both France and England.

The ambitious foreign policy of king and chancellor was expensive and the Crown soon found itself in need of funds. Successive parliaments granted many subsidies which were raised only by heavy taxation. When this proved too unpopular, resort was had to loans, voluntary at first, later forced. In 1523, for example, the clergy were required to grant the king ten percent of the annual income from their benefices for the next five years. Two years later, Wolsey sought to exact another loan from the clergy which would have amounted to one-fourth of their yearly income and from the laity to the amount of one-sixth of their income. This was too much. The people rose in their wrath and refused to pay, and the scheme was dropped. The odium of these financial exactions fell on Wolsey whose unpopularity made it easier for the king to rid himself of his minister in 1529.

The real reason for Wolsey's fall from power was not, however, his unpopularity. For reasons elsewhere related, Henry determined in 1527 to divorce Queen Katharine. Although he disapproved, Wolsey loyally sought to arrange the "king's secret matter." He failed, and it was primarily to this failure that his dismissal from office and subsequent arrest were due. He died in 1530 while under arrest and waiting trial on charges of high treason.

The great business of the last half of Henry's reign was the divorce from Katharine which led to the break with Rome and the subsequent establishment of the Henrican church. Since this has already been discussed in another setting,¹ there remains only to tie together a few loose ends.

Henry's various marital adventures, which bulk so large in "popular" history and fiction, were important only in regard to the succession. By an act of 1546, Henry directed that the order of succession should be: (1) Edward, son of the third wife, Jane Seymour; (2) Mary, daughter of Katharine; and (3) Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn.²

In the field of foreign affairs, Henry in 1536 made Wales an integral part of his realm; twice repulsed Franco-Scottish invasions from the north; and after three years of fighting, won a sterile victory from France in 1546. Of much more consequence was his creation of a royal navy, unique not only in function but also in the design of the ships which for the first time permitted the mounting of heavy cannon amidships and so made possible the firing of broadsides.

At first sight, the legacies of Henry VIII seem in contrast with those of his father. He had broken with the Roman Catholic Church, he had squandered his treasure on a vainglorious foreign policy and he left his son and successor, Edward VI, a treasury deficit. Yet in some respects he had followed the course charted by his father. He had continued to use the Privy Council, the courts, the Parliament, and the squirearchy as instruments of the royal will, and he had, on occasion, demonstrated to them all and sundry that they were naught but his agents. His despotism, despite some lip-service to others, was as complete as was ever any continental monarch's. So well had his people learned the habit of obedience to a national sovereign that though the troublous reigns of Edward and Mary were filled with plot and intrigue there was no return to the anarchy of the pre-Tudor England. Unscrupulous, selfish, and cruel as he was, Henry VIII left his children unquestioned heirs to a crown whose power over the peoples it represented was complete.

The reigns of Edward VI (1547-1553) and Mary (1553-1558) were interludes. Weak and sickly, the boy Edward was the uncom-

¹ See Chapter XIV for the story of the Church under the Tudors.

² Henry's other wives were: Anne of Cleves, whom he divorced; Catherine Howard, whom he executed on charges of adultery; and Catherine Parr, who outlived him.

prehending tool of aristocratic factions who contended for power. First Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, well-intentioned but ineffective, then John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, scheming and unscrupulous, held the reins of power. Both failed in their foreign policies, and neither was able to halt the social and economic discontent which sprang in part from the dislocation of prices due to the influx of gold and silver from the New World. The premature Protestantism, the most significant development of the Edwardian reign, has already been discussed.

The two outstanding features of the reign of Mary were her attempts to restore Catholicism, which has also been treated before, and her marriage to the Spaniard, Philip II. Exceedingly unpopular with her people, this marriage seriously curtailed the English freedom of action and menaced the future independence of the country. Combined with the Catholic revival, it caused a serious insurrection led by Thomas Wyatt (1554), but Mary went her unwise way. Among the misdeeds of which, in English eyes, he was guilty, Philip, by involving England in a Spanish war with France, was chiefly responsible for the loss of Calais, last English holding in France. Small wonder that the death of "Bloody Mary," as she was called for her religio-political persecutions, was hailed with joy and thanksgiving.

Last, and in many respects the greatest of the Tudors was Elizabeth, queen from 1558 to 1603. Tall, red-haired, with an olive complexion and rather sharp features, Elizabeth at her accession was better looking than portraits of a later date would indicate, but she was never a beauty. In character she was a true Tudor. Able and energetic, an opportunist *par excellence*, a shrewd judge of men, and undeniably a great sovereign, Elizabeth had also the less attractive qualities of pride, conceit, arrogance, a nasty temper, and a profane and unbridled tongue. It is revealing that none who were closely associated with her bore her personal loyalty or affection. It was among her people who knew her less intimately that she was popular, and she was very popular. Her early life had been adventurous and thrilling but tragic. Her mother was executed while she was still a small baby, and during most of her girlhood she suffered from the stigma, publicly pronounced by her gallant father, of bastardy. With equal chivalry, her foster-father blackened her adolescence by involving her in an unsavory scandal. Small wonder, then, that she lacked proper delicacy and modesty!

Like her father and grandfather before her, Elizabeth depended



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

QUEEN ELIZABETH. PORTRAIT BY FEDERIGO ZUCCARO, IN THE ACCADEMIA DI BELLE ARTI, SIENA.

heavily upon the middle class not only for her counselors¹ but for her popularity and strength. Indeed, the close alliance between the monarchy and the middle class, to the mutual strengthening of both, was an outstanding characteristic of the Tudor regime. The personnel of the Tudor instruments of government—the Council, the Parliament, the courts, and the Justices of the Peace—was largely middle class. In return, the Tudors favored this group in many ways.

The basis of English prosperity had been for centuries the pro-

¹ Her most noteworthy ministers, William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, who served her faithfully and well for forty years, and the equally efficient Sir Francis Walsingham, were both from the middle class.

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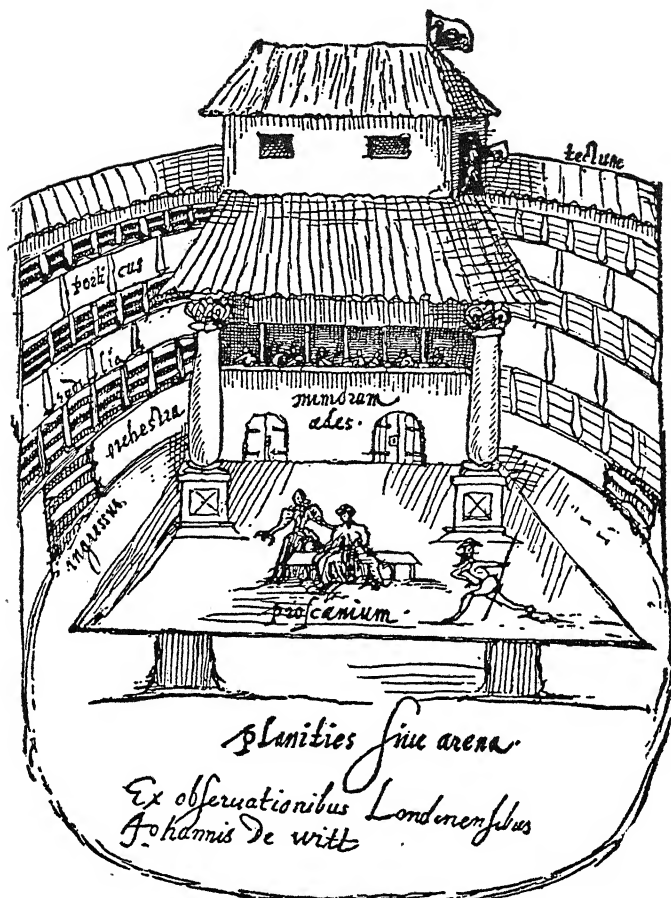
wool and the manufacture of woollens. By Tudor times, England had become the most important exporter of woollen cloth produced mostly under the domestic system. This meant that most of spinning and weaving was done by individuals and their families in their own homes for middlemen who bought the raw wool and then sent it to be dyed and finished. The growing demand for English woollens led to an increase in sheep-raising, which, in turn, profoundly affected the whole economy. Sheep-raising required more land than subsistence farming and led to the enclosure of land to meet the new need for large tracts of land for this use. This enclosure movement, so-called, worked against the peasant since it deprived him of the common lands on which he grazed his sheep and sometimes even of his own acreage. But the land-owning class was well represented in Parliament, and Enclosure Acts, or Acts giving permission to enclose lands, were many. This not only displaced many people, but it also caused a decline in the production of foodstuffs which more and more had to be imported. In the sixteenth century, however, the growth in trade brought an increase in trade which led to a further growth in the wealth of the mercantile group. Finally, it was this growth in trade which was most vociferous in its demands for a merchant navy, and government support in trade.

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Henry VII on, all the Tudors heeded this call and "English trade" became a deliberate policy. The "Navigation Acts," which sought to exclude aliens and alien vessels from the carrying trade, were revived and extended. Commercial treaties opening new markets were negotiated, or, alternatively, trade wars were engaged in with, among others, the Flemings and the Spaniards. Voyages of discovery, like those of Cabot to America and of Willoughby and Chancellor in search of a northeast passage to China (1553), were encouraged. Merchant companies were chartered and given monopoly trading rights in specified areas.¹ In the sixteenth century, both moral and material aid was given to the "Elizabethan adventurers": Drake, who circumnavigated the globe, partly in search of profitable places for colonization; Hawkins, who more than once "ran down" the Spanish trade with the New World; and Frobenius, who vainly sought a northwest passage to China. The familiar, pioneering efforts of the gallant Raleigh, also encouraged by

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¹ Some of the important companies were: Muscovy Co. (1554-1555), Russia and Eastland Co. (1579), Baltic area; Levant Co. (1581), Near East; and the East India Co. (1600).



From *The Theatre* by Sheldon Cheney, courtesy of Longmans, Green and Company, Inc., publishers

ELIZABETHAN THEATER

The period of Queen Elizabeth's reign was one of extraordinary literary activity, reflected in the development of the drama. This drawing of the Swan Theatre in London was made by a contemporary (Johann de Witt) from his personal observations.

Elizabeth, are evidence of yet another Tudor effort to promote the interests of the middle class.

This group, both landlord and merchant, country gentry and commercial aristocracy, prospered greatly under the Tudors. Probably the strongest ties which bound them to the monarchy were those of the purse-strings, but their loyalty had other sources, too. Some had profited by the purchase from the Crown of the church lands confiscated by Henry VIII, but more were united by the lib-

eral, compromise religious settlement of Elizabeth.¹ Some rejoiced at the defeat of the Armada² because it opened new markets, but more thrilled with relief and swelled with pride at that repulse of a threatening invasion. Some, perhaps, may have followed with satisfaction Elizabeth's crafty and tortuous diplomacy, but more, probably, were grateful that she did her best to keep England out of war.

Yet, important as it was, the alliance of bourgeoisie and Tudor monarch cannot wholly explain the growth of a national consciousness. The foreign menace played a part, as it so often does. Men were drawn together for self-defense by fear of a common foe. More, they were, by the same token, content to acquiesce in a despotism which so well protected them. The development of a national and strongly nationalistic literature—Shakespeare, Marlowe, Sidney, and Spencer were all Elizabethans—also contributed. But most important of all was the feeling of the ordinary citizen that his sovereigns understood his needs and wishes. Especially was this true of the great queen. Elizabeth was very sensitive to public opinion and she took care to win it to her side by assiduous use of the pamphletary press and by well-calculated public behavior. Her dramatic appearance in armor before her soldiers at the time of the Armada crisis did not reduce the Spanish danger, but it enshrined her in the hearts of her men as their queen. She spoke well and truly in her address to the House of Commons when she said: "Though God hath raised me high, yet this I account the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves."

C. THE CARDINALS

The Tudors disguised their absolutism behind the façade of parliamentary government. For the kings of France this precaution was unnecessary. Since the time of the Hundred Years' War, the French nation had been crystallizing about the Crown, and the evolutionary process of political development was continually pointing the way to untrammelled absolutism. The great duchies had been destroyed and annexed to the royal domain thus breaking the backbone of feudal separatism which had so long left the king politically impotent. The growth of representative institutions along lines similar to those in England had been frustrated. It will be remembered how

¹ See Chapter XIV.

² See Chapter XV.

completely the Estates General had been emasculated. No public institution was left to challenge the king's powers when the sixteenth century opened. Even the Catholic Church was made, by agreement with the pope (Concordat of Bologna), an agency of royal absolutism.

Yet the course of affairs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was smooth neither for the Crown nor for the French people, and the absolutism which seemed assured at the beginning of the era had to be rewon several times. In part, this was the unhappy consequence of foreign entanglements which embroiled the French people in a prolonged and costly contest with Hapsburg Austria and Spain. In part it grew out of the disruptive influences of the Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation which led to civil war and a dynastic struggle for the crown.

The first of these troubles hardly requires lengthy description. It will be remembered from earlier discussions that in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries Kings Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Louis XII of France had embarked upon the conquest of portions of the Italian peninsula, especially Naples and Milan. From the first, these acquisitions could not be kept without the greatest difficulty, because of the rival ambitions of other powers such as Austria and Spain, and also because of the readiness of the native Italian states to intrigue perpetually against any outsider who seemed on the point of attaining too much power among them. Indeed Naples was lost for these reasons, and Milan was held only after the expenditure of considerable effort. Because of this possession, Francis I (1515-1547) who succeeded Louis XII, asserted his candidacy for the throne of the Holy Roman Empire when that fell vacant in 1519. There was little chance of his securing the election since the traditional practice of electing an Austrian Hapsburg indicated that Charles V would be named. But his candidacy opened the way for bribery of the German electors and aroused the resentment of Charles V. From the beginning, therefore, the feud between these rival princes created a serious problem, and throughout the remainder of Francis' reign they fought each other almost continuously. In a sense this was the real beginning of the French rivalry with the Hapsburgs which continued until the latter were humiliated in the eighteenth century. For the moment, however, it brought no material gains, while it did help to accentuate popular discontent already acute by reason of internal religious strife.

Conditions at the beginning of the reign of Francis I were favor-

able to the penetration of ideas of religious reform and religious revolution. The Italian connection at least had the virtue of keeping France in close contact with Italian humanism and this, as has been observed already, merged with native influences to produce intellectual ferment. The Church in particular was exposed to criticism for its abuses so that in France, simultaneously with the religious revolts elsewhere, there was a considerable movement in favor of reforms. It should be noted that this did not develop into revolution, with some exceptions, but was concerned rather with spiritual and moral reforms within the Church. King Francis I, brilliant but superficial, lent encouragement to intellectual development and the movement for religious reform partly through patronage, partly through indifference. Political circumstances soon made him waver, however, and pursue a policy of oppression against all religious malcontents.

Lutheranism penetrated to a degree among some of the working classes, but it never took firm root. It was Calvinism which appealed mostly to those prepared for religious revolution. Their number was not especially great. The lower classes as a whole continued to remain faithful to the Mother Church so that it was chiefly from the ranks of the nobility and the bourgeoisie that converts were gained. It would be improper to say that these were won solely on the basis of religious appeals, for, as a matter of fact, many of them joined hands with the Calvinist faction for political purposes. To the nobility, successful religious revolution offered the hope of political revolution which might revive the rights of which they had been deprived by the Crown. To the bourgeoisie, it is probable that Calvinism appealed partly because of the moral excuse it advanced for economic success and the accumulation of profit. Despite the motives which persuaded these classes to adopt Calvinism, their support of it made the body of French Huguenots, as these Calvinists were called, powerful beyond their numbers. Possibly not more than five percent of the population of France were Huguenots, but they compensated in wealth and social influence for what they lacked in numbers.

Both political expediency and genuine religious zeal induced the Crown to undertake the suppression of the Protestant faction. It seemed certain that such a policy would produce results of immeasurable value. By restoring religious unity it would ensure continued political unity as well. It would deprive the nobility of one of their most potent means of contesting the absolutism of the Crown. Equally important, it might encourage the pope to side with France against the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor, and such an alliance was

not to be taken lightly. The stakes being high, the Crown therefore resorted to strong measures to achieve its purpose. These, however, were purely national in character, for the kings of France, though Catholic, were too jealous of their sovereign rights to allow the Church a hand in the matter. The Inquisition was never employed, but the repression of heresy was no less efficient for its absence. On occasions general massacres were tolerated, though the usual form of procedure was legal action. The *parlements* were empowered to ferret out heresy and when these proved inadequate to the task special courts, *Chambres Ardentes* (Courts of Fire), were set up for that purpose. Between these and the Courts of the Inquisition in Spain there would have been little for their victims to choose. In method and procedure both were horribly efficient. Nevertheless, little impression was made on the Protestant cause in France, except perhaps to encourage it to greater violence in its own defense. The Huguenots remained and the conflict persisted, merging eventually with a conflict over succession to the throne.

Henry II (1547-1559) who had pursued the policies of his father Francis I at home and abroad, and who had been particularly diligent in the suppression of religious dissidents, left the throne to a feeble minor, Francis II (1559-1560) and an unscrupulous, ambitious wife, Catherine de' Medici. The latter, named regent, was determined that the power should be concentrated in her hands, plotting and intriguing to that end with every and all factions while each of her sons, Francis II, Charles IX (1560-1574), and Henry III (1574-1589), in turn occupied the throne. The task of securing her own ascendancy was made unusually difficult by the fact that two rival families, the Guise and the Bourbon, sought to supplant her authority over her sons and seize the throne after their death. The Guises were not of royal lineage but had risen to a position of great prominence during the reign of Henry II. One of their relatives, Mary Stuart of Scotland, had been married to Francis II and while he lived the Guise faction was enabled to assert a dominant role. Ardent Catholics, they joined hands with the dominant Catholic faction to preserve themselves in power. Their rivals, the Bourbons, had the advantage of royal blood and held a legal claim to the throne when the Valois dynasty should become extinct. On this score they also sought by fair means and foul to displace the Guise part in the royal councils. The fact that their leader Henry of Navarre was a Huguenot helped to obscure their contest for power behind great religious issues. Incidentally, Catherine was unwilling that either should win, and for

the sake of her own ambition tried to play the two factions off against each other. The result was bloody civil war.

It would be fruitless to review the history of this civil war in detail. Like all of the religious strife of this period it was characterized by blind fanaticism and incidents of wanton cruelty and brutality. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve (1572) may be taken as broadly typical. An attempt had been made to resolve the dispute between the Guise and the Bourbon factions by arranging a marriage between Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois, sister of Charles IX. In celebration of the event, Protestants were invited to Paris. Catherine de' Medici had reason to fear that this marriage would diminish her influence over the Crown, especially since a Bourbon sympathizer and Huguenot, Coligny, had already managed to supplant it almost completely. To dispose of Coligny and to weaken the Bourbon cause now that it had grown too powerful for her own purposes, Catherine persuaded the weak-minded Charles IX to believe that there was a widespread Protestant conspiracy against the state which should be struck down at once suddenly and secretly. He gave his word to kill them and for the next three weeks the Catholic faction indulged themselves in an orgy of blood. Between three and ten thousand Protestants lost their lives.

St. Bartholomew's Massacre revived the religious civil war at the moment when peace seemed assured. The Protestants at once organized a Protestant Union, took over the government of the cities which they controlled, created an estates general of their own, and through the semi-independent state which they thus formed proceeded to defend themselves and to carry the offensive to the enemy. A portion of the Catholics replied by forming a Catholic League under the leadership of the Guises, supported with money and men by Philip II of Spain. Between these two factions stood a party of moderate Catholics, the *Politiques*, who believed that toleration was wiser than extermination, and who resented the connections of the Catholic League with a foreign prince. The *Politiques* consequently threw their influence in the direction of Henry of Navarre who attained such success over the Guises and their Spanish allies that when Henry III, the last of the Valois line, died at the hands of an assassin (a Dominican monk) he was able to ascend the throne as Henry IV.

Henry IV (1589-1610) was the founder of the Bourbon dynasty and one can safely add, the greatest statesman that family produced. Personally selfish and given to avarice, Henry possessed political

acumen and superior qualities of leadership. These he certainly needed for the kingdom he had just won could hardly have been in a more hapless state. The treasury was bankrupt. Fields had been devastated and were left uncultivated. Trade had languished. Besides, people had developed the habit of ignoring the Crown so that the powers it had assumed three-quarters of a century before seemed about to lapse completely. To reinvigorate royal government and to lead the country from the morass of religious strife, under these circumstances, were duties which required skill, patience, and perseverance of the highest order. Henry measured up to his responsibilities and with the very able assistance of the Duke of Sully, a close friend and Huguenot whom he made his Minister of Finance, restored economic prosperity, religious peace, and royal absolutism.

The first and most perplexing problem of his reign was religious. Henry had won his crown at the head of the Protestant Huguenots but with the active assistance of the Catholic *Politiques*. He could not afford to abandon his Catholic allies nor could he expect that the Catholics as a whole who constituted the preponderant majority of the French people could long be happy under a Protestant king. His position was one which called for wisdom, not short-sighted fanaticism. He resolved upon a compromise. In 1593 he abjured Protestantism and joined the Catholic Church to appease his Catholic subjects; and then five years later (1598) to appease his Protestant friends he issued the famous Edict of Nantes. This accorded Protestants unlimited freedom of private worship as well as freedom of public worship in specially enumerated towns; it extended them financial assistance for the management of their schools and legalized the publication of their books; it gave them full civil and political rights, including the right of assembly and the exercise of judicial functions under special circumstances; and finally, for a limited time it gave them complete political control over some two hundred fortified towns which they held. This last provision proved unwise since it actually legalized a state within a state, but on the whole the Edict was sound and so long as its religious settlement was preserved religious peace was kept in France.

Meanwhile, Henry acted with vigor to restore the languishing powers of the Crown. Before 1589 the nobility had taken advantage of the civil war to flout the Crown in their own districts and had revived the Estates General as the national instrument through which they could curb the king. One of the first things Henry did was to deal with these nobles. He occupied rebellious sections of the coun-

try with armed force and compelled the lesser nobility to submit fully and completely. The greater nobility whom it would have been impolitic to fight, he purchased with bribery. And when he had made them impotent, he refrained from calling the Estates General and relied for advice and counsel upon a small and carefully selected body of notables.

Henry's efforts to restore economic prosperity were ably supplemented by the Duke of Sully. As minister of finance, Sully introduced important economies into government, established a proper system of auditing accounts, and revised and systematized the assessing and collecting of taxes. He took a particular interest in the development of agriculture, and encouraged the draining of marshes as well as the removal of export duties so that sales of agricultural produce abroad might be made profitable. Further to facilitate agricultural development as well as to stimulate internal trade, he extended the canal system of the country and set about improving its roads. Sully had little interest in manufacturing, but the royal government at Henry's instigation sought to foster industry as well. The production of such articles as silk, glass, and pottery was encouraged by royal subsidies, and the interests of business were advanced by favorable commercial treaties negotiated with Holland and England. The fruit of this economic policy, combined with the religious settlement and the suppression of the factious nobility, was domestic peace and prosperity. France was once more in condition to assume a position of prominence abroad.

Despite his preoccupation with affairs at home, Henry never lost sight of the larger issues of foreign policy. He was concerned by the fact that France was literally surrounded by Hapsburg enemies, in Spain, Italy, across the Rhine, and in the Netherlands, and he regarded it as vital to France that this Hapsburg chain be broken. He conducted his foreign policy with this objective in mind, letting no opportunity slip which might bring it to realization. For this reason, though now a Catholic, he showed his readiness to support the Protestant princes of Germany against the Hapsburg Emperor. This clearly pointed the way to the policy which Richelieu was to pursue in Germany a quarter century later. Henry could not pursue his design as actively as he might have hoped, for in 1609 when he was on the point of intervening on the side of the Protestant princes against the Austrian Emperor he was assassinated.

The passing of the strong king threw affairs again into a state of confusion. Louis XIII (1610-1643), his heir and successor, was a

mere child under the influence of his mother, Maria de' Medici, who was named regent. Lacking in political ability but avid for power, Maria tried to govern by intrigue and bribery. The nobility, only recently subdued, now revived, and by resorting to armed uprisings managed to recover a good deal of what they had lost. The treasury was soon bankrupted again, and the prestige of the Crown was severely shaken. As an indication of the latter, a meeting of the Estates General was called in 1614. The Estates, it will be observed, never met in this era except in times of confusion. The nobility now demanded it chiefly to embarrass the Crown and the regent deemed it necessary to submit. The meeting amounted to nothing of importance, unless it be that it gave the first opportunity of a public appearance to a young man of genius, Cardinal Richelieu. Certainly it found no solution for the ills of the government.

After some ten years more of confusion and misgovernment, Louis XIII broke with his mother and allowed his great minister Cardinal Richelieu to take matters in hand. Louis, it might be said, was not without ability in his own right, but he always remained more interested in music than in government. At all events, the achievements of his minister have effectively obscured Louis XIII as a political personality.

Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu, was nobly born (1589). Though not marked out originally for a clerical career, he was persuaded to pursue theological studies so that he might occupy the family bishopric of Luçon and recoup the family fortunes. It was in this capacity that he first revealed his genius for administration and gave his own political ambitions a chance to mature. Elected in 1614 to the Estates General as a representative of his order, he distinguished himself sufficiently as their spokesman so that he was recommended to the Queen Regent's service. He remained with her, loyal to her cause, until the greater interests of the state impelled him to co-operate with the king. From that time forward until his death in 1642 Richelieu was the master of France.

The two major objectives of Richelieu's administration were to complete and perfect the central government of the Crown and to advance the national cause abroad by breaking the Hapsburg encirclement. The first of these was difficult enough to attain after the turbulent years of the regency. Richelieu had to do the work of Henry IV all over again, and more besides.

Among the factions which had learned to defy the royal authority, the Huguenots took a conspicuous place. They had become



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

**RICHELIEU. PORTRAIT BY
CHAMPAIGNE.**

accustomed to their own government guaranteed them by the Edict of Nantes, and felt that they had a legal right to act in defiance of the king. Moreover, there were among them members of the nobility jealous of Richelieu's powers and angry at his determination to centralize the government. They were anxious to use Huguenot privileges and powers to frustrate the king's minister. At all events, a year after his ministry began, Richelieu was faced with a serious Huguenot uprising. He was unable to deal with it at once because of difficulties abroad, but in 1627 he defeated the rebels in their most strongly fortified town, La Rochelle. This victory made it possible for Richelieu to deprive the Hugue-

nots of their unique political privileges and thus make it impossible for them to defy the Crown in the future. By the Edict of Alais, the Huguenots were required to surrender their fortifications to the Crown, and were compelled to abolish their independent political assemblies. Richelieu did not tamper with the religious settlement since his interest was not in enforcing religious doctrine upon dissidents but in making everyone respect the royal authority.

The solution of the problem of the Huguenots only partly solved the problem of the factious nobility, for only a small percentage of those anxious to keep the Crown weak for their own advantage were to be found in the Huguenot camp. To deal with them, Richelieu resorted to various expedients. It happened a number of times that these noble malcontents plotted with Maria de' Medici or with the King's brother against the Crown and Richelieu. The Cardinal's spies, who were numerous, usually ferreted out these conspiracies and the ring leaders, however high their social status, were brought to stern justice. Richelieu was inexorable in his treatment of those accused of treason. Besides striking terror among noble conspira-

tors, Richelieu set out to destroy the fortified castles, their last defense against the Crown. In 1626, he issued an edict requiring that all fortifications not needed by the Crown for defense against foreign invasion be destroyed, and when this was not done independently, it was done by the royal soldiery.

Richelieu's program demanded not only the destruction of organized opposition to the Crown: it also called for the improvement of the institutions of central government. It might be suggested that what Richelieu aimed to do, and largely achieved, was to make the Crown completely absolute. He made the reign of Louis XIV possible.

Existing institutions which might be used to obstruct the royal will were either destroyed or emasculated. The Estates General, for example, he never called, allowing it to languish. He kept a close eye on the *parlements* to see that they refrained from meddling in politics. The *Parlement* of Paris concerned him particularly. This, the highest court of the kingdom, registered the king's laws and on the basis of this privilege had long claimed the right to refuse to register them, thus exercising a power of veto. Richelieu held such interference to be unjustifiable even though by resort to the old custom of the "bed of justice" (the king appearing personally before the court accompanied by the great nobility to compel it to register the law in his presence) the veto could be nullified. His strong objections weakened the influence of the *Parlement* for a considerable time. While reducing to impotence those central institutions which might challenge the king's authority, Richelieu also took great pains to develop ministries, secretaries of state, and councils of state which were dependent upon the Crown and could be expected to carry out its will promptly and efficiently.

The local administration of the kingdom he likewise reorganized in the fashion best calculated to center it about the person of the king. It had long been the custom to bestow royal governorships in the provinces upon members of the nobility. Richelieu did not break entirely with this practice, but he effectively deprived the noble governors of real power. Most of their functions were transferred to royal officials, the *intendants*, who were given extensive jurisdiction over local justice, finance, and police. Completely dependent upon the Crown, and their labors closely scrutinized by Richelieu himself, these *intendants* were the Cardinal's most important agents in the establishment of strongly centralized government.

All of the while that Richelieu was fashioning royal absolutism,

he was deeply absorbed in affairs abroad. The outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in Germany offered him an excuse to challenge the Hapsburgs and to advance France's own political interests. He did not let slip this opportunity, as has already been observed. By intrigues with the Protestant enemies of the Catholic Emperor of Austria he kept the war alive until France could intervene directly. Then in 1635, French armies began to engage Austria in the German countries, and Spain in the neighboring Spanish possessions. In most of the early engagements the French soldiery showed up badly, but their deficiencies were so effectively overcome and their skill so greatly improved that by 1642, when Richelieu died, victory was already assured. Richelieu had not only strengthened the State, but had also restored its prestige abroad.

The great Cardinal's death was followed within a year by the death of Louis XIII, but the passing of these two personalities who had co-operated so closely, this time did not produce internal confusion or lead to any fundamental alteration of policy. For one thing, the heir to the throne, Louis XIV, was still a minor and allowed the management of affairs to continue under Cardinal Mazarin, Richelieu's own choice for his successor. An Italian by birth, Mazarin had been persuaded to join the service of the French Crown and became the latter's greatest disciple. He had no inclination to change his predecessor's policies and pursued them diligently from 1642 until his own death in 1661.

There was considerable popular resentment at Mazarin's assumption of authority on the score that he was a foreigner. Taking advantage of this, disaffected elements, headed especially by the nobility who had reason to resent the continuation of Richelieu's policies, engineered a revolution. Known as the *Fronde*, this uprising which began in 1648 and continued sporadically throughout most of Mazarin's career, was quite confused in character. The extent to which the lower classes and the middle class sometimes co-operated with the nobility has made it appear as the first popular uprising in France against royal absolutism. The trouble started with a dispute between the king and the *Parlement* of Paris, the latter refusing, even before a bed of justice, to register an objectionable law involving matters of taxation. The mob of Paris rose to the defense of the *Parlement* and for several months the capital was completely out of control. Loyal troops eventually dispersed the rebels, however, and thereafter, though the revolution remained a thorn in Mazarin's side, it never really threatened his power. The defeat was another blow to

the nobility who thenceforth were to seek the protection of the Crown rather than to challenge it. *Parlement* likewise suffered and was deprived for the time being of all powers over financial and political matters.

Abroad, Mazarin continued the policies of Richelieu, bringing the feud with the Hapsburgs to a momentary and successful conclusion with the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659). The former has already been described. It will be remembered that by virtue of it France was confirmed in the possession of Alsace, was recognized as having a privileged position in the Rhine country, and was assured a voice in the political affairs of the Holy Roman Empire. The Peace of Westphalia resolved the Austrian part of France's Hapsburg problem but left the Spanish part still to be settled. The Spanish Crown was optimistic about the chances of wresting victory from defeat, especially when Mazarin became so deeply embroiled with the *Fronde*. Indeed, Spanish men and money were placed at the disposal of the rebels in the hope that France might be made to collapse. When this did not result and when the *Fronde* was effectively scotched so that Mazarin was able to turn the whole of his attention to Spain, the outcome was not long in doubt, especially since France enjoyed the active assistance of Cromwell and the British fleet. In 1659, Spain was ready to sue for peace. By the Treaty of the Pyrenees she ceded all the territory formerly held on the French side of the Pyrenees and relinquished to France a strip of the Spanish Netherlands. Both the Spanish and the Austrian Hapsburgs had thus been humbled and the territorial possession of France enlarged.

Mazarin died two years after peace with Spain had been reached. He left the State strongly centralized under the Crown at home and with an enviable prestige abroad. French pre-eminence in Europe for the seventeenth century was assured. It remained for Louis XIV to bask in its glory and prepare the way for its collapse.

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The Divine Right of Kings

A. RELIGION AS THE BULWARK OF AUTHORITY

Since the days of primitive man, priest and king have customarily found strength in union. The secular ruler has welcomed the added power and prestige derived from claiming supernatural support, and the religious leader has leaned heavily on the worldly power of the king. Like so many elements of western society this traditional co-operation seems to have arisen in the East. Priest kings were common in ancient Sumeria and during the Minoan age, and for a long period the priests of Amon were the rulers of Egypt. The rulers of pagan Greece and Rome often united in their persons command of both civil and religious activities. The early Roman emperors were the chief priests of the state cult, and the later emperors eventually presumed to personal deification. Participation of the Catholic Church in the coronation of Pepin and Charlemagne strengthened the Frankish monarchy and dramatically revitalized the ancient tie, which the failure of civil government did not break. The Church assumed the functions and burdens of the State and the connection of the two was closer than it had been since pagan times. Under Pope Innocent III, the papal monarchy became the commanding power in Europe.

The successful struggle of the rising national monarchies against the Church created a new claim: that the kings, no less than the popes, were the instruments of God's will and power. The disruption of the Catholic Church by the Protestant Revolution gave rise to nationalized state churches frequently subservient to and always closely allied with the secular government. The modern separation of church and state has now presented the world with a new aspect of the supernatural in government: the totalitarian state. In contemporary Russia, for example, service of the state has become a

kind of religion, and the worship of Lenin a sublimated adoration.

A variety of dramatizations had symbolized the part played by the clergy in secular government and the participation of the papal agent in the coronation of Pepin the Frank might have found its precedent in Old Testament history. Whether or not it did, that action introduced a new conception of monarchy to European politics. The king became "the Lord's anointed," and obedience to him was held to be a religious duty. The coronation of Charlemagne further embedded this new theory in popular practice.

During the long struggle between Church and State, the princes were handicapped by the popularly accepted belief in the divine origin of ecclesiastical power. To offset this, they recalled early precedent and claimed that the institution of monarchy also was divinely ordained. To transform the claim that monarchs were established by God to the more arrogant presumption that a king held office by the grace of God was a short step. The doctrine of divine right monarchs was the logical outcome of ambition working through the theory of the Lord's anointed. In its extreme form, this doctrine declared that kings were responsible only to God who had endowed them with power. A good king was a blessing sent by God to be received by the people with praise and thanksgiving; a bad king was punishment for past sin and was to be suffered in silent and humble contrition. Good or bad, the king was the voice of God which all must obey.

When the Church reluctantly surrendered its claims to supreme power, the theory of divine right ceased to be a challenge and became a quasi-doctrine of the clergy. They, partly from conviction and partly from calculating self-interest, were always the chief supporters of absolutisms. This new aspect of the supernatural in government was demonstrated in France by the Concordat of Bologna which, by satisfying the financial desires of the Church and the political ambitions of the king, established a mutual vested interest in the perpetuation of the Catholic Church and the absolute monarchy. In England, the politically controlled Anglican Church was given a religious monopoly and, henceforth, loyalty to it became a test of loyalty to the Crown and long remained the *sine qua non* of political advancement. The Russian Orthodox Church was no exception to this general rule. The head of the church became the agent of the czar in the days of Peter the Great, and the clergy thenceforth were almost without exception propagandists for czarist absolutism.

The complete separation of Church and State rendered the alli-

ance of priest and king less potent but it did not dissolve it. Churches have remained the protagonists of law and order and, as established institutions, have contributed to the conservative stabilization of society.

B. THE SUN KING

The death of Cardinal Mazarin (1661) cleared the stage for Louis XIV, the most convincing royal actor and divine right monarch of the seventeenth century. From early life he had been instructed to regard himself as made of something more than common clay, as the divine agent of God through whom alone the state could move and have its being. Louis did not formulate these ideas and he did not advance them to hide personal ambition; they were a deep and compelling conviction, the mainspring of his arbitrary paternalism, and the source of his superb conceit.

Louis was not endowed with superior intelligence and he was certainly not a statesman of vision, but he possessed the uncommon genius of capturing the imagination of his contemporaries. He had the personality and bearing of a king: he was of good stature, dignified, aloof, majestic, and inordinately vain. During his last years he was devoutly religious, but he was never moral, and he lived in open adultery during most of his life. Yet in his person he identified the state and crystallized the French nation so completely that his reputed remark, "*l'état, c'est moi*" (I am the state), was not altogether a vain boast. Nor was his self-appointed title of "Sun King" without significant meaning, for he was the symbolic figure of divine right monarchy, around which France and all the petty princelings of Europe revolved.

The political foundations of the power and prestige of the French monarch had been carefully fashioned by Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, the momentum of whose labors carried well through Louis' reign. The nobility had been reduced to impotence, and were prepared to salvage what remained of their privileges by acquiescing to the crown. The political privileges and immunities of the Huguenots had been removed; a strong, well-organized, and efficient army had been created; and, perhaps most important of all, the administration had been centralized under the crown. Constitutional limitations upon the royal power had been allowed to lapse through disuse, both Richelieu and Mazarin, for example, having scrupulously refrained from assembling the Estates General. Louis had inherited



CARTOON OF LOUIS XIV. BY W. M. THACKERAY (1811-1863).

Louis XIV inspired many caricatures in his own day but none better than this one of the nineteenth century with which Thackeray illustrated his essay, "Impressions at Versailles" in his *Paris Sketches* (1840). In Thackeray's own words, "You see at once that majesty is made out of the wig, the high-heeled shoes, and cloak. . . . Thus do barbers and cobblers make the gods we worship."

a Crown already absolute, and the only notable contribution he made was the organization of the central administration into departments or ministries, such as might now be termed the Ministries of Justice, Finance, Foreign Affairs, War, and Navy. The functions of these were not precisely defined, so that although the reorganization contributed to greater efficiency the confusion of overlapping jurisdictions was not wholly eliminated.

Louis had a high concept of his duties as a sovereign, unlike his two equally absolute successors. He followed the course of public affairs with close attention, directed councils of state and discussed regularly with his ministers matters of public policy. In his customary fashion, he deluded himself into believing that all government emanated from his person, while in actual fact his skillful ministers through flattery managed to do very frequently as they pleased. It was merely a matter of making the king think that he originated what they had already planned to do.

The most important and original of Louis' ministers was his Controller-General of Finance, Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), a dour, energetic, and exceedingly ambitious individual. Through his father, a prosperous merchant of Rheims who had followed the

common procedure of purchasing a post in the king's official family, Colbert secured early admission into the royal service as a minor clerk in the Ministry of War. After distinguishing himself in this capacity, he was recommended to the personal staff of Cardinal Mazarin, whose financial adviser he became. He did much to amass the Cardinal's private fortune, while incidentally laying the basis for his own, and was consequently mentioned by Mazarin to Louis XIV for high service. Colbert was desirous of administering the finances of the kingdom and, to that end, conducted a successful conspiracy against Nicolas Fouquet, whom he replaced as Controller-General in 1665.

Colbert's consuming ambition was to advance the national prosperity and to increase the national wealth, which latter he and his contemporaries interpreted to be the amount of liquid capital which the state possessed. In pursuit of this end, Colbert devised a program of economic nationalism commonly known as "mercantilism" or "Colbertism." This provided that a state with natural deficiencies in precious metals might compensate for their absence by artificially stimulating a balance of trade in the national favor, and by establishing control over potential resources of precious metals and markets in unexploited regions of the world.

Briefly stated, a "favorable balance of trade" resulted when the national exports exceeded the national imports, thus rendering it necessary for foreign nations to pay the difference in gold and silver. Colbert proposed to attain such a favorable balance by the apparently simple procedure of encouraging manufacture and trade, and at the same time discouraging importations from abroad through tariffs. In the face of innumerable obstacles, he embarked upon this program and held to it tenaciously. Skilled artisans from abroad were invited to France and a number of industries were subsidized, notably the making of tapestry, silks, glass, and pottery, in all of which the nation soon gained an ascendancy. Numerous internal barriers to trade, including internal customs dues, were removed, despite the vigorous protests of vested interests; and still further to expedite the flow of commerce, Colbert returned to Sully's program of road and canal construction. Probably the most notable of his achievements in this connection was the completion of the Languedoc canal which united the Mediterranean and Atlantic.

Colbert was equally energetic in building a colonial empire for France and in organizing the colonial trade on a basis which would enable it to compete with the English and the Dutch. Under his

inspiration, the administration of New France was reorganized and made more paternalistic, while explorers were encouraged to lay claim to the Great Lakes region and the Ohio valley. Old trading companies, such as the Baltic and Levant Companies, were reorganized, an African Company was created, and all trade with the Far West and the Far East co-ordinated under the great French West and the French East Indies Companies. Through these measures, Colbert had indeed prepared France to take her place among the leading colonial and commercial powers of the world.

Unfortunately for Colbert and perhaps for France, his elaborate economic program failed to produce the expected results. In part this was due to the inherent weaknesses of his system, which failed to anticipate the possible consequences of its adoption by other nations. Failure was due even more to the sporadic character of royal support at home and to the absence of peace abroad. Colbert believed it essential for his program to have national financial stability, and for this Louis' co-operation was a vital necessity. The enormous military expenditures of Richelieu and Mazarin and their mismanagement of finances had virtually revived the disorder prevailing before the great reforms of Sully. Colbert sought to re-establish order by introducing scrupulous and efficient management. New methods of assessing and collecting taxes were adopted to eliminate speculation, and an adequate system of royal accounting was introduced. Moreover, Colbert revolutionized the whole tax system by creating a variety of indirect taxes which could be painlessly paid. These measures produced systematic financial administration and at the same time increased the national revenues. However, instead of educating the king to abate his improvident personal expenditures, they seemed to encourage his naturally extravagant tastes, and economy of government was not realized.

The greatest squandering of national wealth resulted from the needless and expensive wars which filled the greater part of Louis' reign. In part, these were occasioned by the monarch's desire to establish the "natural" frontiers of France on the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; in part, they grew out of the old Bourbon-Hapsburg feud which had begun with Henry IV and was still unsettled; but, undoubtedly, their chief cause was Louis' insatiable lust for power and glory which inspired him to seek French hegemony in Europe. Not even Louis' unquestioned skill as a diplomat obscured his motives from his contemporaries. With profound confidence in the prowess of his army, a confidence assiduously cultivated by the

Minister of War, Louvois, Louis played at the game of war like a confirmed gambler, convinced that the elimination of error must lead to certain success. It was a diabolical game which cost France and Europe an era of suffering.

The Grand Monarch's first war, the War of Devolution (1667-1668), was the result of an undisguised act of aggression. By local law in Brabant it was established that possession of land should pass to female children of the owner's first wife in preference to male descendants by a second marriage. Louis adopted the preposterous procedure of laying claim under this law to the whole of the Spanish Netherlands upon the death of Philip IV of Spain in 1665. Philip had a son, Charles II, by his second wife, and two daughters by his first wife. One of these daughters was the wife of Louis XIV, and it was her rights which he feigned to protect. When the Spanish government failed to appreciate the full force of Louis' logic, he proceeded to march his well-trained troops into the disputed territory. The speed with which his army advanced and its alarming successes aroused the apprehension of both Holland and England. The former was fearful that its own hard-won independence might be jeopardized, and the latter worried about the effects of French success upon English commerce. The two states consequently joined hands against Louis, and were soon supported by the ambitious government of Sweden. Louis, who had not calculated upon the creation of so formidable a Triple Alliance, deemed it advisable to halt operations and by his moderation allay suspicions so that his plans might be matured for the future. He therefore consented to a treaty (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668) by which he renounced his claims to the whole of the Spanish Netherlands in return for several fortified places on its frontier.

Convinced that Holland was chiefly responsible for this initial failure, Louis set out to isolate at once the little Dutch upstart so that he might take appropriate revenge. Four years after the peace of Aix his diplomacy had apparently achieved a brilliant success. Charles II of England had been bribed to leave Holland to her fate; the Austrian Emperor had given a solemn pledge to refrain from assisting the enemies of France; and Sweden agreed to restrain Austria should she break her promise by going to the defense of the Dutch. With Holland abandoned to his none too tender mercies, Louis prepared to strike. His armies, under the distinguished leadership of Condé and Turenne, advanced upon the defenseless Dutch in the spring of 1672. The stroke was so swiftly and accurately dealt

that the extinction of Holland seemed inevitable before the end of the year. From this fate it was saved by the unique strategy of flooding the country, by the skill of its diplomats, and by the growing apprehension of other powers. Gradually the whole of Europe united against France, and by 1674 it was already apparent that Louis had again been frustrated. The war dragged on four more years before peace was arranged at Nimwegen (1678). Since neither France nor its enemies had been decisively defeated, the Treaty represented a compromise, with Louis securing some profit from the venture. Holland lost none of its territory and gained decided advantages through the removal of trade restrictions with France and the guarantee that the integrity of the Spanish Netherlands, a barrier essential to Dutch independence, would be preserved. France was allowed to annex Franche-Comté and to secure certain rectifications of territory in Lorraine.

Unchastened by previous experience, Louis XIV proceeded to break the Peace of Nimwegen. This treaty, and the Peace of Westphalia before it, had ceded several towns of Lorraine to France together with "their dependencies." The ambiguity of this clause gave wide scope to Louis' aggressive designs in the Rhine country, since it apparently left to his good judgment the determination of what the "dependencies" were. To carry out this provision, Louis created a number of tribunals, *Chambres des Réunions*, carefully packed and instructed by him, to adjudge what territories as "dependencies" of the ceded cities should legitimately fall to France. By resorting to defunct feudal precedent, skillful bribery, and diplomacy, these courts legalized the annexation of lands in Flanders, Alsace, and Lorraine. As each new territory was adjudged to be French property, royal troops proceeded to its immediate occupation. Europe followed this audacious procedure with increasing anxiety and, in 1688, the Empire, Spain, Sweden, Holland, and a number of the lesser German states formed a secret League of Augsburg to restrain the Sun King. Other powers joined this hostile coalition during the next two years, the most conspicuous being England whose sovereign after 1688 was William of Orange, implacable enemy of Louis XIV. William assumed the leadership in this combination of France's enemies, and England provided the sinews for the war which shortly followed.

The War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1698) was one of the most exhausting wars of the seventeenth century. As in the previous Dutch War, neither side gained a decisive victory, though it is significant that through the genius of Vauban, who had created

the great fortifications of the kingdom, French territory was not overrun. In 1698 peace was negotiated at Ryswick. By its terms, France was compelled to surrender all of the territory in Lorraine absorbed since the peace of Nimwegen, but was confirmed in the possession of Alsace, including the city of Strassburg. This was a serious blow to Louis XIV but far from enough to convince him of the utter futility of aggressive war.

Indeed, at the very time the Treaty of Ryswick was being signed, Louis was casting covetous eyes on Spain, the next field for his aggressive operations. Since the death of Philip IV in 1665 the Spanish kingdom had been the object of foreign intrigue. Philip had only one son, Charles II, a physical and mental weakling, who was himself childless. It was clear to everyone that upon his death both the Hapsburg house of Austria and the Bourbon house of France would lay claim to his throne, since both of these royal families were connected by marriage ties to the Spanish Hapsburgs. Yet neither Leopold I of Austria and the Holy Roman Empire nor Louis XIV could contemplate with equanimity the succession of the other's family. Nor could the English government remain uninterested in any settlement which was to be made, since it was in the interest of her trade with the Spanish colonies to keep the Spanish government weak. The problem of succession, then, was fraught with enormous difficulties. To regulate this matter to the satisfaction of all parties, the interested powers nonchalantly devised two partition treaties (1698 and 1699), calmly dividing considerable portions of Spanish territory in Italy between Austria and France, and arranging for the succession to the throne. The wishes of the hapless Charles were not consulted. Louis XIV had been the prime mover in the negotiation of these settlements but remained unsatisfied with their results. Consequently, he could look only with pleasure upon an intrigue in the Spanish court itself which sought to undo the second partition treaty, which provided for the succession of an Austrian archduke, by elevating to the throne the second grandson of Louis, Philip of Anjou. The parties to this plot eventually prevailed upon Charles II to devise a last will and testament which named Philip of Anjou his heir. After November, 1700, when Charles II finally died, Philip became Philip V of Spain.

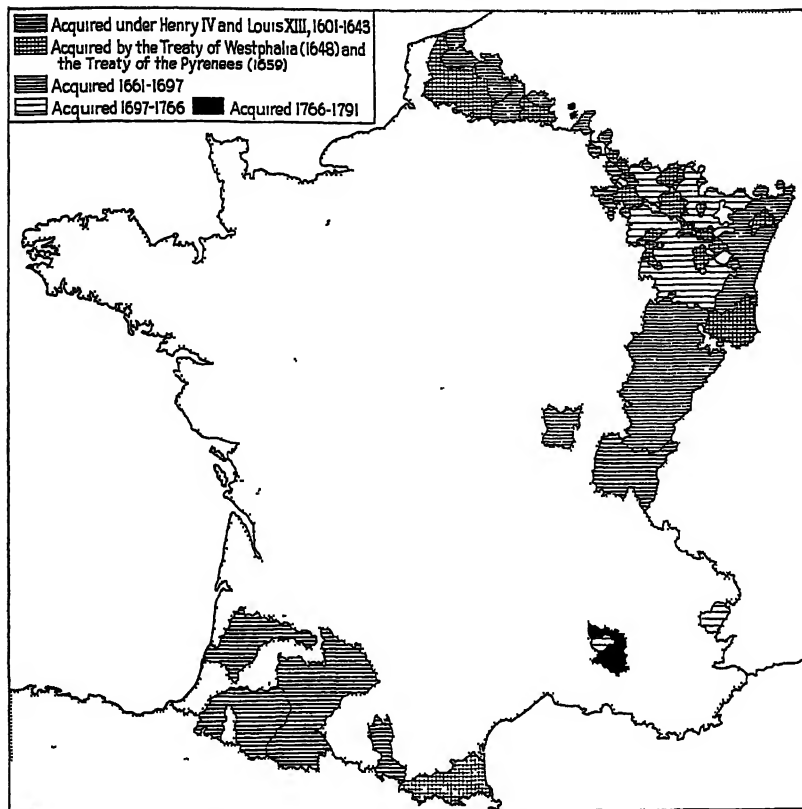
Europe was aghast at this turn of affairs, but hardly in a mood to dispute it after the recent exhausting War of the League of Augsburg. Indeed, there is every probability that this Bourbon succession to the throne of Spain would have passed off peacefully had

Louis held his overweening ambition in restraint and offered some compensations to the other interested parties. He refused, however, to consider any concessions of Spanish territory to the Austrian Hapsburgs and, moreover, he proceeded to act as though all Spanish possessions had become a part of his kingdom. He disregarded the integrity of the Spanish Netherlands, and set about regulating their economic affairs to the disadvantage of both Dutch and English traders; he issued decrees which were obviously directed against English trade in the Spanish new world; and, to cap the climax of his folly, he publicly espoused the cause of the deposed Stuarts. Nothing was better calculated to arouse the anger of England, who proceeded at once actively to support a coalition of Louis' enemies in Europe.

The War of the Spanish Succession which followed dragged out monotonously for twelve years (1701-1713) until both parties were exhausted. Negotiations for its termination, which began as early as 1711, were finally concluded at Utrecht during 1713 and 1714. Philip V was allowed to retain the throne of Spain under condition that the French and Spanish crowns should never be united. A number of Spain's possessions in Europe were turned over to Austria, notably Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Netherlands, henceforth for a century to be known as the Austrian Netherlands. England received, among other things, the title to Gibraltar, and important trading privileges in Hispanic America. France neither lost nor gained on the continent.

After almost a half century of fighting for control of Europe, Louis XIV had made astonishingly little progress. It is true that he did not emerge from conflict empty-handed, and indeed most of his territorial acquisitions were of considerable importance to France, but the profit was exceedingly small when compared with the costs involved. The strength and energy of his subjects had been much too heavily taxed, and the resources of his kingdom had been drained. The mass of the French people had been reduced to poverty and misery, so much so that peasant riots were not infrequent in Louis' last years. It became increasingly difficult to collect the customary revenues, and even Louis himself, in 1709, had to pawn his gold plate for ready cash. Louis' vainglorious military ambition was in large measure the cause of widespread social unrest in eighteenth century France.

There was scarcely any compensation in domestic policy for the errors in the Grand Monarch's foreign policy. As he advanced in



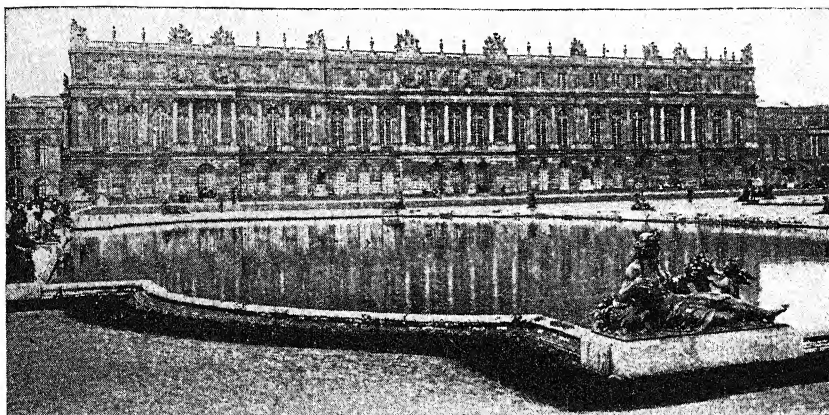
MAP 19. EXPANSION OF BOURBON FRANCE, 1601-1791

years and lost the aid of able ministers trained in the school of Richelieu and Mazarin, his government became more inefficient and more arbitrary. Nothing demonstrates this latter characteristic quite so well as his short-sighted efforts to attain religious uniformity.

In later life, Louis appears to have felt strongly the sense of his own iniquities, and to have been confirmed in his fanatical religiosity by aspiring Jesuits who flocked about the court as well as by Madame de Maintenon to whom he had been secretly married in 1684. To these influential persons and to Louis himself it seemed fitting to exterminate heresy and Protestantism. The first to feel the oppressive hand of the government were the Jansenists, a puritanical group of Catholic intellectuals whose chief offense was that they denounced the immoralities of the Jesuit society. The violence used to uproot this small, innocent group was as nothing, however, compared to the brutal tactics employed against the Huguenots.

It will be remembered that the Huguenots were Calvinists, chiefly of middle class extraction, who after a period of religious turmoil in the sixteenth century had been granted privileges of worship by the Edict of Nantes in 1598. Although Richelieu had seen fit to remove the political independence guaranteed by this document, the religious liberties of the Huguenots were preserved as the basis of social and religious peace. Louis hesitated to tamper with a settlement for which his grandfather had been responsible, but was persuaded to take action against the Huguenots within the limits allowed by the Edict. By generous interpretation, this permitted a meddling in Protestantism so complete as to render religious freedom virtually a mockery. At the same time, every conceivable method of converting the Huguenots was employed at Louis' bidding, from intellectual persuasion to purchase of conversions. In 1680, violence was used to hasten this process, royal troops being ordered to establish themselves in Huguenots' homes. Under this pressure, which was horribly efficient, conversions came so rapidly that Louis shortly was convinced that the Edict of Nantes had been rendered superfluous. Consequently, he proceeded to revoke it in 1685. Almost at once those of Protestant convictions still remaining fled from the kingdom, despite efforts to restrain them. It is estimated that more than 200,000 went into permanent exile, 200,000 of the best skilled artisans and agriculturalists of the realm. Not only was the procedure of Louis in the handling of this matter morally unjustifiable, but it was dangerous to the economic and social welfare of the state.

It must not be thought that Louis, with all his fanaticism, was the willing agent of the international Church. Indeed, while the royal government let fall its oppressive hand on minority groups, Louis conducted a war against the Papacy itself. As the result of a controversy surrounding the death of a royal official at the papal court, Louis demanded for satisfaction practically the complete control of the French Church. This demand was too much and the pope refused, whereupon Louis prevailed upon the clergy in 1682 to pass the famous *Four Articles of Gallican Independence*, by which the French Crown and the French Church were declared to be virtually independent of papal authority. This accentuated rather than solved the problem and helped to prolong the crisis with the Papacy for eleven years. In the end, it was the Papacy which held out longest and most successfully, Louis finally agreeing to withdraw the offending articles, in return for the recognition of the royal right to administer vacant bishoprics. There was little actually gained by



VERSAILLES, EXTERIOR

View from the terrace leading to the gardens.

this feud, but it contributed much to the widespread religious unrest which the Crown had been fomenting.

No history of the era of the Sun King is complete without some mention of its artistic and cultural achievements. These, no less than wars and politics, reveal the spirit of the times, reflect the cult of majesty, and emphasize both the grandeur and the artificiality of the age. Louis regarded literature and the arts as properly within the sphere of his control and sought to regiment them as he did his government. By patronage of various sorts he did succeed in establishing a considerable measure of control over writers, artists, sculptors, and architects. But despite his power, not all creative work was cast in a mold of his making nor was it in any sense the exclusive product of his genius. There is a continuity in the history of style as in the history of anything else, and a current fashion represents the blending of the old with the new. In the Age of Louis, that preoccupation with classical antiquity, first clearly evident in the Renaissance, was still vital for it accorded well with the air of majesty and rather grandiose dignity of the reign.

Perhaps the most faithful of all artistic mirrors of an age is architecture which bends past experience to present needs. During the seventeenth century three styles were popular in France: the baroque; the rococo, a more delicate and decorative modification of the baroque; and the academic, inspired chiefly by the examples of ancient Rome. In actual practice these styles frequently were used together so that a single structure often exemplified them all. Thus the great palace of Versailles has an academic exterior, formalized

and restrained, but its interior decoration is a mixture of baroque and rococo with the latter dominating. This colossal structure with its formal courts and gardens was a fitting monument to Louis' vanity. A magnificent symbol of his despotism, it was imitated and copied by almost all European monarchs who were proud to revolve around the Sun King like minor planets around the sun. In England, a similar mixture of baroque and academic is to be found in the work of the great Christopher Wren (1632-1723) who rebuilt much of London after the great fire of 1666. His most famous work is St. Paul's, dominated by a baroque dome. In both France and England, this was the era of great châteaux and country houses built usually in a similar combination of styles. Considerable advance was also made, especially in France, in town planning; the typical form being the use of squares or parks surrounded by houses of uniform design.

French painting in the reign of Louis was quite thoroughly regimented by means of the Academies of Architecture and Painting, founded by Colbert.¹ Poussin (1594-1665) and Gellée (Claude Lorrain, 1600-1682), the most important painters of the period, leaned heavily on the classics for both theme and style, and lesser men followed their lead. Late in Louis' reign a new style, called decorative, since the pictures were planned to decorate rooms, became the vogue. The leader in this school was Watteau (1684-1721) whose work clearly reflected the artificiality of his age. Beyond France, more significant contributions to painting were made by Velasquez of Spain, Hals, Rembrandt, Rubens, and Van Dyck of the Low Countries.²

Clear evidence of French pre-eminence in the world of fashion is found in furniture styles which were carried from France to Holland and England particularly, and were widely imitated elsewhere. Most important was the heavy, massive Louis XIV furniture designed for use in large rooms. The academic influence is apparent in its symmetry; the rococo in its use of gilded carvings, ornamentation, and polychrome inlays.

As in the other arts of the Age of Louis, the foundation of Renaissance classicism is also apparent in French literature, but here also it was not mere slavish imitation. French genius erected its own structure upon a classic base and dramatists like Corneille (1606-1684)

¹ Colbert also founded the French Academy at Rome which provided scholarships for French architects, sculptors, and artists, with the purpose of training them in the classic style.

² See pp. 434-437.

and Racine (1639-1699) used the classic theme and form to portray the life and politics of their own century. Earlier thinkers and writers like Montaigne, Descartes, and Malherbe had pioneered in the art of logical thinking and clarity of expression and the geniuses of the golden age of Louis carried on. There was developed the classic tradition in literature so-called both because of its debt to the Greek and Roman and because it became an accepted standard of theme and style. Molière (1622-1673) created characters which have become stock types of satirical comedy; and Pascal (1623-1662), author and scientist, laid down the canons of good prose usage. Dissent from the ancient standard appeared in the works of Pascal, in the *Critical Dictionary* of Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), and in the struggle between the "Ancients" who exalted the classic past and the "Moderns" who praised the merits of their own generation. The glories of the Age of the Sun King were clearly not confined to the splendors of Versailles or the doubtful glories of war.

Yet it is not difficult to understand why Louis lost the affection and respect of many of his subjects. Taxes had steadily risen as the result of the king's personal extravagances and his unhappy exploits abroad. The country had been drained of men and resources and its religious peace had been broken. There was everywhere growing poverty and disillusionment. Yet France had achieved glory; her arms were feared abroad, and her language and culture were widely imitated. It must be observed, however, that even the glory of France was superficial, at most an appearance. Louis' heritage to France was more evil than good: an exhausted state, a depleted treasury, social unrest, a parasitical court, and an all-powerful bureaucracy bent upon exploitation. Even if France had had strong kings in the eighteenth century, instead of the weak Louis XV and Louis XVI, a catastrophe would have been difficult to avoid.

C. ABSOLUTISM IN EASTERN EUROPE

Eastern Europe could offer no glories to compare with Versailles and no monarch to compete with the vainglorious Louis XIV, but its rulers were perhaps even more absolute in authority than was the Sun King. Native home of the Teutons and Slavs and adopted home of many migratory peoples, eastern Europe for a time lagged behind the new nations of the West. Paced by Austria, Prussia and Russia emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to assume the stature of European powers.

Austria originally was a small, Germanic garrison state on the Danube. Its growth was gradual, and under the leadership of its ruling family, the Hapsburgs, it had become by the sixteenth century the leading German state in the Holy Roman Empire. The office of Holy Roman Emperor, which became hereditary in the Hapsburg family, lent prestige; but Austria remained the chief source of Hapsburg power. The seventeenth century addition of Bohemia and Hungary to the Hapsburg holdings added new confusion to their essentially disunited subjects. The Hapsburgs ruled over people of Italian, Polish, Hungarian, Bohemian, German, and other racial origins. It was a union of force and convenience rather than of common interest, and the disruptive force of nationalism constantly threatened its existence.

It is not surprising that under pressure of this constant threat and warned by the fate of the Spanish crown, Charles VI (1711-1740) regarded his lack of a son as disastrous. Obsessed by fear of a possible War of the Austrian Succession, Charles emptied his treasury and his life in trying to guarantee the safe accession of his daughter, Maria Theresa. He accomplished this to his own satisfaction by means of a document, known as the Pragmatic Sanction, which he threatened, bribed, and cajoled his fellow rulers into signing. The Pragmatic Sanction supposedly warranted the indivisibility of the Austrian possessions and the succession of Maria Theresa. Charles died in 1740 leaving to her his title and crown, a weakened state with an empty treasury, and a collection of guarantees considerably less lasting than the parchment upon which they were inscribed.

Principal danger and jealous rival of the new ruler was Frederick the Great, King of Prussia. Prussia originated as an outpost of empire established in the tenth century to hold back the Slavs. It was then known as the Mark of Brandenburg. Successful expansion increased the power of the margrave and raised him to the dignity of an Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. Early in the fifteenth century the Emperor Sigismund conferred this electorate upon an undistinguished but very fortunate family of south Germany named Hohenzollern. By luck and careful management the new rulers were able to increase their power at the expense of local authorities and to extend their possessions to include Cleves (1608) and Prussia (1618). The latter takes its name from the barbarian Borussians, a Lithuanian people, who occupied it prior to the thirteenth century, when it was conquered by the crusading order of the Teutonic

Knights. An unsuccessful war against Poland, then the chief power in eastern Europe, resulted in a division of Prussia. The western portion came under the direct rule of Poland, the eastern part was given back to the Knights as a fief of the Polish crown. A member of the Hohenzollern family, Albert, became head of the Teutonic order in the sixteenth century, and followed the example of Luther-anized German princes by secularizing eastern Prussia. The failure of his line of succession in 1618 was the gain of the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns who became masters of the combined state of Brandenburg-Prussia.

The currently reigning Elector was not competent to realize the potentialities of the new holdings, but his successor was an able, constructive statesman, Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640-1688). His state was actually in three parts: East Prussia, Brandenburg, and Cleves, each under the loose rule of its local feudal diet. His first task was to knit these units together. By breaking the power of the local diets he gradually attained control of legislation and taxation. Using these powers, he centralized the army and the administration and converted his once divided state into a single political organism. The economic welfare of Brandenburg-Prussia was also a care of the Great Elector's. He stimulated agriculture and encouraged the reclamation and settlement of waste lands. The building of roads and canals was a boon to commerce and manufacturing, as was the immigration of the outlawed Huguenots which he took pains to encourage.

Domestic affairs in order, the Great Elector turned to diplomacy further to strengthen his position. His title to East Prussia was still shadowed by Poland's feudal claim. Skillful if unscrupulous diplomacy, and well-timed interventions during the Swedish-Polish War (1655-1660), netted him the recognition of full sovereignty over East Prussia. His acquisition of eastern Pomerania at the Peace of Westphalia brought with it a rivalry with Sweden, then the major Baltic power. Judging the time to be favorable, he went to war with Sweden in 1675. During the next four years his troops were victorious but he was blocked at the council table by Sweden's ally, Louis XIV, and the Peace of St.-Germain-en-Laye (1679) registered only slight gains for the Elector.

The title, King of Prussia, was the major attainment of the next elector, Frederick III (1688-1713). Because Prussia was held in full sovereignty while Brandenburg was a fief of the empire, the former eclipsed the latter, and the state became known as the Kingdom of

Prussia. King Frederick William I (1713-1740), an able and eccentric monarch, raised Prussia to the rank of a great power largely by building up an army of eighty thousand precisely drilled, rigidly disciplined troops. This new army seemed to justify itself by wresting a large portion of western Pomerania from Sweden in 1720. An effective and awesome army was not King Frederick William's only accomplishment. He set up a bureaucracy which matched the army in training, efficiency, and loyalty. By enforcing the practice of rigid economy, government finance was put on a sound basis. His paternalistic government regulated the details of everyone's life even to forcing apple sellers to occupy the interval between sales with knitting. He is himself reputed to have said that he attended to everything but salvation which he left to God. This singular personage had one peculiar hobby: tall guardsmen. His crack regiment was nicknamed the "Potsdam Giants," and he spared neither effort nor money to keep the ranks well filled with soldiers of the proper stature. Frederick William's other great preoccupation was the education of his son and successor, Frederick II, called the Great.

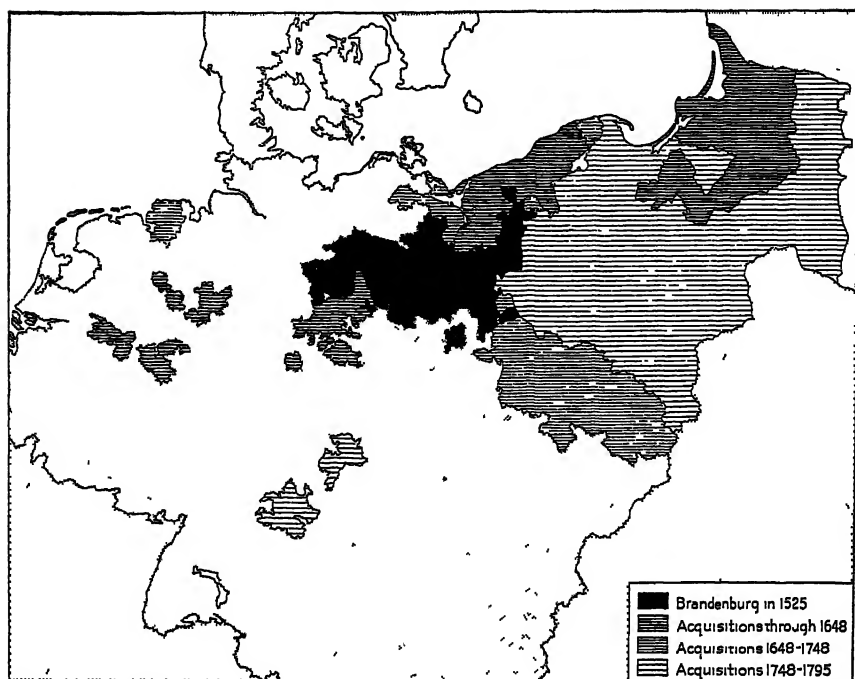
Frederick the Great was the prototype of the group of rulers, known as Enlightened Despots, who flattered themselves that they carried into practice the theories of rationalism. This new intellectual influence taught that man could progress by virtue of his reasoning powers and urged the reconciliation of inherited institutions with the new-found criteria of science and reason. Frederick and his peers were sure that progress must come from above since the king was to the state as the mind was to the body. This implied a monopoly of wisdom which no ruler possessed but which many claimed. Frederick accepted his responsibility gravely and professed always to consider himself as the first servant of the state.

He was a mercantilist who encouraged immigration and settlement, promoted the reclamation of land, fostered industry and commerce, and improved ways and means of communication. He instigated a codification of law and carried out a reform of punishment. He extended a limited religious toleration. He patronized Voltaire until the latter too severely criticized the monarch's bumbling attempts at poetry. Frederick's enlightenment, however, did not include an understanding of the weaknesses of the Prussian class system. Not only did he fail to make any improvement in the condition of the oppressed peasantry, he even increased their economic burden. His expensive wars and the high cost of bureaucratic regulation forced an increase in taxes and further depressed the under-

privileged. Secure in the confidence of his own greatness, he omitted to train a successor to carry on his policies. In short, in the variety of his activities as well as in the breadth of his pretensions and the shortsightedness of his errors, he was a fair sample of the group which included Joseph II of Austria, Charles III of Spain, and Catherine the Great of Russia.

Frederick demonstrated opportunism and aggressive greed in the first year of his reign when he ignored the Pragmatic Sanction and invaded the disputed area of Silesia. That rich territory had long been claimed by both Prussia and Austria, and Frederick judged that the accession of Maria Theresa to the Austrian throne furnished an auspicious time to settle the question in Prussia's favor. The other signatories of the Pragmatic Sanction gladly followed Frederick's lead, and courageous Maria Theresa found herself opposing Prussia, France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). The Austrian people loyally rallied to their valiant empress but the odds were too uneven despite the aid given her by England, Holland and Russia. France sided with Prussia and the war dragged on until the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) reciprocally restored all conquests, guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Prussian possession of Silesia.

The rise of Prussia to the position of a great power provoked the jealous interest of the other states of Europe and produced a new series of alliances. The personal hostility of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia toward Frederick the Great led her to continue as Austria's ally. England which, for the sake of the balance of power, had been allied with Austria, shifted sides to protect the home state of the Hanoverian kings and because of the clash of French and English colonial ambitions. The skillful Austrian diplomat, Kaunitz, played up the Anglo-French colonial rivalry, and the Anglo-Prussian Treaty of Westminster (1755), which guaranteed the inviolability of Hanover, so well that he persuaded Louis XV through his mistress, Madame de Pompadour, to make an alliance with Austria. As in 1714, so also in 1756, the mutual fears and suspicions engendered by rival alliance systems pushed Europe toward war. Anglo-French hostilities in India and North America plus Austro-Russian intrigue in Silesia did the rest. A European war between France and England began in 1756, and the opportunist Frederick promptly joined. The early Prussian victories were nullified by a growing Prussian exhaustion and by the defection of her ally, England, in 1760. Only the change of dynasty in Russia in 1762 saved Prussia from sure



MAP 20. EXPANSION OF PRUSSIA, 1525-1795

defeat. This Seven Years' War was finally ended by a series of separate treaties in 1762 and 1763. The Austro-Prussian Peace of Hubertusburg gave the final endorsement to the cession of Silesia to Prussia.

Frequent reference has been made to a new nation, Russia, which appeared upon the European scene in the eighteenth century. The keys to an understanding of Russian development are, first, an acquaintance with its geography and, second, a realization that Russia and her people are neither European nor Asiatic but a combination of both.

Russia is a vast continental plain stretching from the Baltic and Black Seas to the far Pacific. The absence of large bodies of water subject this plain to rapid and extreme changes from bitter cold to blistering heat. There are three distinguishable belts of soil, ranging from the very fertile "black" soil of the south through the less fertile forest belt to the non-arable tundra of the north. All the great rivers run north and south so that transportation and communication from west to east has had to be overland. Development has been seriously hindered by this difficulty and even today Russia is handi-

capped by the lack of adequate transportation facilities. The country is landlocked since none of the rivers empty into open seas and hence czarist Russia sought consistently to gain control of some adequate ice-free port.

The earliest foreign influences to reach Russia were Asiatic and Byzantine. The former was the result of a great invasion by the nomadic Tartars in the thirteenth century. For many years Russia paid tribute to these conquerors whose influence was apparent in the appearance of Mongol blood in the Russian race mixture, in the oriental despotism of the early czars, and in the still current fatalism of the Russian people. The latter influence entered Russia over the trade routes from the Black Sea region and left its mark on the language, the legal system, architecture, and the type of Christianity which was basically Orthodox. Russia became the home of many races among whom the Slavs were preponderant.

The social and political institutions of Russia in many respects represented the earlier developments in western Europe. The medieval period which lasted until well into the seventeenth century was feudal. The nominal ruler was the *czar*, or emperor, but the real power was in the hands of the landed nobility called *boyars*. Gradually this situation changed as successive czars increased their authority at the boyars' expense. The latter remained a privileged class and continued to exercise powerful influence on the government. The bulk of the people belonged to the peasant class and by the seventeenth century most of them had become serfs, legally bound to the soil. It is significant that the bourgeoisie attained neither numerical nor political importance until late in the nineteenth century.

A period of dynastic and social struggle, known in Russian history as the Time of Troubles, began the modern era and established upon the throne the Romanov family whose first great representative was Peter I (1682-1725). A man of considerable intelligence and dynamic vitality, Peter's life and character reflected the superficiality, violence, and sudden death which had surrounded him as a child. Somewhat of an exhibitionist, he was inclined to be both cowardly and cruel. Gigantic in stature, prodigious in appetite, his lust for life was like that of the English Henry VIII whom he rather resembled.

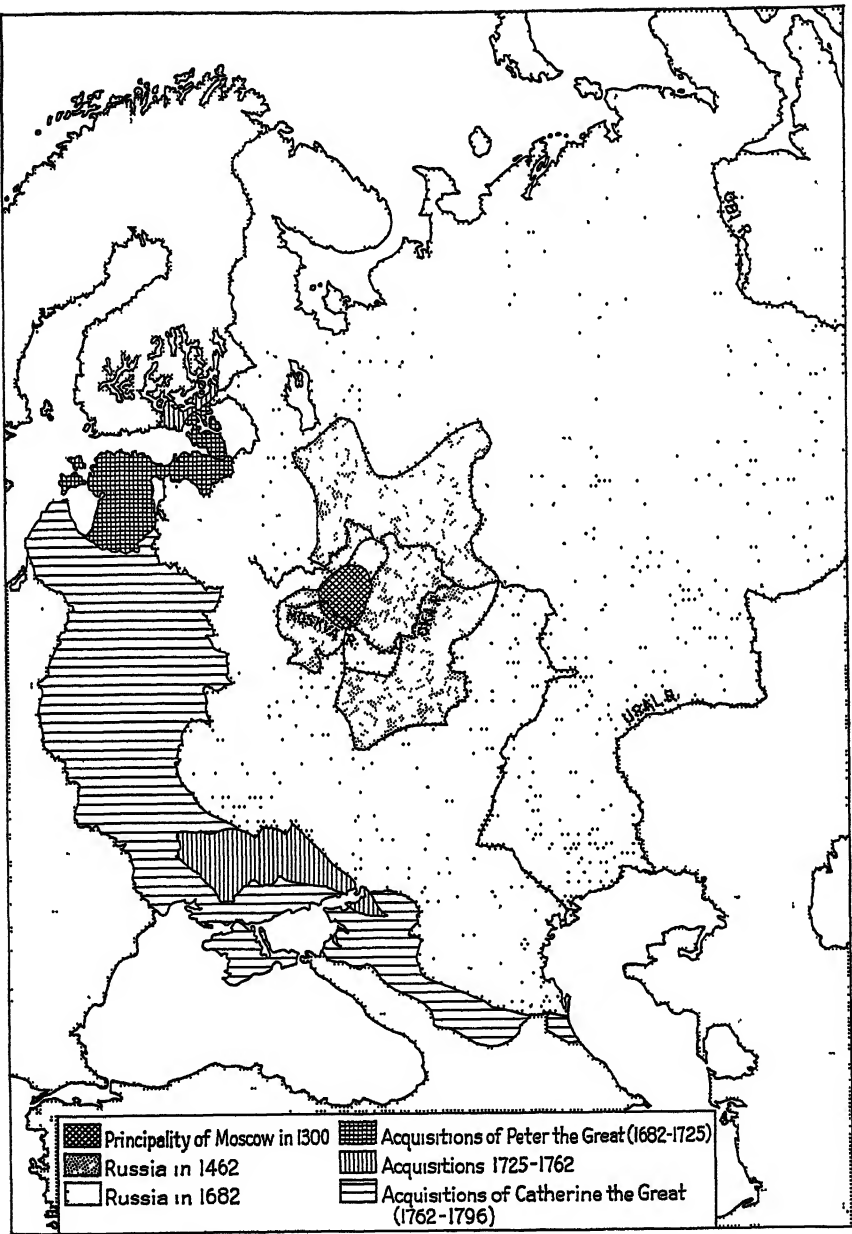
Peter inherited a twofold domestic policy from his father and grandfather: the furtherance of absolutism and the westernization of Russia. He fell heir also to the old quest for an outlet to the sea. All of his many and too highly esteemed reforms were means to the attainment of these ends. Moreover, these reforms were largely

unsystematic and superficial. Peter was content with attaining correspondence to the western institutions he sought to imitate. The reorganization of the army was undertaken partly to diminish the power of the rebellious nobility and so increase the power of the czar, and partly to produce a more efficient fighting machine for his long wars with Turkey and Sweden. The Russian Church was reduced to a department of state to insure its subservient loyalty to the autocratic Crown. Cities were given more self-government to reduce the power of the boyars. In a futile attempt to centralize the administration, "colleges," patterned on the ministries of western nations, were set up. The chief result was to make the government more complicated and less efficient. To facilitate the collection of the new and heavier taxes which were made necessary by expensive wars and reforms, more peasants were reduced to serfdom. Peter did seek to develop trade and manufacturing along mercantilist lines but without marked success. He also established a few schools, founded the first Russian newspaper, and vainly sought to force his people to adopt western costumes and customs.

In 1689, Russia signed a treaty with China, the first ever made between the East and the West, which set the far eastern boundary of Russia at the Amur River. During the course of an intermittent and unsuccessful war with Turkey, Peter built the first Russian navy. His great military effort was a war with Sweden (1700-1721) for the hegemony of the Baltic. The first nine years of this war saw Sweden consistently victorious, but the Swedish defeat at the Battle of Poltava (1709) was the turning point. The Treaty of Nystadt (1721) gave Russia the eastern Baltic region and the longed-for door to the West.

Peter's death began a period of intrigue, violence, and court revolution which ended with the seizure of the throne by his daughter, Elizabeth. Her twenty-year reign was marked by a recovery of power by the nobles upon whom she was dependent, and by an advance in education with the founding of the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Russia expanded in the Baltic area at the expense of Sweden, but whatever gain she might have derived from participation in the Seven Years' War was thrown away when the addle-pated Peter III made peace with Frederick in 1762.

Peter had been married to a young German princess, Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, who took the name of Catherine. Shortly after Peter's succession to the throne in 1762, his ambitious wife, aided and abetted



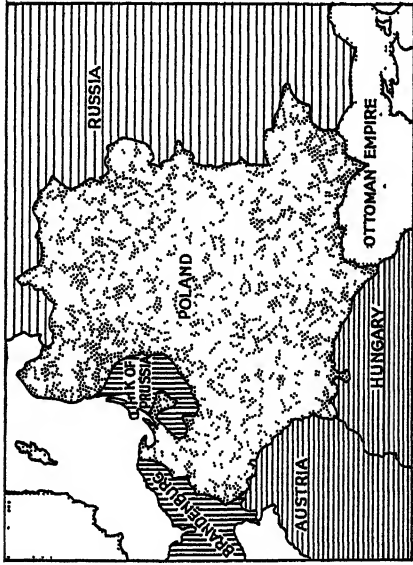
MAP 21. EXPANSION OF RUSSIA, 1300-1796

by certain disaffected nobles, deposed him and seized the throne herself. Throughout her long reign (1762-1796) Catherine remained largely dependent upon the nobility, which explains why her liberal and enlightened pretensions almost invariably ended in reaction. It explains also two general trends of her reign: the extension of aristocratic privilege on the one hand and of serfdom on the other. To reward individual nobles Catherine frequently made huge grants of Crown land. Since the peasants went with the land, they were automatically transformed from crown peasants into private serfs. Her indebtedness to the nobility was discharged by the granting of charters which made them a class of vast power and privilege by exempting them from many civil duties and increasing their jurisdiction over their estates. This, added to their influence upon the administration, temporarily replaced autocratic government with aristocratic rule. Oppression of the peasantry by the aristocracy and crushing taxes provoked a peasant uprising, led by one Pugachev (1773). This revolt, really a social war, was the most important of many peasant insurrections of Catherine's reign.

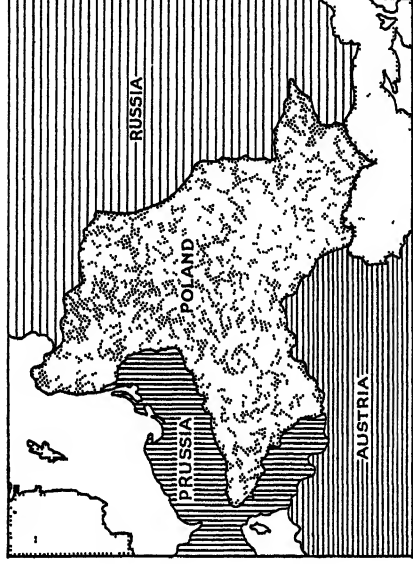
Catherine sought to continue the reforms of Peter the Great. With much fanfare, an abortive effort at codification of law was initiated. The school system was slightly extended. Banking was encouraged, but Catherine was no mercantilist and for the most part pursued a policy of *laissez-faire*. Only in the field of public health was real advance made. Hospitals were founded and the study of medicine was aided. Despite many fiascos, Catherine's reign was a period of cultural awakening and faltering progress.

Catherine pursued an active and successful foreign policy which fully established Russia as a western power. Pursuance of westward expansion, begun by Peter the Great, brought Russia into war with Turkey and into co-operation with Prussia and Austria in dismembering Poland. Weakened by internal dissent and hamstrung by a peculiarly selfish nobility, Poland was an easy prey for these three.

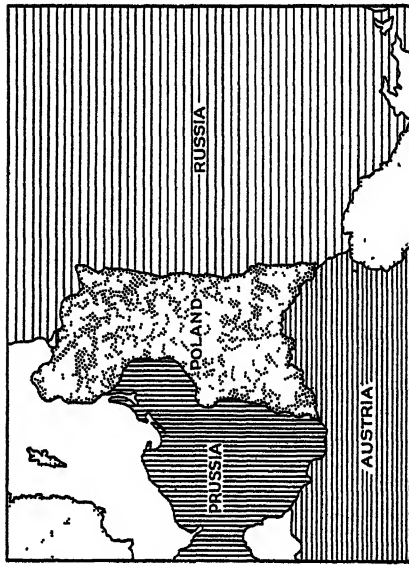
Russia began active intervention in Polish affairs in 1764 by dictating the choice of the Polish king. In the succeeding years, she consistently labored to establish herself as mistress of Poland. Chronic chaos in that country gave her the easy excuse that her intervention was for the purpose of maintaining law and order. In 1769, the always ambitious Frederick of Prussia, who coveted the strip of land separating Prussia from the rest of his state, proposed the dismemberment of Poland. Russia refused then, but two years later urged the parti-



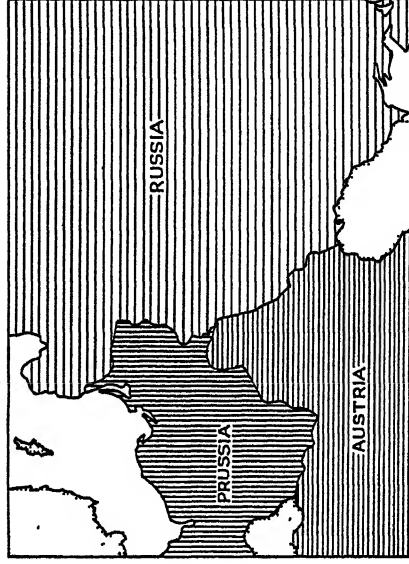
MAP 22. POLAND IN 1740



MAP 23. FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND, 1772



MAP 24. SECOND PARTITION OF POLAND, 1793



MAP 25. THIRD PARTITION OF POLAND, 1795

tion. Tripartite treaties among Russia, Prussia, and Austria accomplished this First Partition of Poland in 1772.

Thoroughly frightened, Poland began a tardy attempt to set her house in order. A new constitution (1791) bade fair to climax her successful reform movement, but Russia skillfully fomented a rebellion among a minority of malcontents. The resulting chaos gave her an excuse for the Second Partition (1793). Prussia was the accomplice in this robbery. The gallant Kosciuszko led a brave attack upon his country's despoilers but Austria, Russia, and Prussia combined to crush him in 1794. All three participated in the Third Partition in the next year, and Poland disappeared from the map until 1919. Russia received the largest share of Poland in these divisions and Austria was also able to add a rich region to her heterogeneous holdings; but Prussia benefited most, because she received the important Vistula valley, uniting East Prussia to her other possessions. All three gained temporary strength at the expense of creating a chronic danger zone, since the subjected Polish peoples clung steadfastly to their nationality and would not be absorbed.

Russo-Turkish relations were largely subordinated to the Polish question, but Catherine enjoyed consistent success there also. A war with Turkey, begun in 1769, ended with a Russian victory in 1774 which was recorded in the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji. The importance of this treaty lay less in its terms than in the later interpretations of them because it was upon certain provisions of the agreement that Russia based her claim to be the protector of all Orthodox Catholics in the Near East. Such a broad interpretation virtually guaranteed further Russian intervention in Turkey and eventually brought Russia into conflict with France and England in the Crimean War. Ten years after this treaty Russia compelled Turkey to acquiesce to the annexation of the Crimea on the ground that its perpetual anarchy injured Russia. Catherine thus obtained an outlet on the Black Sea but it was not enough. Constantinople and the Straits still blocked the sea-road to the West.

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The Aristocracy of Land and Wealth

A. ON SOCIAL CHANGE

Too often the very recording of a fact gives it static quality which is wholly devoid of reality. The unfortunate tendency to pigeon-hole and classify men and events is common to most of us. In daily living, this frequently leads to errors of prejudice and ignorance. For example, many people have built up a concept of a communist as a dangerous, bomb-throwing radical whose only aim is the destruction of democratic government. Consequently, when they hear some individual labeled, or, mayhap, libeled a communist, they promptly thrust him into their preconceived pattern, whether he really belongs there or not. In much the same manner, we have built up a vague, and usually incorrect, conception of "middle class." The result is confusion when we try to follow the story of social development. One must always bear in mind the fact that all human history is the story of change, and that socio-economic classes, like everything else, vary in composition, outlook, and aims.

Originally, "middle class" meant those who were between the nobility on the one hand and the peasantry on the other. Since these were mostly townsmen, engaged in trade, they became known as burghers, burgesses, or bourgeoisie. To all practical intents and purposes, those terms became synonymous so that it is perfectly correct to speak of the "middle class" as the "bourgeoisie," and *vice versa*. It is incorrect, however, to assume that this group underwent no changes in personnel, desires, or policies. Its growth in wealth and numbers, its attainments and aspirations have formed the theme of the last half dozen chapters. Particular attention has been paid (Chapter XVI) to its intimate relation with the growth of royal absolutism. Later centuries saw its transformation from ally to adversary of absolute monarchs and its eventual triumph over unbridled despotism.

This modern struggle against absolutism had its real beginning in seventeenth and eighteenth century England, where the vaulting ambition of the middle class came into bitter conflict with the stubborn absolutism of the Stuart kings. One must beware, however, of assuming that this was a struggle of the people, or that the Stuart defeat was a victory for democracy. It was neither.

The English middle class had undergone a steady transformation since its medieval genesis, especially under the Tudors. By purchase, by marriage, by gift from the Crown, or by other more devious means, many bourgeois had become landowners, and the label bourgeois no longer referred only to a town dweller. These were the country gentlemen, the squirearchy, of England, drawing their income from rents and often from trade, a connection which many did not wholly relinquish. Still the middle class between the nobility and the peasantry, this group is more accurately designated as the landed aristocracy. It was upon them that the Tudors chiefly depended for their aids and from them that the Tudors created a new nobility. For that reason, partly, the distinction between the peerage, or nobility, and the landed aristocracy was indistinct. Inter-marriages were not uncommon, and furthermore, since only the eldest son of a peer inherited the title, the other children automatically dropped back into the technically inferior group. A cut below them in the social scale, and for some time inferior to them politically, were those bourgeois who still drew their wealth wholly from trade. Here again, social lines were not sharply drawn and this aristocracy of wealth was oftentimes indistinguishable from the landed aristocracy into which it frequently bought its way by purchasing estates. Also of the middle class were the small traders and little business men, often designated as the petty bourgeoisie.

It should be further observed that members of the aristocracy of land and wealth tended to become conservative as their claims and hopes were solidified into vested interests. When the Crown repeatedly interfered with what they had come to regard as their inalienable rights, they challenged the monarchy. In that, they were supported by the petty bourgeoisie who, however, were less conservative, presumably because they had less at stake, and were willing to go beyond a mere limitation of monarchical rights and powers. More specifically, the aristocracy plus the petty bourgeoisie plunged England into the first Civil War which reduced the royal authority, but it was the petty bourgeoisie who carried the challenge to its logical conclusion of regicide and republic. Again, it was primarily

the aristocracy who restored the monarchy only to again depose the monarch a generation later. The "Glorious Revolution" which accomplished this latter event was much more conservative than revolutionary. So, also, the limited, monarchical government which emerged in the eighteenth century was really government by the aristocracy of land and wealth.

B. THE STUARTS AND THE PURITAN MIDDLE CLASS

Throughout the sixteenth century, the English Crown had been as absolute as any in Europe, but by 1700, Parliament had emerged as superior to the Crown, and the rule of the aristocracy had replaced that of one man. Furthermore, that uniformity in religion which Romanov, Hapsburg, Bourbon, and Tudor had used as a bulwark of absolutism had disappeared in England by the end of the seventeenth century. These were momentous changes not only for England but for her colonies and quondam colonies which shared this heritage. Before discussing them, it will be well to review briefly the legacies which the Stuarts received from their predecessors, the Tudors.

First, the Stuarts had inherited a nation whose people were conscious of their national interests and unity. Relatively secure both from anarchy within and intervention from without, England, behind her wooden wall of ships, was strong enough to be independent. The second great Tudor legacy was the tradition of paternal absolutism. Over a period of years, the English people had become habituated to a monarchy, which though sometimes lacking the formal title always had absolute power. But, equally important, there also had grown up the tradition that the king should consult with Parliament. It is true that the actual power of the Tudor parliaments had been slight and that consultation had been largely a matter of form, but it was a form that was usually observed. The third legacy of the Tudors was an increasingly prosperous trade. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, England was trading with France, Spain, Portugal, and the Baltic powers, Sweden and Russia. She also traded with the Levant,¹ and with both the West and East Indies. This trade, of course, brought increasing wealth, power, and ambition to the middle class.

Under the first two Stuarts, James and Charles, the struggle be-

¹ This is the generic term for the countries toward the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

tween the Crown and Parliament reached its acute stage. James I, who bears the added number VI, for he was James I, King of England, and James VI of Scotland, came to the throne on the death of Elizabeth in 1603 and ruled until his death in 1625. James was typical of the Stuart family who all regarded themselves as rulers by divine right, accountable to no man. Combined with the fact of power, James almost always insisted upon full recognition of his title to power. He was, in short, obsessed by the divine right theory of kingship; and his stubbornness bordered upon obstinacy. Joyfully received by a people who had long been accustomed to obedience, his ill-considered insistence upon the last jot and tittle of power alienated his people so that he died mourned by very few.

His son, Charles, king from 1625 until 1649, was better favored physically than his father, but he proved just as lacking in the qualities of statesmanship. James at least had understood his Scottish if not his English subjects, but Charles understood neither. Instead of seeking to conciliate those whom his father had alienated, Charles pursued the Stuart claims to absolute power with such pig-headed obstinacy that he eventually lost not only his crown but also his head. By insisting that he was answerable only to God, Charles so provoked his people that they precipitated his reporting to the Almighty.

The roots of the quarrel between Crown and Parliament which flamed out during the reign of Charles may best be treated by separating them into three parts: religious, financial, and judicial. Of course, such separation tends to impart a flavor of artificiality since these were often interlocking issues, but they cannot easily be discussed or understood as a whole.

The religious issues turned upon the presence within the Anglican church of a sizable group of reformers, known as Puritans, since they wished to purify the church of what they regarded as accreted evils. A school of thought rather than an organized party, they besought James at the Hampton Court Conference (1604) to grant them certain religious privileges. Confusing their aims with those of the Scottish Presbyterians who had tried to inhibit the royal power, fearing, in short, that any change in the established church was merely the prelude to a limitation upon his authority, James bluntly refused their requests. His tactless answer, "Conform or I'll harry (drive) ye out of the land," and his subsequent precautions crystallized their doubts into open opposition. Some of them migrated to the New World, thereby laying the foundations of the Plymouth

colony and of some of the English holdings in the West Indies, but most of them remained in England to express their growing irritation through the voice of Parliament. The Puritans came chiefly from the middle class, and the middle class was becoming more and more articulate.

Upon the important question of Anglicanism and Puritanism, James further aroused his Protestant subjects by his ill-timed and ill-considered foreign policy. He refused to support the Protestant Frederick, Count of the Palatinate, against the Catholic Emperor in the opening stage of the Thirty Years' War. More than that, James established very friendly relations with Catholic Spain, thereby increasing the fears and the antagonism of the English Protestants. Their feeling becomes more understandable when it is remembered that during the Anglo-Spanish War, the English middle class had profited by trade with the Spanish colonies, which was forbidden in times of peace.

Charles widened the breach between Anglican and Puritan. Guided and assisted by his archbishop, William Laud, he tried to make England thoroughly Anglican by insisting that any deviation from the established church was tantamount to disloyalty to the Crown. The Tudors had successfully done that, but times had changed. Since many men either would not or could not surrender their religious affiliations, they were forced into political opposition by the king's own action. Branded as disloyal, whether they were or not, they had no other choice than to join the growing number of the king's opponents.

Side by side with this religious friction was the financial issue. The majority of Puritans came from the middle class, and it was upon them that the costs of government bore most heavily. It has been noted that this group had found a sounding board for its desires and its grievances in Parliament. And grievances there were in plenty for not only were taxes high and the religious issue bitter, but also James and Charles consistently sought to curtail the rights and privileges which Parliament had slowly and painfully acquired since the thirteenth century. Ever jealous of its prerogatives and interests, Parliament tried to check the Stuarts by exercise of its control over finances. "Supply and the redress of grievances go hand in hand," was the cry of Parliament. (Let the king make such reforms as we demand and we shall grant him ample funds.) It is at once evident that such an attitude on the part of Parliament was incompatible with the Stuart claim to absolute power and was unacceptable therefore

to either James or Charles. It is quite possible that tactful management would have placated the Commons and won the king's ends, but the Stuarts would not stoop to conquer, and Parliament, alienated by James, became by degrees openly rebellious under Charles. The latter, since he could not get along with Parliament, sought to get along without it. This, of course, deprived him of funds, and he was forced to try various measures, many of them of doubtful legality, to raise monies in order to carry on the government. Among the expedients he resorted to were: the revival of obsolete taxes, the fining of those who had violated all-but-forgotten laws, and the collection of forced loans. Already angry and concerned by the suspension of Parliament, a great many Englishmen were thoroughly aroused by the king's illegal exactions.

The judicial quarrel between a king who demanded absolute authority and large groups of his subjects who were determined that he should not have it, took the form of a contest between Roman law as administered by the prerogative courts and the English common law of the ordinary courts. To recapitulate very briefly, Roman law implied the acceptance of a single, absolute authority; English common law did not. Naturally the Stuarts, seeking legal support for their financial exactions and for their claims to power, championed the theory that the will of the prince was law. Under them, the special courts, notably the Court of the Star Chamber which the Tudors used to reduce the power of the baronage, were transformed into instruments of oppression.

Limitations of space forbid more than a mere sketch of the highlights of the quarrel which raged with growing fury between Crown and Parliament. Now the Crown, and now Parliament seemed to lead, but time and the financial power of the middle class were both on the side of the latter. In 1628, Charles' third parliament (he had dissolved the first two for criticizing his policy and his ministers) asked the king to give formal promises not to violate certain rights and liberties of the citizenry. This request, called "The Petition of Right," asked (1) that there should be no taxation without the consent of Parliament; (2) that there should be no martial law declared in times of peace; (3) that there should be no quartering of soldiers on private citizens; and (4) that citizens should be free from the menace of arbitrary arrest. Charles agreed to these limitations upon his power and promised to observe them, but within a year he broke his word. When Parliament protested, he dissolved it and refused to call another until 1640. The intervening eleven years gave Eng-

land more than a taste of arbitrary rule and many Englishmen found it unpalatable. The king's punishment fell heavily on those who opposed him and his hands seized greedily on many fortunes. This was the period of Laud's attempt to Anglicanize England and Scotland, and it was, in fact, that attempt which led to the reluctant summoning of parliament. Without going into the details of the matter, suffice it to say that Charles and Laud in attempting to foist Anglicanism upon Scotland provoked a war whose costs made it necessary for Charles to call parliament. This Short Parliament, so-called since its session lasted only a few months, immediately sent up the cry of supply and redress of grievances. Charles was not prepared to yield and dissolved it. The Scots, however, were insistent that Charles pay what he had promised, so he was forced to summon a second parliament, known to history as the Long Parliament, since it was in session from 1640 to 1660.

Immediately the Long Parliament met, it again sought to curb the Stuart absolutism. It tried unsuccessfully to impeach Charles' leading minister, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, on charges of treason. Failing this, it passed a vicious law, known as an Act of Attainder, against Strafford. An Act of Attainder, in effect, is simply a declaration that a man is a traitor, liable to execution and confiscation of property. Further evidence of the parliamentary state of mind was the abolition of the Court of the Star Chamber. As long as they confined themselves to attacking the king, the Long Parliament was virtually unanimous, but before the year was out, the question of religion had entered into the discussion, and there came a division between Anglican and Puritan. This marked the beginning of the King's Party, for the Anglicans were, by and large, royalist. In 1647, there was introduced a bill which made the schism final. American students do not always see the significance of this bill, which was known as the Militia Ordinance. Its importance lay in the fact that it proposed to put control of the militia, that is, the armed forces of the kingdom, into the hands of Parliament. This raised the question of whether England wanted an absolute king in control of the army or an absolute Parliament in control of the army. Many men who disliked Stuart absolutism also disliked the idea of an absolute Parliament. Some went one way, some the other, and Charles, in spite of himself, found that he had a strong party of supporters.

Between the king's party, the Cavaliers, and parliament's party, the Roundheads, the division was not one of class or of section but

of political and religious conviction. As always in internecine war, the English Civil War saw brother arrayed against brother, father against son. Two other parties also played important parts: the Presbyterians, drawing their inspiration chiefly from Scotland and allied with the Roundheads most of the time; and the Independents, headed by Oliver Cromwell and his New Model Army. It was the Independents and the New Model Army that won the Civil War for Parliament, and then, in what amounted to a second Civil War, seized the power for itself. By 1649, following the execution of Charles, the Army was the real ruler of England.

The period from 1649 to 1660, known as the Interregnum, or period between the reigns, was one of experimentation in government. After the abolition of monarchy by the execution of the king, a new government had to be set up. The first form tried, a republic, or Commonwealth, as it is more frequently called, lasted from 1649 to 1653. It was a government carried on by a council headed by Cromwell and backed by the army. All theories to the contrary, it was a military dictatorship, resting on armed force, and that is one reason why English people have had little sympathy with republican forms of government. They learned in the seventeenth century to associate republicanism in theory with dictatorship in fact. It proved unsatisfactory, and in 1653 there was established a Protectorate, which gave England the only single document constitution the British ever had.

The "Instrument of Government," as this was entitled, provided for government by a Lord Protector and Parliament, each to act as a check and limit upon the other. Oliver Cromwell was made Lord Protector, and gave the lie to this theory of checks and balances by becoming king in all but name. The "Protectorate" was really a dictatorship which rested upon Cromwell's genius and the power of the army. Despite innovations in government, Cromwell's policies were not dissimilar to those of the Tudors. He revived English sea power by the re-establishment of the navy; engaged in a trade rivalry with the Dutch, first through legislation and then through commercial wars; and in an imperialistic war with Spain, captured the island of Jamaica. Like the Tudors, also, Cromwell undertook a temporarily successful war against Ireland and gave vigorous force to the policy, previously followed by both Tudor and Stuart, of forcibly transferring land ownership from the Irish to English landlords. Scotland, too, he brought under the rule of the sword.

But, despite some real successes, Cromwell's rule was not popular.

The costs of foreign wars plus the expense of maintaining the large army, which alone made his government possible, entailed a heavy burden of taxation. Trade suffered and English prosperity declined. Moreover, like all dictatorships, Cromwell's government rested on force and repression. Since in the long run all governments rest on the explicit or implicit consent of the majority of the governed, unpopular dictatorships are impermanent. The Cromwellian system did not survive him. His death in September, 1658, plunged the nation into an eighteen-month crisis during which his son, Richard, sought vainly to fill his father's place. Finally, as usually happens in such crises, the power went to the man who controlled the most powerful armed force, Monk, general of the army then in the north. After a dramatic march on London, Monk decided upon restoring the Stuarts to the throne. The days of radical experimentation in government were over.

Tired of strife, disillusioned by experiments in government which ended in the rule of force, England welcomed back the Stuarts in the person of Charles II. Handsome, witty, and affable, Charles was a welcome relief from the rigid puritanism of the preceding years. A shrewd dissembler and a most capable conspirator, the third Stuart avoided most of the blunders of his father and grandfather, yet even he was unable to bend the people to his will.

The swing of the pendulum brought England not alone the restoration of the monarchy and Anglicanism but a restoration of Parliament, which had been impotent during the Interregnum. The Convention Parliament (1660), which called Charles home from his wanderings, forced him to sign the Declaration of Breda which fully recognized Parliament's control over amnesties, lands, and religion. Charles' first parliament, aristocratic, Anglican, and so royalist as to win the nickname of the Cavalier Parliament, gave further definition to the terms of the restoration. The king was deprived of the right to maintain a standing army, an evidence that England had had more than its fill of civil war and military dictatorships. The Crown was declared financially dependent upon Parliament and there was to be no further exercise of prerogative government, that is, government by royal decree without the assent of Parliament. It also gave legal basis to Anglican privilege by a series of acts known as the Clarendon Code.¹ Rigid and harshly intolerant, the Code forbade non-Anglicans

¹ So named for Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Charles' chief supporter and adviser both in exile and restoration. Clarendon's last service was to suffer dismissal and disgrace as a scapegoat for his royal master (1667).

to hold municipal office, took from them the right of free assembly, and finally debarred their clergy from all the chartered towns in the kingdom. In extenuation of such severity it is only fair to add that incipient rebellions and plots among the dissenting groups, who had refused to compromise with Anglicanism, made such a code seem a vital necessity for the preservation of law and order.

The wave of enthusiasm which had elected the royalist Cavalier Parliament made relations between it and Charles most amicable for a few years. But the Stuarts' policies were not, in the long run, those of Parliament, and disagreements between the two became increasingly numerous. For one thing, Charles had strong leanings toward Catholicism and toward France, both of which were odious to Protestant Englishmen. For another, Charles' extravagant court and ambitious foreign policy were very costly. Charles felt that Parliament was overly parsimonious with him but, remembering what had happened to his father, he dared not push his demands for funds too hard. To solve his dilemma, he entered into agreements with Louis of France by which the latter granted him subsidies and so freed him from complete dependence on Parliament.

These three threads of religion, Francophilism, and finance make up the main pattern of Charles' reign. Anglo-Dutch rivalry, mounting since mid-century, flared out again in war in 1665. Though the Dutch navy proved itself the victor, the Treaty of Breda (1667) restored the peace and awarded the Dutch colonies in North America to England. Though this award included what became New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, many Englishmen felt that the cost of the war was overly much for what it brought. Hence, the criticism of the royal expenditures and the reluctance of Parliament to grant the royal requests for funds. At this same time, Louis XIV was engaged upon his attempts to bring the Netherlands under his sway, and the tripartite alliance of the Netherlands, Sweden, and England, formed in 1668, stood in his way. Charles' financial embarrassment gave Louis his chance and by two secret treaties exchanged a bribe for the withdrawal from the triple alliance; the second promised an additional bribe if Charles would restore Catholicism to England.

Pursuant to this second treaty, Charles in 1672 issued an edict of religious toleration, known as a Declaration of Indulgence. This was too much for the Anglican Parliament which replied with an act excluding Catholics and Dissenters from office. Among those affected was James, Duke of York, Catholic brother of Charles and heir to the crown. The fear of Catholicism, of which this was an omen,

reached its climax in 1678 with a scurrilous libel, the "Popish Plot," spread by a lying, unscrupulous demagogue named Titus Oates. Already uneasy, the English people were whipped by Oates' lies of Catholic plots against the throne into a frenzy of persecution. Catholics were excluded from Parliament, beaten, robbed, and judicially murdered. When the wave of madness was over, Parliament in order to prevent a recurrence passed the Habeas Corpus Act, one of the foundation stones of all democratic liberties, since it prevents arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. To it, we Americans owe much of our freedom since it became part of our heritage as well as England's.

To make a long story much shorter, Charles discovered that the Cavalier Parliament, though loyal, was increasingly truculent, and in 1679 he dissolved it. During its long tenure of office there had for the first time emerged political parties in the modern meaning of the term. Parties in the sense of groups holding different opinions are as old as governments, but modern parties having a theory or policy of governing, a continuous organization, and a purpose of exercising power through a majority of the legislative assembly began in late seventeenth-century England. Academic controversy continues as to the origin and early growth of this *sine qua non* of a representative, democratic government. It is sufficient for our purpose to note that the issues of royal and episcopal authority had by 1663 divided the Cavalier Parliament. On the one side stood the King's Friends, Anglican and royalist; on the other, Dissenters and parliamentarians. More clearly divided by the Clarendon Code and the foreign policy of Charles with its constant swing toward Catholicism, these groups by 1675 had crystallized into the Court Party and the Country Party, each with its "platform" and its organization. After the dissolution of the Parliament, the Country Party became the Petitioners, those who besought the king to call another parliament. The Court Party, for their opposition to that proposal, became known as the Abhorrrers. In time, and in fashion somewhat obscure, the titles Petitioner and Abhorrrer were replaced by the respective nicknames, Whig and Tory.

Whig pressure was so strong that Charles reluctantly ordered the election of a new Parliament. When it proved to have a large Whig majority, he dissolved it. The process was repeated four times, the last dissolution being so vigorous as to break up the Whig party. During the last four years of his reign (1681-1685) Charles ruled without a Parliament, financially dependent upon the continuing bribes of Louis XIV.

Last of the Stuart kings was James II (1685-1688). Cruel, revengeful, despotic, James bore a strong resemblance to his grandfather. His was a unique opportunity, for the Tories, those powerful Anglican squires and clergymen, were prepared to support him, or, at least to acquiesce in his rule, while the Whigs were almost hopelessly divided into three groups. So long as he kept faith with the Tories, James was secure, but with consummate Stuart stupidity and stubbornness, he sought to Catholicize England. In defiance of law, he filled his government and his army with Catholics, thus combining the odious threats of absolutism and religious war. In complement to this exercise of the "dispensing power," that is, the right which he claimed to set aside laws, James sought to extend toleration by his Declarations of Indulgence (1687 and 1688). When seven bishops refused to publish the second Declaration, he jailed them. This was too much for even the Anglican Tories. James seemed to be following the pattern Louis XIV set in revoking the Edict of Nantes and persecuting the Huguenots.

Even so, men who recalled the horrors of rebellion and civil war counseled moderation on the ground that James could not live much longer. The birth of a royal heir in June of 1688 sealed the king's fate. Appalled by the prospect of a Catholic dynasty, Whig and Tory leaders sunk their differences. A secret and illegal invitation was issued to Mary, daughter of James, and her Dutch husband, William of Orange, to come to England. James might yet have saved his crown had he been willing to abandon his absolutism. He was not, so the rebels aided him to "escape" to France. William temporarily assumed the power and a Convention Parliament, similar to the extra-legal body of 1660, was summoned in his name. After some debate, the throne was declared vacant and William and Mary were invited to become joint sovereigns. The dour Dutchman assented and the "Glorious Revolution" (1688-1689) was over.

Before the crown was bestowed upon the new sovereigns, however, they were forced to accede to the Declaration of Rights. Later enlarged and enacted into the Bill of Rights (1689), as it is more commonly known, this set forth a series of limitations upon the royal power and a list of rights reserved to subjects. The king was forbidden to make or suspend laws, to levy taxes or forced loans, or to maintain a standing army without the consent of Parliament. Furthermore, it was decreed that no Catholic might become king. Thus ended the practice of divine right monarchy in England, for it was apparent to all that William and Mary were sovereigns by will of

Parliament rather than by will of God. Parliament had won its long fight with the Crown; that power which can create a king can also depose one. When in December of 1936, Edward VIII abdicated at the behest of Parliament which then bestowed the crown upon George VI, the lasting character of the victory of the Glorious Revolution was spectacularly demonstrated.

C. RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND EMPIRE

The Glorious Revolution signalized the transfer of supremacy from the Crown to the aristocracy who controlled Parliament. There remained the more difficult tasks of guaranteeing a continuance of this state of affairs and the working out of an effective means of government under the new system. The guaranty was shortly effected by a series of acts, known collectively as the Revolution Settlement, and by diplomacy and force applied to England's intimate but alien neighbors, Scotland and Ireland. The evolution of a new technique of government was a longer and more haphazard process which eventuated in the establishment of responsible government, that is, a government in which the executive is responsible to, and dependent upon, the majority group of the legislature.

The Revolution Settlement (1689-1701), which included the aforementioned Bill of Rights, was designed to safeguard the citizen and insure the continuing dominance of Parliament. Parliamentary control of the army and an insurance that parliaments would be summoned regularly were achieved by the Mutiny Act (1689) which gave the king legal power to maintain army discipline for a limited period only. This, plus the also still current practice of appropriating funds enough for only one year, has made it impossible for any sovereign to try to rule without a parliament. The Triennial Act (1694), by ordering the election of a new Parliament every three years,¹ made impossible a recurrence of a Long or a Cavalier Parliament. The Act of Settlement (1701) confirmed parliamentary control of the Crown by arranging for the succession upon Queen Anne's death of her second cousin, the Protestant Sophia of Hanover. Another part of this act removed the judiciary from royal control, and this together with the prohibition of arbitrary condemnation in cases of treason (Treasons Act, 1696) made impossible any such royal persecution of the citizens as had occurred under the Stuarts. Finally, the

¹ This term was increased to seven years in 1716, and finally reduced to its present five years in 1911.

Toleration Act (1689) gave freedom of worship to all save Catholics and Unitarians. Political disabilities upon Dissenters were not legally removed, however, and except by connivance and chicanery none but Anglicans could hold office in the state, the armed forces, or the universities.

Anglo-Scottish and Anglo-Irish relations both turned on the fact that Scotland and Ireland were, respectively, potential and actual allies of the deposed Stuarts and their French backers. The Scottish Lowlanders were temporarily content to accept the change in regime since it had enabled them to raise the Presbyterian Kirk to the status of the Established Church; most of the rebellious Highlanders were bribed into acquiescence. When it appeared that Anne, successor to William and Mary, would die childless, England feared that Scotland would ignore the Act of Settlement to which it was not a party and confer its crown upon the Stuart claimant. To avert this, England offered Scotland representation in the English Parliament and the right to participate in English trade and colonization, from which she was excluded by the Navigation Acts. Impelled by her desperate poverty, Scotland agreed to an Act of Union (1707) which abolished the Scotch Parliament but permitted the retention of the Kirk and the legal system. Thenceforward, England, accurately speaking, was only part of the Kingdom of Great Britain, and the English people a portion of the British nation.

Settlement with Ireland was not so amicably arranged. The list of Irish grievances was long: years of oppression, Tudor colonization, the Cromwellian Settlement, the exploitation of Irish resources and the crippling of Irish industry and commerce for the sake of English prosperity, and the religious issue all combined to make Anglo-Irish relations an open wound. The deposition of the Stuart gave the signal for a rebellion in his name, backed by French money and troops. Realizing full well the gravity of this menace, William himself took charge of the English troops who defeated the Franco-Irish forces of James at the Battle of Boyne (1690). The generous treaty which ended the struggle was soon repudiated by William at the insistence of his Protestant people, and the Catholic Irish subjected to studied humiliations, persecutions, and loss of liberty. Nor did the Protestant Irish of Ulster fare much better since they were subjected to restrictions which ruined their trade and prosperity. Those who could, sought escape from English tyranny by migrating to America; the majority stayed and suffered. During the eighteenth century, as in fact throughout the whole history of Anglo-Irish relations, the latent

hostility of the Irish flared up whenever England's difficulties seemed to hold out hope of success. Late in the course of the American Revolution, for example, with Protestant leadership and Catholic support, the Irish wrung concessions from parliament by threat of war. For a quarter of a century, Ireland enjoyed a limited autonomy though Catholics were still excluded from the government, and absentee landlords continued to bleed the land and its people. The French Revolution encouraged some staunch Irish nationalists again to twist the lion's tail. The result was disastrous. The rebellion, horribly brutal and mercilessly vicious on both sides, was finally crushed by England. On the English promise, later violated, to extend political rights to the Catholics, the Irish Parliament gave its consent to legislative union. An act of 1801 created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but the Anglo-Irish problem was exacerbated rather than cured thereby.

Long before this happened, statecraft, circumstance, and chance had resulted in the evolution in England of responsible government. The circumstances of the accession of William and Mary, William's constant need for funds with which to carry on his long and very costly wars with Louis XIV, made it imperative that he have as little friction as possible with Parliament. Like the kings before him, William was assisted by the Privy Council, but since that body had grown too large for efficiency, he depended mainly upon a few very powerful members, most of whom were heads of some branch of the administration. This select group of ministers, known as the Cabinet, since it habitually met with the king in a small private room which was so-called in the parlance of that day, at first included both Whigs and Tories. But as William settled himself upon the throne and, more especially, as he resumed his stubborn struggle to curb the aggressions of Louis XIV, he increasingly favored the Whigs who were more favorable to his pet project. Finally, in 1694, he chose an all-Whig Cabinet, termed by its opponents, the Junta. The key to the Tory-Whig differences was financial. The war against France was partially paid for by levying a tax on land which fell most heavily on the Tory squires who consequently opposed the whole thing. Moreover, the Tories disliked a new technique which was developed to meet the mounting costs of war and government.

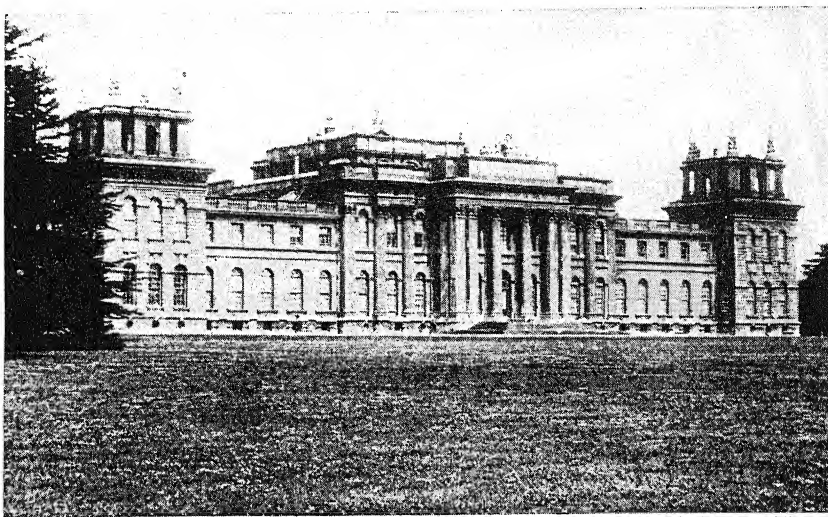
Prior to William's reign, the English government had been on a sort of completed exchange basis. The government bought a war or governmental services and paid for them at once from current income, supplemented by short-term loans. Under William this system

was changed by the creation of a permanent national debt. A government in incurring such a debt really enters into deferred exchanges with wealthy groups, receiving from them money and credits in return for its promise to complete the exchange by repaying the sums at some future date. Until that happens, the government (who is the borrower or debtor) promises to pay a specified amount (called interest) to the group (which is the lender or creditor). The government is then able to increase expenditures enormously without raising taxes proportionately since it can make up the difference between income and expenses by borrowing. The distinction between this and short-term loans is a matter of time. The latter are for a few months or years, the former for generations or even for an unspecified period. As long as the interest is regularly paid, the creditor is not likely to demand completion of the exchange. When for any reason it is desirable to complete the exchange, the government is likely to do so by again borrowing from the same or another source. This process reduces neither the total indebtedness nor the interest charges, but so long as a government meets its obligations regularly and in full, its credit is unimpaired.

Such in very brief and non-technical form was the expedient to which William and his ministers resorted and which is regularly practised by all governments today. The amount to which William and the Whigs made use of this device is clearly shown by the fact that the short-term debt at his accession (1689) was approximately one million pounds and at his death (1701), the permanent debt had reached eighteen million pounds. Incidentally, the Bank of England began in 1694 when a group loaned the government £1,200,000 in return for the right to use this amount of government credit as a basis for a private banking business. Later this bank was given the administration of the national debt and the sole right of issuing notes which were, and are, used for money.

To return now to the major theme of the development by parliament of a new technique of government, Whig predominance in Parliament did not long survive the war with Louis which ended in 1697 with the Peace of Ryswick,¹ but the Whig Junta retained office for almost a year despite the loss of its majority. The practice of choosing the ministry from the majority party and changing it when

¹ The wars of William and Queen Anne are discussed in Chapter XVII and later in this chapter. Partly for convenience but mainly because Mary in her five years on the throne was overshadowed by her husband, the policies of the joint sovereigns are usually ascribed to William alone. Her husband survived her by seven years, reigning as sole sovereign from 1694 to 1702.



Courtesy of the Syracuse University Library

BLEMHEIM PALACE. SIR JOHN VANBRUGH (1664-1726).

Following the victory at Blenheim during the War of the Spanish Succession, Queen Anne of England showered honors and rewards upon England's military hero, John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough. He was given the famous royal manor at Woodstock where was erected this palace at the orders and the expense of the queen herself. Because of a dispute, however, the royal subsidies were shut off before the building was completed. Like the country estates of the aristocracy of this time, Blenheim is colossal in size yet discreetly classical. This view is of the park façade.

the majority changed was not yet developed. William's successor, Queen Anne (1702-1714), sought vainly to avoid party complications though her strong Anglican sympathies led her to favor the Tories. Despite this, the influence of her advisers, notably Sarah and John Churchill, later Duchess and Duke of Marlborough, made possible Whig pre-eminence during the first part of her reign, though the ministry was not always composed on strict party lines. In 1708, however, Anne was forced to accept an entire Whig ministry which commanded majority support in the Commons. The attacks of Anne and the Tories drove most of the Whig ministers from office before a general election in 1710 confirmed this action by returning a strong Tory majority. The Tory ministers remained in power until Anne's death in 1714 when the change in sovereign brought the Whigs back into office. As in 1710, this shift anticipated the loss of the Tory majority in parliament by several months. The principle and practice of party government, that is, of choosing the ministry from the party which controlled parliament, was crystallizing, but it had not yet reached its full development. Party rivalries and plots under Anne

climaxed on the eve of her death with a High Tory intrigue to seize power. An utter fiasco, this drove the moderate Tories into the Whig Party, and so discredited and disrupted the Tory Party that for the next forty-five years it was condemned to obscurity.

Anne's death and the Act of Settlement (1701) brought to the throne a new dynasty, the House of Hanover,¹ in the person of George I (1714-1727). Under him and his son and successor, George II (1727-1760), the Whigs continued to work out the principles and practice not only of responsible government but of Cabinet control as well. Knowing little of Britain and caring less, the first two Georges left the work of government in the hands of their Whig ministers, of whom the greatest was Sir Robert Walpole. Since neither George attended Cabinet meetings, Walpole became the king's agent as well as leader of the Cabinet and of the Whig majority in the Commons. Thus, in effect, though he never had the title, Walpole from 1721 to 1742 was the *prime* minister. Habits begun by chance hardened into tradition in this case as in so many others. By the time that George III (1760-1820) came to the throne, the traditions of party, cabinet, and responsible government were so firmly entrenched that, ambitious as he was to rule, he dared do it only by building up a personal party, the "King's Friends," which finally won control of parliament and gave him a Tory ministry of his own. That the last British king to rule as well as reign did so through the machinery of parliament is clear evidence of the strength of tradition.

In brief, by the end of the eighteenth century, the British government had achieved the form the major outlines of which have not greatly changed since that day save in the very important respect of democracy. Eighteenth-century Britain was ruled by an aristocracy, Whig until 1760, alternately Whig and Tory thereafter. Technical head of the government was the king but in practice his power steadily decreased until it was properly said of him that he reigned but did not rule.² The real executive was the Cabinet, chosen from the majority party in Parliament, strictly accountable to Parliament, and endowed with authority only so long as it enjoyed majority support. If any bill proposed by the Cabinet was turned down by the legislature, or if that body went on record as having "no confidence" in the Cabinet, the group either had to resign, whereupon a new min-

¹ Still the reigning house of Great Britain. The name was changed from the Germanic Hanover to the more British Windsor during the World War.

² The last exercise of the royal veto, for example, was in 1707, although the king still has the right to veto any bill.



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, REBUILT 1840-1860

European architecture underwent a "Gothic revival" during the romantic reaction of the nineteenth century when architects sought inspiration from the medieval period of national beginnings. This style began in England where it was well represented in the buildings pictured here. The earlier houses of Parliament were destroyed by fire in 1834.

istry¹ would be formed by the opposition, or to appeal to the country for support in an election. Curiously, the Cabinet has no legal basis as such. Its members derive their authority from their membership in the Privy Council and from their ministerial positions. The titular leader of the Cabinet, although not invariably the actual one, is the prime minister who chooses his colleagues, directs policies, and acts as spokesman. All members share responsibility for their individual or joint actions, resigning in a body in the event of defeat or "no confidence."

Parliament, composed of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, was an oligarchic body in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, largely controlled by the landed aristocracy. Membership in the Lords was restricted to the peerage. The Commons was elected, but suffrage was so severely limited that only about one out of every ten adult Englishmen had any voice in the matter. Of the 560 members (1707-1801), forty-five were from Scotland, twenty-four from Wales, and the remaining 491 from England. There were

¹ Properly speaking, the ministry is composed of the various ministers, i.e., the administrative heads of departments of the government, not all of whom are always members of the Cabinet. Popular usage, however, has tended to make Ministry, Cabinet, and Government virtually synonymous.

three types of electoral districts in England proper: county, borough, and university, of which the 203 boroughs were by far the most important. Suffrage in the boroughs varied from the scot and lot, or "pot-walloper" boroughs where every householder of six months' residence had the right to vote, through the burgage boroughs in which only the owners of the houses or the house sites of the original voters had the suffrage, to the corporation and freemen boroughs where, respectively, only members of the borough government and a specified group of "freemen" had the franchise. Representation had been granted to many boroughs in the dim and distant past, and no account had been taken of the population shifts which had deprived many boroughs of most of their inhabitants while adding to the population of others. The result was gross injustice in the distribution of seats in the Commons with these so-called "rotten boroughs," whence all but a few inhabitants had departed, continuing to elect members to Parliament, while sections more recently populous had no representation whatever. Moreover, the system lent itself most readily to manipulation by men able to buy votes or even to buy up whole burgage boroughs. The most notorious example of this type of "pocket" or "nomination" borough was Old Sarum whose forty acres had no permanent inhabitants but whose owner continued to "elect" representatives to Parliament. The point to be noticed is that this antiquated system made possible the control of the House of Commons by a small group of wealthy men who, in effect, could buy and sell seats in that House. "Borough-mongering" became a regular profession which returned high profits in the form of patronage and favorable legislation. With vested interests in control, Great Britain drifted along until impact with three revolutions, the American, the French, and the Industrial, forced her to change her ways. Domestic affairs in the eighteenth century were overshadowed by events rising from the expansion of Europe overseas, and particularly by the Anglo-French duel for empire. Reference frequently has been made in passing to expansion, colonialism, and mercantilism; now it is time to draw the threads together and examine the pattern.

"Mercantilism" has already been defined and explained. "Expansion" is a convenient way of lumping together in one word the spread of the political, economic, and cultural system of any people into any alien area. "Colonization," an integral phase of expansion, is the means by which such extensions of power and culture are rendered more or less permanent. Expansion is apparently as old as man, but European overseas expansion began only in the sixteenth century. The fact is

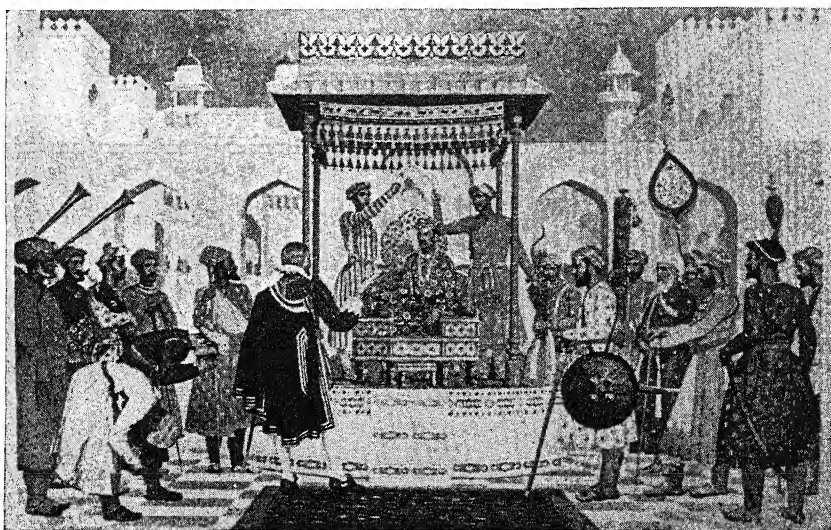
sometimes overlooked that expansion has both an extroverted and introverted aspect. The former is the more familiar "outward" movement of discovery, trade, colonization, and, eventually, the Europeanization of the world. For us of the New World, expansion was the link which bound us to Europe. We are transplanted Europeans who have, indeed, developed our own culture, but whose roots are in the Old World. The "inward" aspect includes: the widening of intellectual horizons and the further breaking down of localism and provincialism; the intensification of nationalism and nationalistic competition; commercial, financial, and industrial growth; political changes due in whole or in part to overseas influence; and, in short, the entire, complicated reaction of the mother country to the powers and responsibilities conferred upon her by possession of a colonial empire.

Generalizations about the motives which led to expansion are not wholly satisfactory since the motivation so often varied. Not all men—and, after all, nations are only groups of men—are moved by the same things or combinations of forces. Nevertheless, it is possible with reasonable accuracy to group detailed motives under the three alliterative headings of gospel, gold, and glory. As the reader is aware, Christianity has always been strongly missionary. The desire to proselytize, to spread the Christian religion, has been most powerful since the days of St. Paul. Catholic and Protestant alike eagerly sought from the sixteenth century forward to spread their religions into newly discovered lands. Some men, too, sought the chance to worship as they pleased, unhampered by the religious intolerance of their homelands. Usually, be it noted, such men were not advocates of religious toleration and liberty for all. They only wanted the opportunity to worship as they themselves chose. Greed for gold and treasure led some men to the ends of the earth and some nations to extend their sway over strange places and alien peoples. More important, but less spectacular, was the desire for profits from trade and commerce. Coincidental in fifteenth-century Europe was an increased demand for and a diminished supply of eastern goods. The earliest voyages of discovery and the first empire building sought to supply that lack. Many men, too, sought neither gold nor trade, as such, but merely a new and better opportunity to make a living. The urge for glory was both personal and national. Individuals saw in the world overseas, not only chances for profits, but adventure, romance, and the winning of public acclaim. Nations, that is, groups of men, saw opportunities to increase their power and their prestige. Jealousies, and superiority complexes also tended toward the same end.

The pioneer explorers and empire builders were sent out by the Portuguese whose establishment of a strong centralized monarchy in the late fourteenth century made possible their commercial pre-eminence in the fifteenth century. Under the leadership of Prince Henry (1394-1460), entitled the Navigator for his work along these lines, exploratory voyages were undertaken along the west coast of Africa which climaxed with the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartolomeu Diaz (1486-1488) and the first all-sea voyage to India by Vasco da Gama (1497-1498). These discoveries gave Portugal a virtual monopoly of trade with India and the Spice Islands. Pepper and cloves were the most valuable commodities, and the usual profit was about five hundred per cent. During its seventy-five odd years of supremacy, Portugal made no attempt at land conquests in the East, but centered its activity in gaining and maintaining commercial and maritime pre-eminence. Only in Brazil, discovered probably by accident, did the Portuguese attempt colonization. Fundamental weaknesses at home, however, made impossible the continued maintenance of empire, and in 1580 Portugal itself was annexed to Spain and its empire either merged with the Spanish or fell prey to other rivals.

Spain, finally united and given an absolute monarchy by Ferdinand and Isabella late in the fifteenth century, entered the imperial field with the celebrated voyages of Columbus. Immediate rivalry with Portugal was reduced by mutual acceptance of the Papal Line of Demarcation (1493)¹ which awarded all lands unclaimed by Christian princes to Spain if they lay west of a line approximately 37 degrees W. longitude; to Portugal, if east of that line. By a series of discoveries and conquests, Spain brought under her rule a vast empire in southern North America, Central America, and South America plus the Caribbean Islands in the Atlantic and the Philippines in the Pacific. Gold, gospel, and glory had indeed been the Spanish motives and these were reflected in her empire. Strict monopoly control was established in all parts and her colonies were valued only as markets on the one hand and producers of mineral wealth and raw materials on the other. No aliens were allowed to trade with the colonies and colonists themselves were forbidden to produce goods in competition with Spain. Prominent in all Spanish colonies were the churchmen, many of whom were explorers, conquerors, colonizers, and administrators as well as priests. The strong

¹ This was revised in 1494 by the Treaty of Tordesillas which moved the line west about nine degrees.



SIR THOMAS ROE AT THE COURT OF AJMIR. MURAL AT WESTMINSTER. PAINTING BY W. ROTHSTEIN.

This is one of a series of murals in St. Stephen's Hall, Westminster, depicting the building of Britain. Sir Thomas Roe was sent as ambassador to the court of Jehangir, the Moghul Emperor of Hindustan, by King James on behalf of the East India Company. Roe was able to obtain important commercial concessions. The painting is shown here to typify the growth of empires.

Catholicism of the so-called Latin American countries is testimony to the enduring character of their work. As was befitting the empire of an absolute monarchy, the Spanish colonies were governed directly from Spain by means of viceroys and other royal agents. The influx of fabulous amounts of gold and silver from the New World gave Spain a brief period of European power and glory, but neglect of other resources, both in Spain and in the colonies, plus the rise of Dutch and English sea power, brought decline. Spain held most of its empire until into the nineteenth century, but its day of triumph had vanished two centuries before. However, the persistence of the Spanish tongue and Spanish customs in Central and South America and the southwestern United States gives evidence that the social and cultural conquest was really lasting.

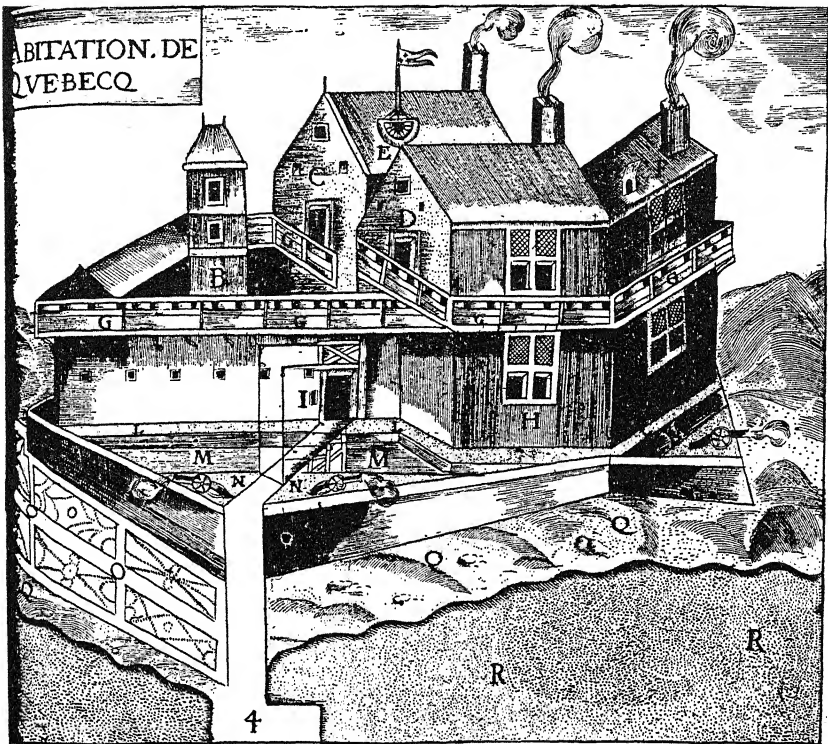
Leadership in trade and empire shifted in the late sixteenth century from Spain to its rebellious province, the Dutch Netherlands. In fact, this mercantile and maritime struggle, in which the Dutch were sporadically assisted by the English who also felt menaced by Spanish power, was part of the Dutch fight for independence. The Dutch East India Company, for example, formed in 1601 by the

amalgamation of eight small companies engaged in the spice trade with the Indies, was virtually a department of the state which on occasion supplied the government with ships, money, and men. The same relation also existed with the Dutch West India Company, chartered in 1621 to fight Spain, conquer Brazil, and trade and colonize in North America. Both in the East and in the West, the Dutch subordinated everything to trade. Such conquests as they made were primarily to promote or protect trade, and except for New Amsterdam they undertook little colonization. Anglo-Dutch rivalry, always vigorous and warlike in the reign of James I, flared out in open war under Cromwell and Charles II. The Dutch could not long match the English power and resources and by the last quarter of the seventeenth century they had lost both their commercial pre-eminence and their colony of New Amsterdam. In the East, the Dutch successfully held on to the Indies whence they had driven the English by 1625, and in 1940 they still control a colonial empire of over 733,000 square miles in that region.

France, like England and the Netherlands, first challenged Iberian colonial supremacy in the sixteenth century with voyages of discovery and exploration of which the most important were those of Jacques Cartier. This intrepid seaman reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence River in 1534 and in the next year sailed up the river past the Indian settlements, Stadacona (Quebec) and Hochlega (Montreal) to the rapids which he called La Chine (China), symbol of the fact that what he sought was a trade route to the East. Various attempts at colonization failed and religious strife plus European entanglements cut off further trials for half a century. The lure of the profits to be made from the fisheries and more importantly from the fur trade¹ led to a renewal of French efforts early in the seventeenth century. The first settlement was at Acadia (now Nova Scotia)² but New France really began with the foundation of Quebec (1608) by that very epitome of the French explorers, the adventurous, courageous visionary, Samuel de Champlain. Westward expansion, primarily in search of furs, secondly in search of converts to Christianity—the missionaries were very important in the development of New France—and thirdly to forestall the English, was very rapid. First individuals and then joint stock companies chartered by Richelieu

¹ A style revolution at the turn of the century made furs very fashionable and led to an increasing demand for them. Beaver hats were especially prized. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that a freak of fashion was responsible for the beginning and early life of New France.

² The first colony (1604) failed but a successful attempt was made in 1610.



Courtesy of the New York Public Library

CHAMPLAIN'S HABITATION. FROM CHAMPLAIN'S *VOYAGES*, 1613.

Samuel de Champlain, the real founder of French Canada, ascended the St. Lawrence River in 1608 and established a colony, soon known as Quebec, near the Indian village of Stadacona.

sought to exploit the fur trade and, very incidentally, to colonize the land. The feudal, or as it was known in New France, the *seigneurial*, system, was transplanted to the colony. Less rigid and less onerous than its European parent, the system was well adapted to the needs of the very sparsely populated colony whose greatest problem was defense against the Indians and the English. It did not, however, make for permanent settlement or for sound agriculture, and these failings, made worse by lack of manpower, constituted the greatest weaknesses of the colony.

Colbert and Louis XIV transformed New France into a royal colony in 1663, and the always oligarchic government became wholly autocratic and paternalistic. In fact the outstanding characteristic of New France was excessive paternalism. The seigneurial system was patriarchal; the secular government minutely regulated all details of

trade; and the Church kept close tabs on the life and doings of every family. Local self-government was virtually non-existent. The economic system of the colony, which by 1700 stretched from Acadia north to the valley of the St. Lawrence, westerly to the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi to the sea, was based wholly on the fur trade. Agriculture was primitive and slight. The social system was more rigid than that of the English colonies but less so than that of France. In recapitulation, New France suffered from the weaknesses of poverty, scarcity of manpower, undue emphasis upon the fur trade, and excessive dependence upon France. Yet, withal, it endured for over 160 years.

The empire of England which in 1940 covered about one quarter of the earth's land surface began primarily as a venture in commerce and sea power. It is impossible here even to attempt a sketch of its growth, but passing reference here and there has already indicated the concern which both Tudor and Stuart felt for it. By the mid-eighteenth century it included the eastern seaboard of North America between French Acadia and Spanish Florida, and Rupert's Land in the area of Hudson's Bay, Bermuda, the Westward and Leeward Islands, and Jamaica in the West Indies; and trading stations such as Bombay and Madras in India. The chief instruments in this development had been joint-stock companies like the East India Company, the Somers Company (Bermuda), the Virginia Company, the Plymouth Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company. Some colonies, for example, Maryland, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and the Leewards, owed their existence to "proprietors," i.e., individuals granted rights of trade and colonization by the Crown. In the East, the English empire was commercial, like that of the Netherlands; in the West, it was mercantile and colonial.

English colonial policy from the Restoration to the American Revolution falls naturally into three periods. The first, 1660-1713, was strongly mercantilistic. Colonies were regarded as existing primarily for England's benefit and it was expected that in return for protection they would give trade advantages to the mother country. This was also the period of deliberate imperialism by the government as exemplified by wars with the Dutch, one of which added New Amsterdam to the English holdings, and by systematic colonization. The second period, 1713-1756, was the era of Whig dominance, and their policy was to "let sleeping dogs lie." Stringent trade restrictions were legislated, but not enforced; the question of colonial self-government was ignored; and the advancing of imperial interests was



FRANCE. AN ETCHING BY WILLIAM HOGARTH (1697-1764).

This reflects the popular English attitude toward France in the mid-eighteenth century. Notice: the flag, "Vengeance and the Good Beer and Good Beef of England"; the tavern sign, "Thin Soup"; and the officer roasting frogs—all intimating the poverty and hunger of France. The well-fed friar with his plans for a monastery and his load of inquisitorial weapons was meant to appeal to the anti-Catholicism of the English, a feeling which had been strong since Tudor times. The second plate of this series depicts England as a land of plenty.

largely left to private enterprise. The third phase, 1756-1776, was one of renewed vigor. The Navigation Acts and other trade regulations were strictly enforced to the intense resentment of the colonials who much preferred the easy-going policy of the Whigs. New duties and new taxes were imposed in an attempt to make the colonies bear their share of the burden of the long struggle with France which climaxed with the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).

The "Second Hundred-Years' War" is the title which has been applied to the long conflict between France and England which began with William's war with Louis (1689-1697) already referred to in this and earlier chapters. Broadly speaking, the two fundamental causes of this rivalry are to be found in the "Balance of Power," and the commercial and colonial competition of the two nations. The establishment of French hegemony in Europe by Richelieu and Mazarin, and more especially the aggressive expansion of Louis XIV into

the Low Countries, roused English fears. The pro-French policy of Charles II and the vigorous anti-Catholicism of the majority of Englishmen rendered these fears more real and Englishmen more ready to support William's bellicose policies. Intensive commercialism began with the mercantilism of Colbert, and it was a measure of its bitterness that an Anglo-French tariff war begun in 1678 lasted for well over a hundred years. If the reader will recall the role assigned to colonies by mercantilist theories he will at once see why the rivalry extended into the colonial field. The attempts of Louis and Colbert to build up New France, for example, were regarded by English mercantilists not alone as a threat to their colonies or to the trade in fish and furs, but also as a distinct attempt to enrich France so that she might extend her dominance over England. Despite this colonial aspect, however, the struggle until after 1748 was centered chiefly in Europe.

Since they are related elsewhere¹ there is no need to repeat here the story of these conflicts. The War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697), known in the colonies as King William's War, ended with the mutual exhaustion of both antagonists and a virtual return to the *status quo ante bellum*. Louis had been checked, however, William firmly enthroned, and the Netherlands temporarily secured. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), called by colonials Queen Anne's War, resulted in the additions to the British Empire of Gibraltar and Minorca, Acadia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay region, which latter had long been claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Peace broke out between the two rivals in the years from 1713 to 1740, while France was under a regency and England under the first Hanoverians, but commercial and colonial rivalry continued both in America where the French constructed their chain of forts along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and in India where the final collapse of the Mogul Empire (1739) opened the way for European advance. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) settled little, though the French lost Louisburg in North America to the British, and the latter lost Madras to the former.

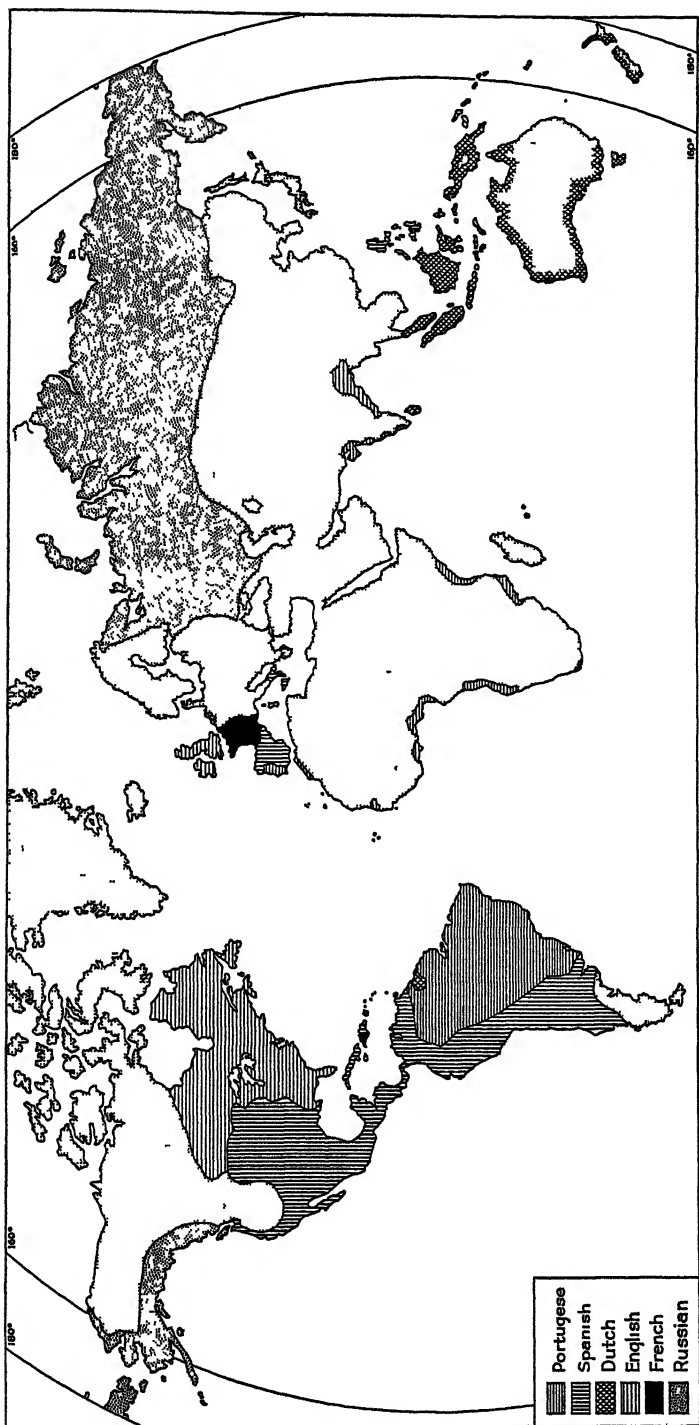
The Seven Years' War, preceded by the Diplomatic Revolution² and by an undeclared Anglo-French war (1755-1756), in which the British captured part of the French fleet and over one million pounds' worth of French shipping, and precipitated by the Prussian invasion of Saxony, was the climax of the struggle. A comparison of the two

¹ See Chapter XVII.

² See p. 499.

Powers shows that the British position was stronger. The greater manpower of France was offset by her involvement in Europe and her liability to invasion which made it necessary to keep a large army at home, as well as to maintain a fleet for the defense of her empire. Britain, protected by her insularity, was able to depend upon her fleet for both domestic and imperial protection. French advantages in India, won chiefly by the skillful statecraft of Joseph Dupleix, Director General of the French Company in India from 1742 to 1754, were largely nullified by his recall, and by lack of sea power. In North America, the geographically compact, largely self-reliant British colonies were better situated than the hyperextended French holdings which were so dependent upon the mother country for supplies and men. Both France and Great Britain felt that mastery in Europe was dependent upon mastery of America and both were prepared to make strenuous efforts to win it.

The fascinating story of the war—of the victory won by the quondam English clerk, Robert Clive, at the Battle of Plassey (1757); of the capture of Louisburg (1758), Quebec (1759), and Montreal (1760) by British and colonial troops; and of the virtual destruction of the French fleet at the Battles of Lagos and Quiberon Bay (1759)—lies beyond the limits of this book. Most important of the British statesmen was William Pitt the Elder, Whig leader and Prime Minister from 1757 to 1761. Under his guidance every possible pressure was put on France, and Britain rose from what seemed sure defeat to victory. Pitt was driven from power before the war ended, by the disfavor of George III, but the Peace of Paris (1763) was, nonetheless, a record of Pitt's success. By its terms, Great Britain received Florida from Spain; and Senegal, Minorca, islands in the West Indies, Canada and lands east of the Mississippi from France. In payment for an alliance and as recompense for loss of Florida, France gave Louisiana to Spain. Her power in India also shattered, France salvaged from the wreck of her empire only five trading stations in India, the islands of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Santo Domingo in the West Indies and of St. Pierre and Miquelon in the north Atlantic, and fishing rights off Newfoundland. Great Britain emerged as undisputed mistress of the seas, hated and envied by the rest of Europe as the greatest commercial and colonial power in the world. Yet in the words of the ancient proverb, "Pride goeth before destruction and an haughty spirit before a fall." Within two decades a successful rebellion had deprived Great Britain of her most important colonies.



MAP 26. COLONIAL EMPIRES IN 1763

The American Revolution (1775-1783) was not the spontaneous, mass insurrection of "patriots" against the tyranny of Great Britain which legend has depicted, but the work of an active and vociferous minority. Its complex causes included selfish greed as well as altruism, personal animosities as well as the better-publicized love of liberty. It would seem that the key to the American Revolution lay in the period of Whig neglect earlier in the century. Failure to enforce the stringent trade regulations had not only led to a profitable, if illegal, trade, which added greatly to the colonials' wealth and prosperity; it also had the effect of making resentment sure if and when the restrictions should be enforced. Similarly, inaction by the British government had both permitted and, in a sense, forced the colonists to develop self-government. These things led to the growth of self-assurance and an independent spirit to which was added a strong sense of security when the Treaty of Paris removed the French threat. In such a situation it was probably inevitable that when the lackadaisical Whig policy was replaced by the vigorous mercantilistic and imperial policy of George Grenville, an explosion of some sort should occur. From his point of view, Grenville was merely seeking to make the now populous and reasonably prosperous colonies pay part of the expense of their own protection and maintenance. New legislation (the Sugar Act, 1764) was devised to reduce smuggling and to produce a revenue; and a stamp tax, calculated to return about 100,000 pounds annually, was imposed (Stamp Act, 1765). The reaction of the colonies must have been a distinct shock to Grenville. Their immediate protests were implemented by an embargo on British goods which startled the English merchants, whose trade was threatened, into putting pressure on Parliament which repealed the offensive act in 1766. Other tax laws, including the familiar tax on tea, helped keep alive irritation during the next several years. Attempts at appeasement were largely nullified by the stubborn insistence of George III upon punitive measures, and the equally obstinate determination of Samuel Adams of Boston to incite a rebellion. Finally in 1774, the Boston Port Act, which closed that port to all shipping, to the irritation of the merchants of the seacoast, and the Quebec Act, which, intended as a fair and generous settlement of the problem of Canada, roused both the fear and the anger of the inland colonists, brought matters to a head. The First Continental Congress, while protesting its loyalty, declared a war of economic sanctions against Great

Britain, and then each party sat tight waiting for the other to capitulate.

The war, begun on April 19, 1775, by the Battles of Lexington and Concord, was in many respects a civil rather than an inter-nation struggle. Loyalties were divided on both sides of the Atlantic. Many English Whigs opposed the war, seeing in it an attack upon colonial liberties which they feared was a prelude to an attack upon their own. Among the colonists, a proportion variously estimated at from 15 to 33 percent remained loyal to the Crown, and probably not more than a quarter of the population were active supporters of the rebel cause. The history of the war, familiar to every American by reason of frequent repetition, has no place here. Blundering incompetence and half-hearted action by the British, plus the intervention of France and Spain led to a colonial victory.

The consequences of the American Revolution, overwhelming in their ramifications, can only be hinted at. The Treaty of Paris (1783) recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies and paved the way for their subsequent unification. The migration of the Loyalists to Canada, during and after the war, transformed that province into a British colony which has now become the leading Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Undoubtedly, also, the examples of a successful revolution and of equally successful nation-building have given impetus and inspiration to liberals everywhere. Finally, the loss of the American colonies produced a disillusionment which led to a temporary retreat from colonialism. In place of the avid desires for empire appeared the defeatist theory that colonies were of no value since, like fruits when they ripen, they drop from the parent stem. The American Revolution seemed to offer concrete proof of this, and the new economic theories of the Physiocrats, who will be discussed in the next chapter, administered the final blow to the old mercantilism.

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Chapter XIX

The Dislocation of the Social Order

A. THE INADEQUACIES OF ABSOLUTISM

The example of contemporary dictatorships demonstrates that absolute government is not simply an historical phenomenon. Under one disguise or another, it has always existed, has always been espoused, and has been frequently acquiesced in by men. The theories advanced to justify it have undergone frequent changes, but the fundamental excuses for absolutism are the same in every age: to provide "enlightened" government for the "unenlightened"; to ensure "efficiency" in administration; and to advance the common good. It makes little difference whether an absolutism be "divinely ordained" as in the age of Louis XIV, "decreed by the immutable laws of nature" as in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, or the result of "inexorable economic law" as in Communist Russia. In every case it is based on the assumption that the mass of men are too ignorant and too selfish to govern themselves in the common interest. Modern exponents of absolutism like Hitler and Mussolini, while flattering the masses, exercise no restraint in revealing their contempt for them.

The appeals of absolutism, like the excuses for it, have been fundamentally the same in all ages. It satisfies those with lust for power, convinced of their own superiority, and unwilling to tolerate checks upon their authority. It is likely to win approval among vested interests who feel that they are threatened under mass control, and at the same time it appeals to those who want radical changes in the social structure and are convinced that these cannot be realized except through revolution and dictatorship. Sincere reformers may defend it on the score that centralized control in enlightened hands could do more good for mankind than democratic government by mediocrities. Finally, many who are only passively concerned with government are won to absolutism since it relieves them of the responsibility of gov-

erning themselves. This seems especially true in the twentieth century. In the age of Louis XIV, lack of popular education and the strong forces of tradition deprived the masses of even this simple choice.

It is easy to construct a logical case for absolutism, provided past experience be ignored and provided one limit one's self to rationalizations upon the future. It is impossible to do so from the example of absolute governments of the past. They all betray fundamental and inherent weaknesses.

Absolute government is usually established through force and always preserved by force. Assuming omniscience, it can brook no opposition in word or deed. It prohibits the free assembly of citizens, attempts rigorously to censor thought and ideas, and "liquidates" those who have the temerity to question its motives and methods. Suspecting his subjects and fearing them, the dictator reinforces his oppression by employing secret agents, provocateurs, and secret police. He bends the courts and the law to his will and supplies himself with armed forces to make his will obeyed. At the same time he denies arms to the mass of the people. These are the basic techniques of all authoritarian governments, although they have manifested themselves in the most varied ways. The differences between the Prætorian Guard of Roman Emperors and the Militia of Fascist Italy, between the suppression of free speech in seventeenth-century France and in modern dictatorships, between the secret police of imperial Russia and those of present-day Russia, Italy, and Germany are all chiefly differences in detail. Absolute government must be preserved by force rather than by the free consent of the governed, else force would not be the instrument of every absolutism.

The dependence upon force is absolutism's greatest weakness. In the first place, it is futile to assume that uniformity of thought and ideas can be imposed permanently. One of the finest examples of this futility has already been observed in the history of the Christian Church. Despite the instruments of oppression which had been devised, it was impossible to make all religious thinking fit the same pattern. There are likewise numerous examples of failure in the attempts made to impose uniform political thinking. In the nineteenth century, the classic cases are those of Metternich in Austria and of the more reactionary czars of Russia. None of these was able to devise an effective quarantine against infectious ideas from the outside, nor were they able to keep opposition from breeding within. Not only is the use of force futile in attaining the objectives of absolutism, it

is likewise likely to recoil upon its inventor. Such was the case when the Prætorian Guard of the Roman Empire subordinated the Emperors; such also was the case when disillusioned subjects turned upon Czar Nicholas II of Russia. It is not altogether improbable that a similar fate may befall modern dictators.

One of the supposedly great virtues of absolutism is that it enables the most able personality to govern in the common interest. This is likewise one of its greatest weaknesses. While it is true that on occasions exceptional men of great vision who were devoted to the public good governed well as absolute authorities, the fact remains that there can be no guarantee that wise government, if it exists, will be perpetuated in an authoritarian regime. Indeed, it is more likely that genius will be followed by mediocrity, with the result that centralized control is badly misused. Historical evidence of this is considerable. Probably the best example can be drawn from Roman imperial history. The wise and beneficent government of the philosopher Emperor Marcus Aurelius gave way to the evil administration of his son, Commodus. Centralization which in the one case made for good government, in the other made for bad government. An absolutism is too dependent upon the individual who happens to wield the instruments of power.

B. THE PROGRESS OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT

The eighteenth century is often referred to as the *Age of Reason* or the *Age of the Enlightenment*. Both terms reveal fundamental characteristics of the period: the emphasis of reason over faith and authority among many intellectuals; and the wide dissemination of rational thought. In this era, the whole intellectual world reacted to the accumulating influences of the Protestant and commercial revolutions, geographic discoveries, and the phenomenal advances of science. All established thought and all existing institutions were tested in the crucible of reason, and by use of reason men were persuaded to believe that a perfect order could be realized. Not everyone shared this confidence or optimism. The masses were still excluded from intellectual riches as they were from material wealth, and there were many of the upper strata who clung to traditional faith and authority. An age which produced a Wesley and a Hume, which tolerated the publications of Voltaire and punished those who read them, could scarcely be accused of dull uniformity. Yet the temper of the times was rationalistic, and posterity has judged that those who worshiped

at the altar of Reason made the most significant contributions to human liberty.

Among the great intellectual revolutions, the Enlightenment holds a unique place in the transition from early modern to contemporary times. Like the Scholastics and the Humanists, the men of the Enlightenment still held to the view that the universe was uniform and orderly and that there was a final and infallible authority to which they could appeal. Their authority, however, was human understanding or reason, not the Church Fathers or the ancient classicists, and their inspiration was science not religion. In this latter respect, they anticipated the modern age but fell short of it through their inclination to dogmatism. They had almost unlimited confidence in the power of human reason and in the rationality of man. They had a growing faith in human progress; they were humanitarian and cosmopolitan in their views. Convinced by science that all nature, including man, was originally orderly and rational, they applied the lessons of science to the investigation of all social institutions, religion, morals, and ethics. There was much in their methods which now seems naive and many of their conclusions appear ludicrous, but the fact remains that through their effort a great deal of the accumulated rubbish of the past was swept aside.

If confidence in reason and in the capacity of science to explain the universe and refashion society was exaggerated, it was because there was little cause to doubt their validity. Since the days of Copernicus and Galileo, science had steadily widened its conquests, until it gave promise of reducing everything to simple, mathematical order. Some age-old superstitions were dispelled, and doubt was cast upon those which remained. It was perfectly natural that the tools of science, so uniformly successful in prying loose the secrets of inanimate nature, should be applied to animate nature as well. After all, every discovery of science added assurance to the growing conviction that all nature, including man, was fashioned in uniform pattern and responded to clearly observable and calculable mathematical law. The glorious achievements of seventeenth-century science, and particularly those of Sir Isaac Newton, seemed to justify this faith.

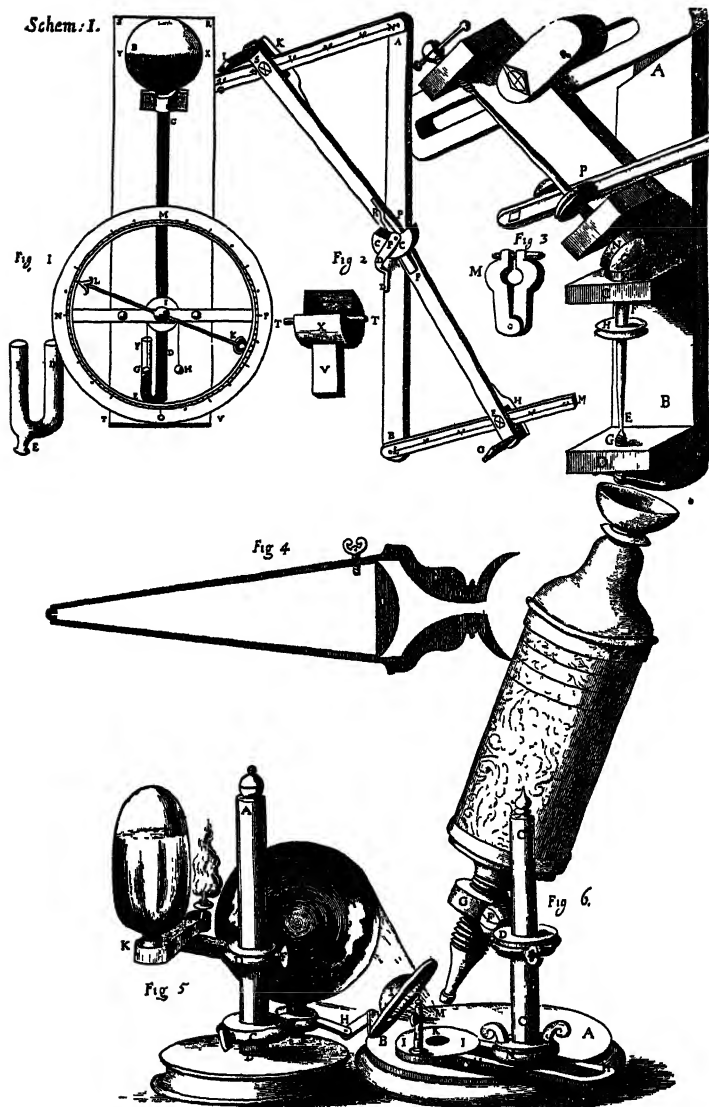
Son of a yeoman, Sir Isaac Newton trained in theology at Cambridge University before acquaintance with the publications of Kepler persuaded him to concentrate his attention upon the study of astronomy, physics, and mathematics. At the age of twenty-four he had already formulated the basic hypotheses by which he was to revolutionize these sciences, but it was not until twenty years later, after

adducing mathematical proofs, that he published his momentous work, *The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (1687). This supplied mathematical evidence for the law of gravitation, that "every particle of matter in the universe attracts every other particle with a force varying inversely as the square of the distance between them and directly proportional to the product of their masses." Thus the force which Galileo had used to explain falling objects on this earth was demonstrated to have universal application and was advanced to explain the motion of the heavenly planets. Nothing could demonstrate more effectively the universality of natural law. The Copernican system was at last established upon a firm basis and superstitions of the middle ages which the Church had cultivated were dealt a decisive blow.

The revolutionary implications of Newton's *Principia*, as his great work is also called, were fully appreciated by his contemporaries. Despite its dull style and its difficult mathematics, it passed through forty translations, abbreviations, and popularizations during the next century, becoming the common possession of the intellectual world. Newton was extolled as the discoverer of the universe and the greatest genius of all times. For a century scientists devoted themselves to the exposition and elaboration of his proofs; for well over a century more they stood the tests of constantly expanding science. It was not until the twentieth century that some of his minor conclusions were seriously challenged by the exponents of the theory of relativity. Even so, the basic principles of Newtonian mechanics are still accepted. Little wonder that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when there was little reason to doubt and every reason to rely upon the accuracy of his conclusions, Newton was worshiped only a little less than the Divinity.

While Newtonian mechanics demonstrated the simplicity and uniformity of nature in the universe, physical studies began to unlock the secrets of the everyday world. Newton himself investigated the properties of light, demonstrating that the rainbow is produced through the decomposition of white light, and he came close to anticipating the wave theory. It was left to his great contemporary, Christian Huygens, however, to advance this latter thesis with such clarity that it was generally accepted by the nineteenth century. These notable studies of optics were accompanied by significant technical improvements in instruments for observation, particularly the microscope and the telescope.

Speculation upon the properties of matter and the laws of motion



Courtesy of the New York Public Library

HOOKE'S COMPOUND MICROSCOPE. FROM HIS *MICROGRAPHIA*, 1664.

Robert Hooke (1635-1703), first curator of the Royal Society of England and one of the most versatile scientists of his century, improved the compound microscope which had been invented in the Netherlands and popularized its scientific use. He also improved and popularized the reflector telescope, the barometer, the air pump; his invention of the balance wheel for the watch made it possible to condense that timepiece into a more convenient form. The parts of the above illustration are as follows: Fig. 1. Apparatus for keeping lens properly shaped and smoothed; Fig. 2. Distance gauge; Fig. 3. Apparatus for measurement of light refraction; Fig. 4. Design for shape of tube in Fig. 6; Fig. 5. Reflector; Fig. 6. Compound microscope.

similarly helped to stimulate the invention of ingenious machines which facilitated experimentation and oftentimes were capable of being used widely in a practical way. Denis Papin (1647-1712), one of the first in the long line of modern inventive genius, after successfully constructing a piston pump, applied himself to the creation of the first diving boat or submarine and then to the invention of a steam engine. Further improvements upon the steam engine, encouraged by the need for efficient instruments to pump water from mines, culminated in the development of a crude but practical machine by Thomas Newcomen in 1712. The expansive power of heat and the sensitivity of matter to it opened the way to the invention of the barometer and the thermometer. Early in the eighteenth century, Gabriel Daniel Fahrenheit (1686-1736), a Danziger by birth, perfected the thermometer which still bears his name, and established a firm at Amsterdam to manufacture them. Others, like Fahrenheit, were soon encouraged to establish thriving enterprises to produce precision instruments for experimenters, and mechanical toys for socialites who dabbled in science.

Observations made from some of these mechanical toys, especially barometers and magnets, led to significant discoveries in electricity. An obscure glass-worker's revelation that under special conditions the mercury in a barometer possessed luminous qualities in darkness laid the basis for the discovery of two kinds of electricity which Franklin subsequently named positive and negative. Machines were created to produce electrical charges and a method was found to store these (the Leyden jar) for experimental purposes. The most significant as well as the most spectacular investigations into the properties of electricity were made by Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia. He discovered that pointed conductors had greater power to draw or discharge electrical charges; he identified lightning with electricity through his famous experiments with the kite; and he invented a lightning rod which he and many others believed would protect buildings during thunder storms. More than anything else which this many-sided genius accomplished, his studies of electricity brought him an international reputation.

Hand in hand with the advancements of physics and celestial mechanics went important developments in the science of chemistry. During the seventeenth century, the versatile Irish genius, Robert Boyle (1627-1691), made a series of notable experiments which may be said to have separated chemistry from alchemy and to have made it modern. He drew the distinction between mixtures and com-

pounds, anticipated the idea of "elements" and the atomic theory, and most important of all framed the "law" that the volume of a gas varies inversely with its pressure. Despite Boyle's contributions, chemistry did not advance with the same degree of rapidity as did physics. It was bogged down by outworn traditions and hampered by unsound speculation. Not until the second half of the eighteenth century were there further notable achievements. Around 1755 Joseph Black, professor at the University of Edinburgh, made the discovery that alkalies when heated threw off a gas which he called "fixed air" and which we now know as carbon dioxide. Shortly afterward, Henry Cavendish discovered hydrogen, and in 1774, Joseph Priestley found the gas which supports combustion and which was named oxygen by the French chemist, Lavoisier (1743-1794). The greatest chemist of the eighteenth century, Lavoisier, systematized the discoveries of his contemporaries, dispelled the false doctrines which lingered, and advanced the thesis that in chemical actions though the quality of matter may change, its quantity remains stationary. This "quantitative" concept was the starting point for some of the most notable chemical discoveries of the next century.

In the eighteenth century, geography took its place among the exact sciences, under the stimulation of geographic discoveries. Partly for the same reason, geology was born. From the sixteenth century forward, considerable progress had been made in the study of rocks and earth formations, but it was an eighteenth-century Scotchman, James Hutton (1726-1797), who laid the foundation for modern geology in his *Theory of the Earth*, published in 1785. In this he maintained that the earth was not recently created but the result of gradual and evolutionary change which was observable in the rock formations and investigations of the earth's crust.

Significant discoveries were likewise made in botany and zoology. In the former a great early contribution was that of the English clergyman, John Ray, who first produced a systematic classification of plants. The Swedish scientist, Carl Linnæus, employed this procedure on a wider scale, establishing the modern nomenclature used in the plant and animal kingdoms. Much the same contribution to zoology was made by the distinguished French scientist Buffon.

As nature abandoned its secrets and seemingly justified the Newtonian implication that all nature was subjected to mechanical law, it was to be expected that the holy tabernacle of the human body should be asked to sacrifice its place of privilege. Physiological studies by such men as René Descartes and Julien de la Mettrie (1709-1751)

convinced them that the bodily functions of men and animals were mechanical. Though the former compromised his views, as will be shown, de la Mettrie remained frankly skeptical of the current physiological mysticism and propounded his heretical views in the brilliant publications: *Man a Machine* and *Man More Than a Machine*. The persecution la Mettrie suffered for his labors even met with the approval of fellow scientists who spurned mechanism when applied to living organisms, since they believed that living things transcended the laws of physics. These latter were known as vitalists. The conflict which raged between the two schools in the eighteenth century has not yet terminated.

Despite their controversy, physiologists steadily widened the boundaries of their science. Albrecht von Haller, starting from the assumption that morphological structure can explain the processes of life and thought, classified the organs of the body according to the degree of their sensitivity to stimuli, described the nerves as organs of feeling, and gave an explanation of the relations between sensation and thought. Reflex action was discovered, the action of the heart further explained, and important theories were advanced to explain the processes of reproduction. These advances contributed much to medicine, though medical science was still greatly retarded by popular superstition.

The physician in the eighteenth century was still regarded with aversion, but his status steadily improved. Medicine was a trade, not a profession, still burdened by a mass of superstitions, and exploited by innumerable quacks. Considerable progress was made, however, through the gradual establishment of clinical instruction, the issuance of scientific periodicals, and the discovery of some of the causes for the spread of contagious diseases. Probably the greatest advance of all came with the discovery of inoculation against smallpox. Records of this practice as employed in the Orient first appeared in the publications of the Royal Society of London early in the eighteenth century, and attracted the interest of practical New Englanders plagued with the disease. Experiments were successfully made in Boston with inoculations, and subsequently were practised fairly extensively, though against widespread popular objections. At the same time a beginning was made in the study of occupational diseases, the causes of yellow fever, and in scientific obstetrical surgery.

All of these victories of science, mostly in the seventeenth century, encouraged the intellectuals of the eighteenth century to transfer the scientific spirit to other fields of investigation, and to popular-



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THE FIRST VACCINATION BY DR. JENNER. A DRAWING BY GEORGES GASTON MELINGUE.

Dr. Edward Jenner (1748-1823), the discoverer of vaccination, was led to his discovery by the observation that there were similarities between a type of cow-pox and the dread disease of smallpox, and that those exposed to the former often escaped the latter. Although he began investigations of this phenomenon in 1775, with the view to finding a satisfactory preventive against smallpox, it was not until 1796 that he was able to conduct a satisfactory experiment. An eight-year-old boy, James Phipps, was then inoculated with matter from cow-pox vesicles taken from a human hand. Several months later the boy was exposed to smallpox but did not contract it. This success attracted widespread attention and within a decade vaccination against smallpox had spread to the continent and the new world.

ize it. Rationalization according to the methods of mathematics and empirical observation was asserted to provide the only certain avenues to truth. The diffusion of these views was accomplished through use of the press and especially through the establishment of scientific academies, scientific journals, and scientific museums. Among the earliest and most distinguished of the academies, founded in the seventeenth century, were the Royal Academy of London and the Académie des Sciences of France. Both of these performed notable services, fitting out important expeditions, serving as clearing houses for exchanges of knowledge, and publishing significant works. The *Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, published quarterly, to take only one example, offered an invaluable medium for the dissemination of scientific knowledge. The examples of the British and

French academies were widely copied, those of Prussia, under the fostering care of Frederick the Great, and of Russia, under the stimulation of Catherine the Great, being particularly noteworthy. Even in the new world, scientific academies of distinction were established.

The work of popularizing science was also immensely furthered through the establishment of museums by wealthy aristocrats, universities, and even state governments. The collection of interesting objects and curiosities was particularly popular among the rich who dabbled in science. Ofttimes they scarcely knew what they had assembled, but their service was for that reason no less important. By all means the greatest of the museums was the British Museum established in London in 1753. Six years later when the building was completed and opened to the public, it attracted crowds of the curious. For many this was chiefly a diversion, but no doubt a substantial number gained a new appreciation and understanding of the world.

It is impossible to say how large a percentage of the people in eighteenth-century Europe had fallen under the scientific influence, but it was certainly small. The masses were unschooled and openly hostile. The educated classes, however, had been won and "where the philosopher led the way, the man of the world, the man of letters, and the statesman, hastened to follow."¹ As with every revolution, the proponents of the Intellectual Revolution of the eighteenth century were a small but active minority which managed to make its views prevail.

The effects of science upon philosophical speculation were particularly significant. After centuries in which metaphysics had existed simply as a department of theology, it now divorced itself from revelation and allied itself with science. In fact, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries its greatest representatives were either distinguished scientists in their own right or individuals intensely interested in nature science. The first was René Descartes (1596-1650), a widely traveled Frenchman who devoted his life to scientific studies and to philosophical speculations. He made penetrating observations on human anatomy, invented analytical geometry, and popularized the effort to apply to celestial mechanics the knowledge of terrestrial mechanics. Some of the conclusions he drew from these observations were fantastic; others were deliberately expressed in terms of restraint so that the Church might not be too deeply offended. Yet Descartes always possessed the critical and skeptical spirit of the true scientist, as his philosophical publications demonstrate.

¹ Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture*, II, 146.

The system of thought which Descartes formulated was a compromise between the old and the new, a dualism which drew a sharp distinction between mind and matter, between body and soul. The material phenomena of nature, he maintained, could be explained by mechanical, natural law without reference to a God of revelation. God had merely created material things and after supplying them with the attribute of motion ceased to interfere. Man, however, was an exception to this general rule. While the human body operated like a machine, as with animals, it was unique in the sense that it was endowed with a rational spirit. The seat of this rational spirit, or the mind, he placed in the pineal gland, and from this all thought and energy were transmitted along nerves to the material body. Exactly how the body could react upon the mind and how the mind could influence the body he was unable to explain, dismissing it as a mystery or a miracle. By accepting two distinct realities, matter and mind, Descartes was confronted with the delicate problem of reconciling the truths of the mind with the truths of nature. The reliability of the latter was ensured by scientific observation and experiment. The former, however, are equally true though they are not arrived at in the same fashion. The mind was created by God with the capacity to think, and deductions which it reaches clearly, distinctly, intuitively are always true, for it would be unworthy of God to deceive. From this assumption, Descartes was able to justify current dogma and advance his famous ontological proof of God: since man has the idea of God, derived from a perfect being, God exists.

Descartes' influence was enormous; until dethroned by Voltaire, he dominated the world of letters and provided the intellectual fare for the rising generations of the eighteenth century. Yet there were few who were ready to accept his dualism without qualifications. Theologians denounced his doctrines as dangerous to the Church, despite his anxiety to avoid offense, and before the end of the seventeenth century his works were placed upon the *Index*. Skeptics, on the other hand, could accept his materialism but found his defense of the spiritual distasteful. Descartes' greatness, however, is not to be measured by the degree to which his system of thought was accepted, but by the lessons which he taught: that one must admit only what he can understand; that philosophy must be approached in the scientific spirit; and that reason is the greatest glory of man.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), an English royalist and one of the most original thinkers of his age, abandoned Descartes' dualism for an unqualified materialistic interpretation of nature and of man. The

mind or the soul like matter or the body he held to be merely matter and motion. Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), a Dutch lens grinder of Jewish extraction, while rejecting pure materialism was equally critical of Cartesian dualism. He rejected the distinction between mind and matter, regarding them as different aspects of the same phenomenon, which was God. God is ultimate reality, immanent in matter and thought, nature itself. This was a philosophy of pantheism which reconciled the contradictions of matter and mind without damage to either.

The impact of Newtonian science in the later seventeenth century introduced new elements into philosophical speculation of which Hobbes and Spinoza had been unaware. The champion of the new science in philosophy was John Locke (1632-1704), an Oxford graduate, a practising physician, a politician, and a distinguished political philosopher. In his famous *Essay concerning Human Understanding* he set out to defend science and to reconcile it with religion by conducting an inquiry into the origin, certainty, and extent of human knowledge. Abandoning the doctrine of innate ideas he set up the hypothesis that the mind is blank at birth and that all ideas develop through experience which comes from sensation. Our knowledge of nature, therefore, can be merely probable since the senses cannot reveal the innate character and structure of material objects. While this would appear to contradict Newtonianism it does not actually do so, for what Locke rejected as unknowable were the supposedly mysterious forces of nature which the Newtonians also rejected. Many of his ideas soon lost their force, but Locke made a significant contribution to the eighteenth century through his application of sense and reason to the studies of ideas and the mind. He has been regarded as the representative philosopher of the Enlightenment just as Newton was its representative scientist. Partly through him there sprang up two contradictory schools of philosophic thought, extreme idealism and extreme materialism, the former essentially English and the latter essentially French.

Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716) of Germany and Bishop Berkeley (1684-1753) of England were critical of Locke's fundamental concepts which they sought to supplant by differing forms of idealism. Leibnitz, an exponent and critic of Newton and one of the most fertile geniuses of his age, asserted that the only reality was the soul which perceived, and that the only substance which it perceived was force, the essence of matter. Force reveals itself in spiritual atoms or monads which form the constituent elements of the universe, and

move according to the laws of nature. An organic being is formed through a combination of monads, of which one, the soul, possesses power of direction. Co-operation among these is ensured through a harmony predetermined by God. From these assumptions, Leibnitz concluded that Locke erred in stating that nothing existed in the mind which did not at first appear in the senses. The mind itself partakes of reality and its ideas are not mere reflections of things. This was the starting point of Kantian idealism.¹

Bishop George Berkeley, an Anglican divine passionately devoted to religion which he believed endangered by the materialism, encouraged by science, attacked it by denying the reality of matter. He asserted there was no absolute connection between the idea of the mind and the material object perceived. Our own perception and not the object is what is known. Matter therefore possesses no reality. Reality belongs to the spirit, and this is the subject of religion, not of science.

While others debated what might be known and how this could be comprehended, a Scotch philosopher, David Hume (1711-1776) was asserting that man could actually know nothing at all. Accepting both Locke's thesis that knowledge derives from sensations and Berkeley's contention that reality exists in perceiving, Hume concluded that the mind could know only itself and therefore nothing outside. Unable to break beyond its own confines the mind of man can never know reality. This was the most complete statement of agnosticism ever advanced.

The conclusions of the scientists and the doctrines of the philosophers permeated the whole intellectual world of the eighteenth century and determined the character of the "Enlightenment." Under their impulse, the supernatural gave way to the natural, and theology to science. Many were convinced that man and the universe were controlled by natural law. Human reason which discovered natural law was exalted and virtually deified. Progress and the ultimate perfectibility of man appeared to be justified assumptions. To realize them it seemed necessary only to apply to human society the processes of reason which would discover the perfect and natural order just as it had for inanimate nature.

The propagation of these views was undertaken with missionary zeal by a group of ardent apostles who were convinced that the condition of mankind thereby could be improved. Despite the fact that the new thought had germinated largely on English soil, espe-

¹ For a discussion of the philosophy of Immanuel Kant see pp. 841-842.

cially with Newton and Locke, it was in France that it was most effectively developed. A band of intellectuals, known as the *philosophes*, pursued the task with zeal and intensity of conviction, braving persecution from governments and ostracism from vested interests, and frequently finding it expedient to live in exile. It was this which made their victories the more notable, oftentimes contributing to their popularity and success. Among their number most of the prominent intellectuals of the century could be properly included, but the most influential and most typical were Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau.

François Arouet (1694-1778), better known by his pseudonym, Voltaire, was the greatest of the *philosophes*. The literary arbiter of Europe, companion and critic of kings, an ardent reformer, dramatist, poet, novelist, and wit, Voltaire came close to being a revolutionary intellectual movement all by himself. After training at a Jesuit school, Voltaire turned to literature and acquired an enviable reputation as a dramatist and a poet. He was invited by Frederick the Great, his apostle and great admirer, to establish himself at the royal court in Berlin, but left in 1753 after a quarrel. Subsequently he established himself at Ferney in Switzerland, close to the French frontier, and henceforth made a name for himself as an historian and pamphleteer. The influence which he exerted from this safe retreat is almost without parallel in history. Sovereigns courted his favor and feared his wrath; even the French Crown released the victims of its oppression when Voltaire came to their defense. Ferney, as has been aptly said, became the capital of one of the Great Powers of Europe, the Republic of Letters.

Voltaire reflects the Enlightenment at its best and its worst. Many of his satires were repugnant and obscene. But, on the whole, his mordant wit was employed with genuine humanitarian purpose. His basic tenets he derived from Newton and Locke, and his chief objective was to encourage tolerance, freedom of thought and expression, and civil liberty. He abandoned institutional religion for natural religion, and worshiped God as the "First Cause." The established Church he regarded as "the infamous one," the greatest oppressor, to be crushed, and against it he directed his most virulent attacks.

The extent of his writing, including numerous letters, plays, poems, novels, and histories, is staggering. Many of these are lacking in originality, though greatly praised in his own day, but they are written with the art and technique of the accomplished propa-



Courtesy of the New York Public Library

VOLTAIRE

This engraving, done for the *Encyclopedia Londensis*, is from a portrait of Voltaire in the prime of his powers, around the age of forty.

gandist. Indeed, this was his objective, to preach the lessons of Enlightenment through whatever media he could to gain the public ear.

It has been said that the only rival to Voltaire in disseminating the enlightenment "was not a man but a co-operative enterprise, the famous *Encyclopædia*."¹ The inspiring genius of this notable work was Denis Diderot (1713-1784), more versatile and more original than Voltaire, though his fame rests chiefly upon the editing of the most famous encyclopedia ever to be published. Bringing together as authors of the *Encyclopædia* experts of the various fields, Diderot established the model for future enterprises of the same order. The

¹ Preserved Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, II, 376.

whole work was permeated with the spirit of the new rationalism and it provided a veritable arsenal for those who were its propagandists. More important still, the several editions of the *Encyclopædia*, despite attempted suppressions, were widely circulated among the bourgeoisie and found their way into most respectable private libraries. The influence which it exerted must have been considerable.

The third leading figure among the *philosophes* stood out in sharp contrast to Voltaire and Diderot. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was not the apostle of reason and science but the defender of unreason and sentiment. Poor and deeply conscious of his social inferiority, temperamentally unstable, untrustworthy, amoral, Rousseau was ideally fitted to become the spokesman of the misfortunes of the oppressed. He disliked the rich and the fortunate, but understood the poor and the downtrodden. His thesis that man was naturally good but made to do evil through the injustices of society, dominated by the upper classes, expressed the innermost conviction of the masses of every age. The instincts and impulses of the common man rather than the learned rules of reason would be the surest guide to social virtue, order, and happiness. He therefore counseled the application of these natural instincts, the return to nature in education, politics, and morals. Despite the contrast of this to the cold rationalism of the leading intellectuals, there was much in Rousseau's argument which was congenial to the dominating thought of the time, especially his emphasis upon the necessity of establishing a "natural" order among men. He revived an intense interest in sentimentality and nature among the upper classes, and he struck a responsive chord among the discontented masses. Rousseau's greatest significance derives from the fact that he was the prophet and spokesman of democracy in the Republic of Letters.

It would be erroneous to assume that France held a monopoly on the popularizers of Enlightenment. After all, this was an intellectual manifestation which was reflected throughout the whole western world. Some of its best-known exponents were natives of the American colonies, such as Franklin and Jefferson; there were many in the other countries. The French *philosophes* were merely the best-known and most influential.

Because of the great diversity of views among these intellectuals, it is difficult to analyze their contributions to religious, social, and political thought in brief compass, without doing them injustice. In a general way, however, these fit into a uniform pattern. At

least, there was general agreement that the established order was unsatisfactory.

Most important of all, the men of the Enlightenment were severe critics of religious dogma and institutional religion. Religious bigotry and intolerance disgusted them; growing knowledge of civilizations among non-Christian peoples strengthened their convictions that the form of religion was really unimportant; and science taught them that there was no need for a supernatural religion in a universe which functioned perfectly according to natural law. Their religious views ranged all the length from attempted rationalizations of prevalent beliefs to complete agnosticism, but the great majority were Deists. Indeed, Deism was the typical religious manifestation of the Age of the Enlightenment. According to this view, God was merely the First Cause, the creator of a perfectly ordered universe who, after completing his handiwork, refrained thereafter from interference. It was inconceivable that a rational God who had created a rational world should be so irrational as to set aside his own laws of nature merely in the interest of insignificant man. They therefore rejected miracles, denied the inspiration of the Bible, and abandoned the belief in future rewards and punishments. Virtue they held to be its own reward, and human reason the sole authority of religion.¹ It is probably safe to assume that the Deists would have rejected their belief in God, even as the First Cause, had seventeenth- and eighteenth-century science advanced the doctrine of evolution. The evolutionary process was, however, only vaguely understood so that the beginning of things could be satisfactorily explained only by postulating a creator.

Deism was a compromise formulated by the majority of intellectuals, and as with all compromises it failed to satisfy extremists. A few with advanced views carried their religious skepticism to its logical conclusion and emerged as atheists; many of more conservative inclinations were persuaded to reinforce the traditional faith. Among the latter, the most important were those pious souls who had become disgusted with persistent feuds among sects, and abjured empty religious formality for emotional piety and individual Christianity. Known as pietists, these appeared among Protestants and Catholics alike. John Wesley and the Methodism which he developed may be taken as broadly typical of the whole movement. Experiencing an

¹ An important influence in spreading the doctrines of Deism was Freemasonry, which was first established in England early in the eighteenth century and soon thereafter spread to the continent.

"inward conversion" after close contact with German pietists, Wesley set forth with tireless energy to "convert" the masses. His emotionalism, neglect of ritual, and appeal to individual feeling won him numerous followers and led to the establishment of an independent church. In a broadly general way, the Quakers, the evangelical Anglicans, and the Quietists and Jansenists among the Catholics, repeated the essential features of Wesleyan Methodism.

As the intellectuals applied the lessons of science to religion, so they applied them to all other social questions. Law and legal institutions they held to be as susceptible to scientific and objective examination as the laws of nature. In fact, law was natural and needed only to be "discovered" by reason; it could not be simply "legislated." It is from this era that there came the belief that government must be a government of laws—that is, of nature—and not a government of men. The most important contributions to this new "science" of jurisprudence were made by Blackstone of England and Beccaria of Italy. The former wrote the classic handbook of English law, the *Commentaries*, and the latter, in his famous publication, *On Crimes and Punishment*, urged the abandonment of outworn legal practices in favor of "scientific" methods which would emphasize the prevention rather than the punishment of crime. This new approach to law was accompanied by penal reforms and more equitable treatment of criminals.

Economic phenomena were likewise subjected to rational speculation and "scientific" explanation. François Quesnay (1694-1774), physician to Louis XV of France, exerted the greatest influence. He believed he had found the "law" for the circulation of wealth, a law as natural and as binding as those of science. Many were persuaded to adopt his views and from this following there grew up a school of economic thought which passes under the name of the Physiocrats. These taught that all wealth was derived from the resources of the earth, particularly through mining and farming. Manufacturing and distribution did not create wealth but merely transformed and exchanged it. To interfere with manufacturing and distribution through governmental regulation was likely therefore to diminish wealth by discouraging its production at the source, which was the land. For this reason, the Physiocrats advanced the doctrine of "laissez-faire," freedom for business to develop naturally and complete freedom for competition. These views were widely adopted and directly influenced the opinion of the greatest economist of the

eighteenth century, Adam Smith, professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow. As anxious as the Physiocrats to find the natural laws by which a nation's wealth could be increased, and deeply indebted to them for many of his views, Smith nevertheless developed a richer, better-reasoned, and more logical thesis than they. His great work, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), advanced the opinion that labor is the source of all wealth. Like the Physiocrats he believed that every individual should be allowed complete freedom to pursue his own course, asserting that in such fashion the working out of natural law would contribute to the greatest benefit of all. Coming at the time when the new industrial bourgeoisie were certain that they were doing the bidding of nature, Smith's doctrine acquired the force of religious dogma.

Popular education and pedagogy also responded to the vogue of rationalism. Rousseau in his novel, *Emile*, popularized the idea that education must be "natural," while Froebel (founder of the kindergarten) and Pestalozzi carried it out with practical measures. The curricula of the schools underwent significant alterations, with the reduction in emphasis on the classics, and particularly with the introduction of the new natural and social sciences. Considerable effort and thought were expended in the direction of making education popular. Enlightened individuals of means, like John Locke, emphasized the importance of this, and conspicuous political leaders like Frederick the Great of Prussia and Thomas Jefferson undertook to make it possible.

In immediate results, the most important contribution of the men of the Enlightenment was in political philosophy. There was little uniformity in the opinions advanced, except for the fact that they were all allegedly rational. In government, as in everything else, it was believed there was a natural order which human reason could discover and enforce. Few agreed upon what this natural order was. Thomas Hobbes, the famous English materialist, found it in absolute monarchy which he defended in his famous *Leviathan*. Men, he asserted, are naturally selfish and anti-social, and if left to themselves would be the victims of constant disorder. To avoid this, in order that each might pursue his selfish ends in peace, men drew up a "social contract" by which they bestowed full authority over them to the prince. Once made, such a "social contract" could not be broken without fatal danger to peace and order. John Locke, in his *Two Treatises on Government* defended popular sovereignty

and the right to revolution as being equally logical and natural. Men have certain rights to life, liberty, and happiness, he asserted, and to guarantee these governments were created. If government fails to fulfill these guarantees, the majority have the proper right to overthrow it. Locke's views were given forceful expression by Jean Jacques Rousseau. In a famous essay on the *Origin of Inequality among Men*, Rousseau attributed inequality to the tyranny of the strong over the weak, a tyranny enforced through the possession of private property which they had seized; and in his even more famous *Social Contract*, he expounded the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. There was little originality in these publications, the ideas of the *Social Contract* were almost literally copied from Locke, but Rousseau had the uncommon capacity for popularizing them.

The most original of the political philosophers as well as the most objective was Montesquieu (1689-1755), whose *Persian Letters* and *On the Spirit of the Laws* reveal a penetrating insight into the development of political institutions. Unlike his contemporaries, Montesquieu was not swept away by the prevailing vogue of rationalism. He was unwilling to base political science wholly upon reason or science, but recognized the importance of geography, climate, and local custom in the formation of peculiar forms of government. It is an interesting commentary upon the fashion of thought at the time that Montesquieu was praised chiefly for his flattering description of the English constitution which was actually only incidental to his major contribution. British government, like British thought in general, was extolled as the best reflection of the operation of natural law in the state.

For the most part, the political philosophies of the men of enlightenment were conservative rather than radical, reforming rather than revolutionary. The most popular view among them, represented best by Voltaire, defended monarchy of the absolute stamp. There was actually little confidence in the capacity of the masses to govern themselves. But monarchs, they believed, must be "enlightened" and must undertake to realize for society the benefits of a natural order which they could introduce. This idea became popular among royalty and before the end of the eighteenth century there was ushered in the rule of the so-called "Enlightened Despots."¹ The most famous example of enlightened despotism was that of Frederick the

¹ For a description of Enlightened Despotism, especially as it was manifested in Prussia by Frederick the Great, see Chapter XVII.

Great in Prussia, but nearly every state of consequence on the continent, except for France, produced its own enlightened prince. There is scarcely a better example of the enormous practical influence exerted by the intellectual leaders of the Enlightenment.

C. FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL BANKRUPTCY

The ideas of social and political reform fell upon fertile soil and helped to germinate a revolution whose nature and results most of them would have repudiated. After all they were not democrats. But those who wished for change, and they were many, diverted the opinions of the *philosophes* to their own purposes and employed them for their own ends. In this way, enlightened thought and revolutionary action merged during the eighteenth century.

Social abuse and discontent were widespread throughout Europe. Despite the great growth of commerce and trade and the economic transformation of life, society was still constructed along the lines of class distinction which had prevailed since the days of economic feudalism. The privileged orders, the landed aristocracy and the clergy, held a virtual monopoly upon government and wealth, and enjoyed a variety of perquisites and immunities which social station guaranteed; the unprivileged orders, comprising the great bulk of the people, carried the burdens and responsibilities. The situation which each occupied was far from justified by contemporary realities. The aristocracy performed no services commensurate with their privileges, as they had once in feudal times; while the unprivileged, particularly the middle class, performed services for which they held no commensurate privileges. A revamping of social and political institutions to right the balance was obviously necessary.

Conditions of life among the peasantry and the laborers of the towns had changed little since the sixteenth century, except possibly to grow worse. The avenues of trade were open to them, but only a very few had the ingenuity or good fortune to make the most of that opportunity, while, for the majority, the progress of commerce and trade brought hardships which outweighed immediate advantages. Their grievances multiplied as their fortunes diminished. Yet, as in the sixteenth century and before, peaceful methods of redressing these grievances were mostly closed to them. They had no voice in the government, and almost everywhere on the continent the landed aristocracy and the clergy still lorded it over them.

Serfdom was common, except for France and England, and even

there a considerable residue of the feudal epoch remained. Whether or not the peasant was still personally bound to the lord of the manor as in medieval times, he was almost always obligated to provide him as well as the church and the state with financial support. He owed money or service to his lord, paid a twelfth of his income to the church in tithes, and gave an even greater proportion in direct and indirect taxes to the king. The last of these exactions mounted steadily as the nation state became consolidated and as the financial needs of the crown grew. In France, for example, the peasant of the eighteenth century paid in direct taxes to the state the *taille* or land tax, assessed on the valuation of his property; a poll tax; and an income tax of about 5% of his annual income. His indirect taxes were numerous, including the *corvée* or forced labor upon the roads, and the odious *gabelle*, or salt tax, which oftentimes multiplied the cost of his salt by as much as ten times. An accurate estimate of the percentage of his income which the peasant paid in this fashion to the lord, the church, and the king is difficult to reach, but it is fair to assume that it represented a very large share.

To make matters worse, especially in England and to a lesser degree in France, the peasant was placed at a serious disadvantage through the tendency in the eighteenth century to enclose the open fields for more profitable grazing of sheep or for use of scientific methods of cultivation.¹ The costs of fencing in the fields, surveying them, providing adequate drainage, paying some of the costs of roads, were usually more than the ordinary peasant could bear, so that he was oftentimes compelled to sacrifice his rights to the man of wealth. Moreover, when the fields were enclosed, the peasants generally lost their rights in the common fields, even the right of pasturage. The resources for a livelihood gone, the peasant became an agricultural laborer working for wages which were uncertain and insecure, or departed for the town to find uncertain labor and wages in the trades, or he became a charge upon his community.

The laborers in the towns were no better off than the peasants, though they were still fewer in number. The regulations of the medieval guilds which had served to protect labor for a time during the middle ages had been steadily relaxed so that the guild system, which prevailed everywhere during the eighteenth century, operated to the disadvantage of labor. The rules of apprenticeship were made more rigorous and the master was allowed to exercise his discretion

¹ For a full discussion of the causes and consequences of the enclosure movement and the agricultural revolution, see Chapters XVII and XXII.

on the number of these whom he could hire, but the door to advancement to the status of master was nearly closed. The master could not only determine the wage but he could oftentimes regulate the life of his laborer even to fixing the kind and amount of recreation, if any, and the hour of his going to bed. Prevailing philosophy justified a low wage and steady labor during waking hours as the sure means of encouraging sobriety, honesty, and godliness. This social excuse for a low wage was buttressed by "economic law." As technical improvements increased during the eighteenth century, it became profitable to employ women and children since they would work for much less, and the whole wage scale tended to be debased. Moreover, by means of the domestic system enterprisers were able to tap the cheap labor markets of the agricultural communities. Poor peasants were willing to supplement their meager incomes by whatever means availed them, and they were never too demanding about wages. The workers of the towns who had no resources other than their labor were necessarily placed at a serious disadvantage in this competition. The laborer had almost no means of redressing these grievances. Combinations of laborers to strengthen their bargaining power were held to be criminal and illegal, and were suppressed. Such as did exist in the eighteenth century, and there were some, functioned in secrecy.

The contrast between the laborers and the peasants, on the one hand, and the landed aristocracy and clergy, on the other, is striking, even when adequate allowance is made for the great dissimilarity in conditions among the members of these two privileged classes. As a group, the clergy were subjected to their own law, were largely immune from taxes, and enjoyed a position of social distinction. Not all of the clergy, however, benefited from the great wealth which the church still possessed in the form of land and endowments. Most of this was reserved for the great benefices which, in France for example, numbered about a hundred. The parish priests and many of the regular clergy in the monasteries lived in virtual poverty, little if any better off than the flocks to which they ministered. It is important to keep this fact in mind. Many of the lower clergy had grievances against their superiors which paralleled the grievances of the peasants, so that when revolution came it was not unnatural frequently to find them fighting side by side.

The landed aristocracy as a group also enjoyed important privileges such as immunity from various types of taxes, the right to hunt (this was denied the peasant), a voice in the government, and numer-

ous social distinctions which went with the mark of privilege. Again, however, as with the clergy, only a small percentage of the nobility enjoyed the fruits of their station in society. Many of the lesser provincial nobility lived under conditions which were little better than the peasantry over whom they had jurisdiction. It was the older and greater nobility who embellished the courts of princes and kings, fed at the trough of the royal treasury, and held title to fat sinecures. This group profited doubly for it was to them that most of the lucrative benefices of the church fell. While they absorbed the income of their appointments, it was seldom that they actually conducted the business of administration. This was delegated to men of low estate.

It was logical for the minority of clergy and the minority of nobility to hold on tenaciously to the established order. It was equally logical that the unprivileged should seek reforms. The Enlightenment provided the latter, especially that section of it which comprised the middle class, with the ideology necessary to justify their view. The rationalism of the intellectuals was congenial to the bourgeoisie who for very practical reasons wished to "rationalize" political and economic life.

The middle classes were the most active and most powerful agents of change in the eighteenth century. They were not large, being much less numerous than the other members of the Third Estate and not much more numerous than the clergy and nobility, but they made up in material wealth what they lacked in numbers. They amassed fortunes from commerce and trade and they held practical control of the borrowing and lending of money. Riches enabled them to ape the living and manners of the aristocracy, sometimes to secure ennoblement, but it was aggravating to find that social equality could not be purchased. Kings courted their favor when money was to be borrowed, but often spurned their advice when it was to be spent. With sufficient money, they could buy sinecures in the courts and inferior posts in the administration, but the lucrative offices were saved for others. All of this was less true in England than on the continent, but in a general way the middle class experienced the same difficulties everywhere. To make matters worse for them, the dominant aristocracy influenced government to favor agriculture at the expense of business and trade. They were ready, therefore, to give ear to the doctrines of *laissez-faire* as preached by Adam Smith and the Physiocrats, to challenge with Voltaire the intolerance and dogmatism of the old order, and to accept with limitations Rous-

seau's idea of human equality. They demanded a voice in government, equality of taxation, and for themselves, at least, social equality with the aristocracy. Since they held control over the purse strings, they were sooner or later able to make their wishes prevail.

The middle classes wished for change and knew pretty clearly what they wanted; the masses were ready for change but were unsure of the goals to be reached. One might describe these two groups within the Third Estate as the party of ideas and the party of action, respectively. One was chiefly responsible for providing the direction for alterations in the status quo; the other made those alterations possible. Actually, the only bond between these two was the desire for change. In other matters, they were far apart. The bourgeoisie could understand the peasant's complaint against taxes because they also had to pay them, but what they wanted was absolute equality of taxation not proportional taxation; they were ready to destroy the basic privileges of the aristocracy, but they were staunch defenders of the rights of property; they claimed the right to participation in the government, but they had no idea of extending a similar right to the unpropertied. The middle class had no more respect for the common people than had the intellectuals or the aristocracy. Yet an alliance between these two groups evolved, and before the eighteenth century closed it had produced momentous changes.

The French revolution was not the inevitable outgrowth of this alliance or even of the circumstances which produced it. In all of Europe social distress and inequality prevailed, in some areas considerably more than in France, so that if the law of cause and effect had operated uniformly the French revolution must have been widely duplicated. There were special circumstances in France to facilitate revolution. It was on French soil that the idea of social and political reform had been more intensively cultivated. There a series of recurrent crop failures during the eighteenth century had greatly aggravated the misfortunes of the peasantry and the town laborers. Moreover, France was not blessed with enlightened government. Attempts at reform were either half-hearted or not made at all so that respect for authority diminished and the seeds of revolution grew.

Like Topsy, the royal government of France just "grewed." Ever since the late middle ages, offices had been created and new administrative machinery had been established to supplement but not to replace the old. Each decade consequently produced fresh

conflict over powers and jurisdictions. Moreover, since it had been the policy of the Crown in the era of national unification to respect local laws and customs, eighteenth-century France inherited a bewildering variety of laws and local administrations. The centralization of power under Louis XIV made the Crown more despotic but was ineffectual in eliminating political confusion. The individual was practically powerless when he became enmeshed in the toils of the government for bureaucratic red tape was literally endless.

Above this confusing and irrational substructure was the king whose powers had been rendered absolute by Louis XIV. Everything, even the political jumble beneath, existed only by his sufferance and with his consent. Simply by his order the lowliest citizen could be arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned without trial. Nor were there any effective constitutional checks upon his power. The Estates General had not been assembled since early in the seventeenth century and the *parlement* of Paris which had asserted the right of registering or vetoing the edicts of the Crown was generally submissive. Despite its arbitrary and unlimited character, the Crown was respected by most citizens, so much so that in the early stages of the revolution there was no thought of destroying the throne, only of cleansing it. If the Crown had been only reasonably competent it might have capitalized upon its popularity and through judicious reforms saved itself from destruction.

Unfortunately for it, however, the Bourbon kings of eighteenth century France were deficient in every quality of statesmanship. Louis XV (1715-1774), great-grandson and heir of Louis XIV, spent his time and his subjects' money in search of pleasure, indulging the whims of his mistresses, such as Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry, and encouraging the extravagances of his courtiers through benevolences from the royal treasury. Not without cause was he sullenly greeted by the peasants, jeered at by the artisans, and denounced by the intellectuals toward the end of his reign. His grandson and heir, Louis XVI (1774-1792), was virtuous and respectable by contrast, but without ordinary intelligence or will-power. The business of state was too much for his simple mind so that he was easily influenced by those who gained his ear, particularly by his frivolous Austrian wife, Marie Antoinette. Of stronger will, but with no more interest than her husband in politics, Marie Antoinette followed the course of least resistance, encouraging extravagances and obstructing reforms at every turn through her sym-

pathy with the court nobility. Thus was let slip the Crown's opportunity to save itself by making concessions.

On at least two important occasions, malcontents in France were encouraged to hope for reforms during the reign of Louis XVI, only to see these hopes shattered by Marie Antoinette and her friends. The first came with the appointment in 1774 of Turgot as Minister of Finance. An economist who believed in *laissez-faire* and a reformer who believed in the equalization of taxes, Turgot set out to remove obstructions to commerce and trade, and to revolutionize the financial administration. Clergy and nobility were declared subject to taxation, indirect taxes on necessities which had been particularly burdensome upon the poor were removed, and measures were taken to eliminate extravagances. The result of these courageous efforts was widespread opposition and ultimate dismissal in 1776.

The successor to Turgot, Jacques Necker (1776-1781) inspired even more confidence and hope. A brilliant young business man who had made his fortune as a banker in Switzerland, and a member of the bourgeoisie who traveled in the cultivated circles of Paris, Necker gave promise of establishing financial order. He improved the methods of collecting taxes, published the government's accounts to the great satisfaction of the bankers, and attempted to reduce the royal expenditures. The last of these measures aroused the court nobility and Marie Antoinette, who schemed and plotted and finally precipitated his destruction. It is now known that Necker's dealings were not always straightforward, but the bourgeoisie at the time knew little or nothing about his dishonesty. His dismissal caused much bad feeling among them and helped accelerate the growth of revolutionary ideas.

It is important to note that in both the case of Turgot and Necker the problem of reform in France was intimately associated with the problem of finances. This was indeed the heart of the matter. If the increasing responsibilities of the state and the extravagances of the Crown were to be met, either one or both of two expedients had to be tried: reduce expenses through rigid economies; or tap new sources of revenue, since the burden upon the taxed was already almost more than the traffic would bear. Neither of these could be attempted without danger to the social structure. To economize in expenditures would threaten the incomes of the privileged; to tax them would be the equivalent of depriving them of their privileges. It was precisely on this issue that the old order made its last stand.

The problem of finances might not have arisen in its acute form

had the government not undertaken to intervene in the American rebellion. This adventure cost dearly; and, although it ended with the humbling of Great Britain, it left the treasury nearly bankrupt, especially since these new expenditures were pyramided upon the already great costs of the Seven Years' War and the War of the Polish Succession. The existing taxes would have been enough to supply the ordinary expenses of the Crown but were not nearly enough to meet such extraordinary expenses as well. By 1786, the official debt had gone well over half a billion dollars and was steadily mounting at an annual rate of approximately \$25,000,000. It became increasingly difficult to negotiate new loans, particularly since the financiers who recouped themselves by collecting taxes found it more and more impossible to make adequate exactions from the taxed. The government sought a convenient escape.

By royal command, an Assembly of Notables—nobility, bishops, magistrates—was called in 1787 to find a solution, but this completed its sessions with a series of unimportant resolutions none of which touched the problem of taxes directly. The ministry of finance consequently pursued its usual course of issuing new taxes and attempting to negotiate new loans. Such procedure, however, was no longer possible. The *parlement* of Paris, encouraged by the popular temper of revolt, refused to register the new taxes and new loans, declaring that royal taxation would have to bear the constitutional approval of the Estates General, the representatives of the people. Though the *parlements* were forthwith abolished for this impertinence, it was apparent that they had given expression to popular sentiment. The mob openly demanded restoration of the *parlements* and the meeting of an Estates General. Threatened with revolution, the Crown was compelled to acquiesce on both counts.

In 1788, Louis XVI issued the summons for a meeting of the Estates General, to be elected in the spring of 1789 and to begin its sessions in May of that year. Out of consideration for the Third Estate whose importance had increased since the last meeting in 1614, it was provided that they should be privileged to elect a number of representatives exactly equal to that of the two other Estates. But the system of voting by orders rather than as individuals was to be perpetuated so that even with this increase in the representation of the classes with whom radicalism was most popular, it was not expected that any radical measures would be adopted. This optimism was not justified from the expressions of the sentiments of the people as expressed at the time of the election.

It had been the custom of the Crown, when Estates Generals were summoned, to request the people to submit reports and recommendations for their localities in documents which were known as *cabiers*. The *cabiers* of 1789 were reflective of the public temper. They were not revolutionary in so far as they uniformly expressed loyalty to the king and avoided the expression of any desire for violent change. But they were permeated with the social and political ideas of the Enlightenment, and those from the Third Estate especially were insistent in their demands for social equality and the elimination of standing abuses. At all events, the *cabiers* revealed that the people were anxious to have the Estates General do infinitely more than the Crown and its ministers expected of it.

The elections were held at a time of acute distress. The harvests of 1788 had been particularly bad, so that by the spring of 1789 starvation threatened in town and country alike. Peasants had already taken to storming the tithe barns and to burning the estates of their local oppressors. The townsmen had already begun to storm the granaries and the food shops. No doubt the unfortunate were encouraged to resort to these measures partly because of the summoning of the Estates General. The conviction prevailed that the king was at last taking cognizance of their grievances and that they therefore had good authority for redressing them. The unrest which thus accompanied the elections was a clear indication of the necessity for reform as well as of the public expectation that the Estates General would achieve it through co-operation with the Crown. It certainly influenced those who were elected, especially among the Third Estate, and confirmed the opinion of some that the Estates General must never dissolve until reforms had been realized.



THE COSTUMES OF THE THREE ORDERS. EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The figures, from left to right, represent the First, Second, and Third Estates. The costume on the right is that of a prosperous bourgeois, probably a lawyer.

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The Triumphant Defeat of the People

A. DO MEN MAKE EVENTS?

The question of historical causation is always perplexing. Occasionally it would appear that mere accidents of chance have determined human destiny; more often it would seem that a sequence of events, following each other with an inexorable logic, has been responsible. In one instance, everything might seem to hinge upon the personality of a leader; in another, the leader like everyone else seems buffeted about by the winds of fate. Depending upon the circumstances, economic factors, climatic changes, or religious scruples seem to provide the infallible key. Would Rome have fallen if there had not been a series of devastating crop failures to accelerate the forces of economic and political collapse? If these crop failures were due to climatic changes, could one not ascribe the decline of the Empire to mere accident? Or did Rome fall because it was pagan; or because it was poorly governed? If Marcus Aurelius had not been persuaded to choose his worthless son as his successor, might the forces of decline have been effectively checked? Men forever seek in vain the final and "correct" answer to questions such as these.

The answers which are supplied vary from individual to individual and from age to age. The devoutly religious find it convenient to place all responsibility upon the Almighty, relieving themselves of troubled speculation. In an equally simple way, the communist finds the answer in the economics of capitalism. The geographer may give most prominent place to geographic factors, the psychologist to human personality, the politician to the form and functioning of political institutions. All of us are inclined to interpret the past in the light of our own ideas and our own experience. During the middle ages and early modern times a religious interpretation of events was most widely accepted. During the nineteenth century

explanation by reference to the laws of nature, such as evolution, grew increasingly popular. After the effects of the industrial revolution were widely felt, people laid greater stress upon economic forces.

In every generation, there appear those who are confident that they have found in history the ultimate cause of social change. Typical and important illustrations of this are Thomas Carlyle and Karl Marx. The former, English essayist and historian, held to the view that great leaders are chiefly responsible for human affairs and mold events to suit their purpose. His historical studies, especially his biographies of Frederick the Great and Charles XII, were undertaken to prove this philosophy. Karl Marx, father of modern communism and exponent of the economic interpretation of history, propounded a doctrine which completely contradicted Carlyle. To him it appeared that all social and political changes were the logical and inevitable consequences of economic laws. Knowing these laws, he believed he could predict the course of human affairs and set out to do so in *Das Kapital*. According to this Marxian view, what men think and how they act, as well as their social, political, and religious institutions, are largely determined for them by the economic conditions of their existence. Carlyle and Marx stand at opposite poles: for the one, men make events; for the other, so to speak, events make the man.

There is much to be said on each side as a rapid review of important historical incidents will demonstrate. It would be impossible to conceive of victorious Christianity without the dominating leadership of Paul or someone like him; on the other hand, even with a Paul, would early Christianity have succeeded so well without conditions of economic distress, inefficient administration, and popular disillusionment? The Crusades would probably not have been what they were without an Urban at Clermont, but perhaps they would never have occurred at all if economic, social, and political conditions had not been favorable. It would be hard for one to decide whether Urban called the Crusades into being, or whether the circumstances of the times merely called forth Urban's leadership. Clearly there would have been no Lutheran revolt without Martin Luther, but again it is difficult to see how this revolt would have come about without distress among peasants and townsmen, lust for power among princes, and discontent among the intellectuals of the Germanies. Examples such as these might be extended almost indefinitely. They would all seem to demonstrate that no explanation

by reference to a single cause is ever adequate. Only by deliberately ignoring uncomfortable facts which do not fit into one's scheme of things, can one find a "law" of history. The stream of human affairs is fed by an infinite number of tributaries and he who would explore it must endeavor to trace each to its source.

A fair interpretation of history must make allowances for the interaction of man and his environment; it must make man neither the child of fate nor the sole master of his destiny. The individual reacts to his destiny. The individual reacts to his surroundings and in so doing helps to shape them. The period of the French Revolution offers a good illustration of this. Economic, social, and political factors helped produce it, but the course which it took was much influenced by such individuals as Rousseau and Voltaire who had helped change the pattern of men's thoughts. Rousseau and Voltaire were products of their age but at the same time they gave that age much of its unique character. It is equally true of Napoleon.

B. BASTILLE AND GUILLOTINE

The temper of the mob in Paris and uprisings in the country encouraged reformers of the Third Estate to pursue a bold course when the Estates General finally assembled at Versailles in May, 1789. The king had already permitted the Third Estate a representation equal that of the other two Estates, but he evaded persistent demands to change the customary system of voting. The reason for this obstinacy was perfectly apparent: so long as voting by order could be maintained, the radical Third Estate could be outvoted two to one. Precisely for this same reason the representatives of the Third Estate were insistent that voting must be by head. For some time, dispute over this issue raged, with neither side showing any inclination to retreat or to make concessions, until on June 17, the Third Estate defied the Crown and proclaimed itself the "National Assembly" of France. The royal government prepared to resist. Three days later when the Assembly was to meet, it found the assembly hall locked, whereupon it withdrew to a neighboring building which had been used as a riding hall and tennis court and there took a solemn oath (the Tennis Court Oath) never to disband until it had devised a constitution for France. This was the real beginning of revolution. The king, not knowing what course of action to follow, temporized. For a week he chose to ignore the existence of the National Assembly and then, deciding that more might be gained by

co-operation than by conflict, he recognized its legality and ordered the other Estates to sit with it. In an amazingly short space of time, the old Estates General had been swept aside and the bourgeois Third Estate had usurped control of the nation.

From the very beginning a substantial number of representatives from the First Estate, mostly parish priests, and a few of the more liberal nobility from the Second Estate chose to co-operate with the National Assembly. This was tangible proof that within the privileged orders themselves there was a good deal of active opposition to the perpetuation of a monopoly of privilege. Even more significant was the fact that some of the nobility and clergy of more advanced views had chosen to stand for election with the Third Estate rather than with their own orders, and that from this group the real leadership for revolutionary action by the Third Estate had come. Comte de Mirabeau (1749-1791), the dominating figure of the National Assembly, its greatest orator and soundest statesman, was a liberal nobleman; and the Abbé Sieyès, who was closely associated with him, was a priest, distinguished more for his doctrinaire radicalism than for sound theology. These two men were chiefly responsible for victory in the contest over the issue of voting.

Despite the co-operation of some of the clergy and nobility, the National Assembly was largely middle class in membership and in ideas. The majority was drawn from the Third Estate, comprising chiefly professional men; only a handful could fairly be said to represent the peasantry, and none at all to represent the poorer classes of the cities. There were, therefore, very few who espoused radical revolution either through interest or inclination. Most of them would have been content to ensure individual liberty and social equality through mild constitutional reforms which would have guaranteed their domination, and then they would have preferred to close the door to further change. Such a simple compromise, however, was quite impossible. The masses expected that radical reforms would be forthcoming, and acted as though they had already come; the privileged classes believed the revolution had already gone much too far, and plotted and intrigued to restore the old system of things. Forever torn between these two, the middle class Assembly was reluctantly but necessarily drawn more and more toward the radical masses whose support was needed if reaction were to be successfully combatted.

This hesitating retreat to the Left under pressure from the Right appeared very early in the career of the Assembly. The king and

the privileged orders at the court had capitulated to the demands of this body only because they felt unprepared at the moment to crush it. Given enough time, they expected sufficient force could be assembled to overawe and overwhelm it. Quietly, therefore, loyal troops were drawn in from the provinces, converging at respectable distances from Versailles. News of this leaked out, and when the Assembly demanded of the king that he desist, he replied with a refusal coupled with defiance. Necker, whom he had restored to the Ministry of Finance in 1788 as a sop to the malcontents, was again dismissed. The passing of this popular minister aroused the Assembly, but more important still, it inflamed the masses of Paris. There the news produced immediate reaction. Excited by popular demagogues, the crowds demonstrated (July 12) against the king and the presence in the city of royal troops; next day the middle class leaders in Paris put an end to the royal municipal government, replacing it with one of their own supported by an armed force to protect the rights of property; and on the 14th, the mob, reaching the height of its fury, stormed the Bastille, a royal fortress and prison popularly regarded as a symbol of oppression. Bastille Day is still celebrated as the day of French independence. The king, properly impressed with this insurrection, recognized the new government in Paris and appeared in person before the Assembly to apprise it of his determination to withdraw the troops and restore Necker.

The Paris mob had won the day and saved the Assembly, but in doing so it had placed the Assembly in its debt and at its mercy. Henceforth for some considerable time Paris was to dictate the course of the revolution. The middle class Assembly was grateful to the mob for its aid, but smitten with fear by such an unruly ally. The example of its ferocity and the sight of the rabble in arms demonstrating as little respect for property as they did for privilege could scarcely inspire confidence. Partly with the view of holding it in restraint, partly to frustrate further attempts by the king and the reactionaries to assemble an army for the destruction of the Assembly, that body legalized the establishment of a middle class National Guard, and placed it under the command of the aging but liberal Marquis de Lafayette.

It was impossible for the Assembly to preserve this precarious balance between the extremes. Despite the promises which the king had made after the Paris revolution, plots against the life of the Assembly were still made with his knowledge and approval. Early in October, the rumor spread that troops from Flanders were secretly

assembling about Versailles and, indeed, among the court nobility the early return of the "good old days" was openly anticipated. Once more, and this time even more decisively than in July, the mob of Paris came to the "rescue." Conditions in the city encouraged a gesture of violence. The bad harvests of 1788 had been followed by the even worse harvests of 1789; business was abnormal; food was high in price and difficult to buy even for those who had the means. While the mob in Paris starved, rumor had it that the court at Versailles was feeding upon the fat of the land. Inspired by the desire to right this grievance and at the same time to save the Assembly from imminent destruction, the women of Paris, accompanied by a substantial number of men, resolved to march upon Versailles. On October 5, a motley crowd of Paris poor, armed with sticks and stones, riotous and uncouth, surrounded the royal palace, demanding bread. Lafayette at the head of a body of the National Guard followed at a distance and finally intervened when the demonstration gave promise of getting completely out of hand. Even so, substantial destruction was done before the night was ended. Next morning the weak-willed but well-meaning king agreed to return with his family to Paris. As the royal coach lumbered along that day in their midst the crowd was jovial and optimistic; in their simple way, they believed that since they had the "baker" and the baker's family with them, the problem of food was already as good as solved. The king was now the prisoner of Paris, and as such ceased to be a serious problem for the Assembly. As for the Assembly, which accompanied the king to Paris, it too became the prisoner of the mob. Freed from some of the pressure at the one extreme, it was placed more completely at the mercy of the other.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary contagion of Paris had spread to the provinces. During July, the towns, following the example of the capital, dismissed the royal agents, set up their own popularly elected "communes," and established local units of the National Guard. Temporarily, their autonomy was ensured by the fact that the king was powerless to challenge revolt and the Assembly too deeply absorbed by other problems to give them much thought. The elaborate centralized government of Louis XIV had literally collapsed within a month. Citizens no longer knew what authority to obey and consequently obeyed none. Taxes went uncollected and normal administration lapsed.

In the countryside, too, the peasantry took matters into their own hands. The rich granaries of the clergy were pillaged, châteaux

of detested landlords with their hated manorial records were burned. Many of the privileged sought safety in flight; others who remained were murdered. The peasants like the burghers refused to pay taxes and declared themselves free of feudal responsibilities which had oppressed them. In both town and country, government ceased to function.

The peak of this popular revolution was reached by the beginning of August; thereafter affairs took a more normal course and the revolutionary spirit, always present, lay dormant. But already by that time the changes which the people had wrought exceeded the wildest expectations of the middle class Assembly. Defiance of authority and lack of respect for property had created alarm, but the Assembly was powerless to hold the people in check. What it could not avoid, it therefore chose to accept as legal. The most striking example of this appeared with the legal destruction of the feudal system in August, 1789. Reports of violent uprisings among the peasantry had forced the Assembly to consult on measures to calm revolt. While debate on these continued, during the night of August 4, a representative of the nobility prepared the way for what appeared to be an easy solution. For himself he renounced his claims to feudal dues and services; others soon followed his example, and all that night in a fit of mass emotion, nobility and clergy vied with each other in renouncing their privileges. Next morning the feudal system of France had apparently vanished. A resolution had been passed proclaiming equality of taxation and the suppression of feudal dues and services. Serfdom was abolished, the game laws repealed, manorial courts discontinued, and all special privileges in town, country, and city presumably destroyed. It was symbolic of the temper of the middle class Assembly, however, that during the next week when sober deliberation upon these resolutions was possible, it was feared that they had gone too far. The rights of property had been trampled upon—after all, many of the abolished privileges partook of the character of property—and the Assembly undertook to retrench itself by making the complete abolition of feudal services and dues contingent upon their financial redemption. It was not until 1793 that the feudal system was fully abolished.

Despite the Assembly's insistence that feudal dues and church tithes must be met until other arrangements had been made, the peasants chose to act as though they no longer existed, just as they had also chosen to act as though the era of taxes had ceased to be. Both the Church and the State were therefore threatened with bank-

ruptcy. The Assembly sought to meet the emergency for itself by appeals to patriotic citizens for gifts and by attempts to float new loans, but these brought no material improvement. Thereupon, taking its cue from some of the clergy who insisted that their rights and holdings could not be abolished except by national legislation, the Assembly in November decreed the properties of the church to be the properties of the nation. The lands of the church thus absorbed constituted about 20

percent of the land of the nation, and with this as security, the Assembly issued a new paper currency, the *assignats*, to meet its obligations. The printing of this paper money was at first held within reasonable bounds, but as emergencies increased during the next several years, discretion was cast to the winds, and *assignats* were printed in such vast numbers that by 1799 they no longer had the value of the paper on which they were printed. For the time being, however, the *assignats* fulfilled their purpose and bankruptcy was avoided.

By meeting the financial problem in this way, the Assembly had created another with the Church. Not only had the clergy been offended; they had also been deprived of their incomes. The Assembly found it necessary, therefore, to take over virtual control of the Church and to pay the salaries of the clergy. To this end a series of decrees was issued, beginning in 1790 and culminating with the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1791. The clergy were declared to be civil servants paid by the State; they were to be freely elected by the people without consent of the pope, and the administrative districts of the Church were reorganized to conform with the new administrative set-up of the State. Monasteries were suppressed and complete religious freedom was proclaimed. To compel acceptance of these measures, it was decreed that all clergy must swear allegiance to the new constitution under pain of being deprived of their salaries. A great many of the clergy, even the parish priests who had sympathized with the revolution in the beginning, could not conscien-



AN ASSIGNAT

The statement on the left end of the *assignat* which reads "The law punishes the counterfeiter with death" gives evidence of one of the many financial problems which faced the revolutionary government.

tiously accede and were forced to abandon parishes. Those who were ready to make their peace with the State fell into the toils of the Church. Pope Pius VII condemned the civil constitution and excommunicated those who complied with it. Whatever choice the clergy made was fraught with danger. Under the circumstances, the utmost religious confusion reigned, and many of the clergy went abroad to swell the growing ranks of the émigrés, there to plot the overthrow of the revolution.

Despite its troubles, the Assembly was able to complete its labors with a substantial amount of constructive work to its credit. Not the least important part of this was the famous *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, an interesting summation of prevalent political thought written in the spirit of Rousseau, and the clarion call of future generations of revolutionaries. It asserted that men were born and remained free and equal in rights, the latter being defined as liberty, property, security, and freedom from oppression. It asserted that there must be freedom of speech and of the press, and in typical middle class fashion it declared property to be sacred and inviolable. There can be no denying the fact that this Declaration of the Rights of Man enormously influenced the political thinking of the epoch of the revolution as well as that of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At the moment, however, it made matters more difficult because its promises of reform could not be fulfilled.

Of more immediate significance was the reshaping of the administrative system of France. The local governments whose haphazard and overlapping jurisdictions had broken down in the early stages of revolution were completely swept aside. In their place, the Assembly created some eighty departments, each about equal in size and population, and each subdivided into districts and communes. This form of administrative organization remained.

Finally, the Assembly drafted a constitution, the first written constitution in Europe of any importance. This document, completed and put into operation in 1791, provided for a limited monarchy, with a separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government. Nominal executive power was bestowed upon an hereditary king, who was allowed to postpone but not to veto legislative acts, and who, while serving as the head of the State, was to enjoy no jurisdiction over the local governments or the armed forces of the nation. Legislative power was vested in a single chamber to be known as the "Legislative Assembly." In accordance with the middle class views of the Assembly, it

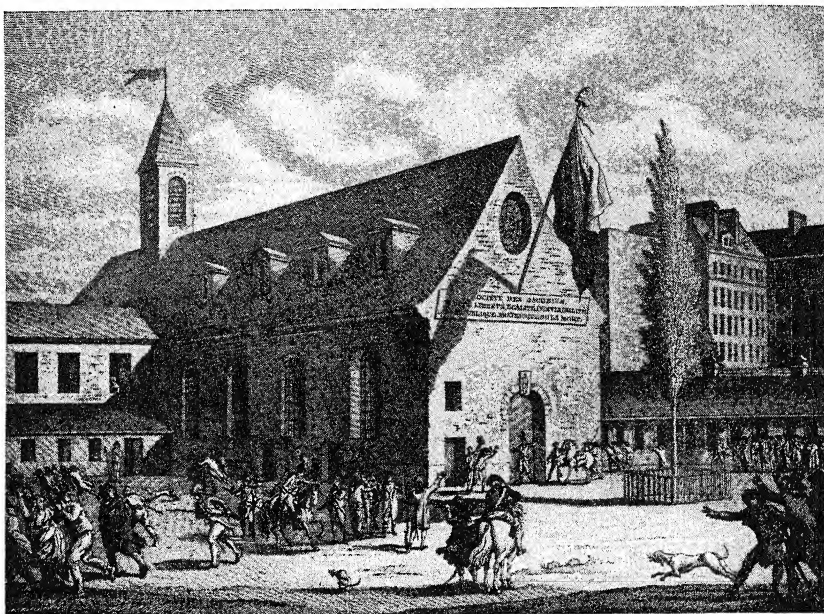
was provided that members of this legislature were to be elected by property-holding citizens through a system of indirect election which would effectively disqualify the lower classes. This bourgeois constitution finished, the Assembly dissolved itself, and in 1791 the constitutional monarchy was installed.

The new government lived a precarious existence for one year and then gave way to a republic. No one was satisfied with it: neither the conservatives nor radicals at home who regarded it as too revolutionary or not revolutionary enough, according to their views, nor the governments abroad who feared that so radical a regime might spread infection. Torn between the extremes, and threatened with foreign invasion, the Legislative Assembly did well to last so long.

Reactionaries openly plotted the destruction of the new regime. Ever since the beginning of revolution, nobility and clergy had been taking flight to neighboring countries, there to win foreign aid and to organize themselves for the invasion of France at the propitious moment. With the co-operation of numerous sympathizers who remained behind, they accelerated their preparations in 1791 and, without serious trouble, enlisted the aid of the royal family. Louis and Marie Antoinette found the new state of affairs embarrassing and thoroughly distasteful, and in June took flight to the eastern frontier, with the view to establishing themselves with the émigrés. They were discovered near the very end of their journey and were returned to Paris. Though this had occurred a few months before the Legislative Assembly met, it cast a spell over that body. The constitutional monarch was unreliable and disloyal, and it was apparent that France was honeycombed with reactionary enemies.

Even more dangerous to the Legislative Assembly were the radicals who disliked the new establishment because it was too conservative. Though the leaders among them were bourgeois in extraction, they were steeped in republican ideas and they had a lively interest in the welfare of the proletariat of Paris over which they exerted enormous influence. This was ominous for the government since it was literally at the mercy of the Paris mob. The revolution had not yet brought material improvement for the urban poor; after two years of waiting, they were in a mood to demand a share in its benefits.

Agitation among the radicals began in certain eating houses or clubs of Paris which had become popular places for meeting and informal discussion among representatives of the National Assembly. The most famous of these were the Cordelier and Jacobin Clubs,



THE JACOBIN MONASTERY, PARIS

During the Revolution this building was used as a meeting place by the Society of the Friends of the Constitution, and from it came their nickname of Jacobin. Devoted to the ideal of a republic, the Jacobins, mostly of the prosperous middle class, sabotaged the limited monarchy established by the Constitution of 1791.

the latter of which became the more radical and stamped its name upon all political radicalism of that age. Duplicated throughout the provinces, these clubs constituted the rallying ground for revolutionary activity by those of the most advanced views.

The dominating figures of the clubs and the real organizers of radical revolution were Marat (1742-1793), Danton (1759-1794), and Robespierre (1758-1794). The first was a physician of some distinction who abandoned his career early in the revolution to serve the cause of the poor. Apart from his anxiety to see the establishment of real democracy, Marat had no clearly formulated political doctrine. He lived, so to speak, from day to day, adapting himself to the whims of the mob which he knew so well, and forever employing his trenchant pen to express its views and to destroy whatever might oppress it. Danton was much less radical and also, perhaps, less genuinely interested in the welfare of the masses, but he possessed more stable qualities of leadership. He was an able orator as well as a skilled debater who probably did more than the others of this triumvirate to crystallize public opinion in favor of a repub-

lic. The real leader of republican revolution, however, was Robespierre. Trained as a lawyer and a judge, Robespierre had become the ardent disciple of Rousseau whose reforms he sincerely and fanatically believed would regenerate France and the rest of mankind if they were applied. These views he propagated with such patience and forcefulness and with such selflessness that he became in the public mind the oracle of republicanism and was popularly dubbed the "Incorruptible."

Plagued by these radicals on the one side and endangered by the reactionaries on the other, the constitutional monarchy finally collapsed on the issue of foreign war. Conservative governments on the continent, especially Austria and Prussia, followed the course of events in France with grave misgivings, always fearful of the effects upon their own people. In August, 1791, these two great powers in the Holy Roman Empire finally issued the joint Declaration of Pillnitz, asserting that the restoration of order and monarchy in France was an object of their special interest. Neither was prepared to follow this threat of intervention with action, but the intimation that they might do so was enough to rouse patriotic Frenchmen. The question arose at once as to whether France should anticipate her enemies and declare war upon them before they had a chance to assemble their strength.

Curiously enough, all factions in the government, except the extreme radicals, favored a prompt declaration of war. The royal family and the reactionaries supported it because they thought France too weakly governed to win, in which case the revolution could be quickly destroyed, the monarchy re-established in all its power, and the old order revived. The more conservative bourgeois favored it because they believed a victory for France, of which they were confident, would strengthen the government in the eyes of the people, and thus prevent both monarchical restoration and radical revolution from the Left. Only the radicals opposed war, fearing it might lead to a military dictatorship, or at all events divert attention from pressing domestic problems which should be solved first. The opposition was weak in numbers if not in oratory, and the parties favoring war easily carried the day. April 20, 1792, war was declared.

The French armies fought with enthusiasm, but being poorly equipped and poorly led they met with serious reverses. With each defeat on the field, the excitement of the Paris mob mounted. The king and queen were suspected, and rightly, of helping to plot their own nation's defeat; the well-to-do were accused of sabotage. Ris-

ing rancor against the enemies at home manifested itself in demonstrations of increasing violence. In June, the mob demonstrated in the streets and overran the royal residence but dispersed without committing serious damage. A little more than a month later, after the commander of the allied armies had opened the way to Paris and issued the Brunswick Manifesto, threatening Paris with complete destruction unless the king were saved from harm and restored to his authority, the radicals and proletariat abandoned all restraint. The legal government of the city of Paris was supplanted with a revolutionary "commune," headed by Danton, and on August 9th and 10th the royal palace was once more invaded, and reactionaries, when found, were massacred. The king and queen threw themselves on the mercy of the Assembly which, smitten with terror itself at the temper of the mob, suspended the king from office and ordered the election of a National Convention by universal suffrage. This body when assembled was to devise a new constitution for France. Meanwhile, complete control fell into the hands of the revolutionary commune.

Danton, because of his leadership in the commune, became the virtual dictator of France. He infused new enthusiasm into the armies, secured the services of efficient commanders, and permitted stern though indiscriminate justice to be administered to those in the capital accused of treachery. By the 20th of September, the day on which the National Convention assembled, he was able to report that French arms were victorious. The Convention thereupon unanimously abolished the monarchy, and decreed the establishment of the Republic. A few months later, the king was tried for treason and, found guilty, was beheaded in January, 1793.

Executive authority was then delegated to a special committee of the Convention, the Committee of Public Safety, among whose members was included a number of distinguished Jacobins, the most prominent being Robespierre. This small group, acting secretly, exercised complete control over the national affairs: it conducted foreign policy, appointed officials, supervised the armies, and controlled the administration of justice. Its achievements were as impressive as its responsibilities, though the means which it employed have often obscured its accomplishments. Indeed, the period of the Committee of Public Safety is usually best known as the period of the "Reign of Terror," the phrase which has come to describe the character of its internal policy. Determined to uproot treason and opposition at home, the Committee, with the approval of the Convention, held

every person of noble birth, every relative of émigrés abroad, everyone who held office before the revolution, and everyone who could not produce a certificate of citizenship, liable to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. Many of these were summarily tried and promptly executed. It is estimated that more than 5,000 in Paris alone were the victims of the guillotine within a single year, while more than 15,000 were executed in the Provinces. That this was bloody and brutal everyone must admit but, in fairness, the Terror must not be overemphasized.

While the guillotine worked overtime, the armies of France were thoroughly reorganized, foreign armies were driven from French soil, and the offensive carried into the enemies' territory. By 1795, the First Coalition was dissolved; Prussia and Spain had sued for peace; and Holland, formerly the Austrian Netherlands, was transformed into the Batavian Republic and closely linked with France. These amazing successes were largely the work of Lazare Carnot, one of the Jacobin members of the Committee of Public Safety. It was he who conceived the idea of instituting compulsory military service, rearranged the military units to conform with the needs of the times, and called men of talent to the commands. These innovations eventually revolutionized the military systems of the whole of Europe.

Besides its military accomplishments, the Convention, during the "Reign of Terror," inaugurated a number of reforms of lasting importance. It conceived the idea of codifying the law, and towards that end abolished slavery in the colonies, forbade primogeniture, and terminated the practice of imprisonment for indebtedness. It instituted the metric system, made French the sole language of instruction in the schools, and contemplated the establishment of a national system of education.

Religious and social experiments were more radical and more transient in nature. From active attempts to de-Christianize France, the Convention moved on to supplant Christianity with the worship of reason, and then, finally, under Robespierre's influence, abandoned the worship of reason for the deistic cult of the Supreme Being. With Robespierre's fall, this latter also fell as well, the Convention finally taking the position that religion was a private matter beyond the regulation of the state. Much of the social legislation of the Reign of Terror was equally short-lived. The active spirits of the Committee of Public Safety, especially Robespierre, were nearly socialists in the modern sense. They confiscated the properties of the émigrés

for the use of the state and the lower classes; they destroyed the large estates and parceled them out on easy terms among the poor; and they conscripted labor just as they conscripted soldiers for the army. They fixed wages and, at the same time to keep down the costs of living, they enforced the "laws of the maximum," regulating the maximum prices of prime necessities. When producers and retailers resisted these measures, rigid regulations against hoarding were applied. These heroic efforts to better the economic lot of the poor met with uniform failure. Peasants and bourgeois withheld supplies from the markets, despite the stern policies of the government, so that though prices were fixed, scarcity became an ever more serious problem. After a year of experimentation in social legislation, even the urban proletariat had had nearly enough.

By the summer of 1794, accumulating opposition to the radicalism of the Committee of Public Safety and to the terror which it had instituted had reached sizable proportions, while at the same time factional rivalries among the radical leaders had already weakened their power to resist. One by one the dominating figures of the Committee and their allies fell victims to a policy of mutual extermination, until after April, 1794, when Danton was despatched for his counsels of moderation, Robespierre was left almost alone. Thereupon, the conservatives of the Convention recovered their courage, and in July sent Robespierre too to the guillotine. With his passing the radical period of the revolution ended and the influence of the Parisian proletariat steadily declined. The Thermidorian Reaction,¹ as this retreat from radicalism and the Terror is called, represented a victory for a more conservative bourgeoisie.

From the death of Robespierre until dissolution the following year, the Convention labored to restore order and equality according to accepted bourgeois principles, crowning this effort with a new constitution, the "Constitution of the Year III" which was completed and put into operation in 1795. While this confirmed the republican system, it was distinctly conservative. Legislative power was vested in a bicameral body: a lower house of 500 to propose laws, and an upper house of 250 to enact them. Both of these were to be elected by indirect and restricted suffrage in such fashion as to ensure the domination of the propertied classes. Executive power was vested in a Directory of Five, to be elected by the legislature. Nominally though not actually, this constitution remained the basic

¹ The Republicans changed the calendar and July was baptized Thermidor.

law of France until the establishment of the Napoleonic Empire in 1804.

Under the Directory, as the government established by the new constitution was called, republican forms were preserved for four years and then gave way to military dictatorship. The causes of this transformation are to be found chiefly in the extremely difficult problems which the Directory faced and in the rising militarism of the republic with its accompaniment of generals ambitious for power. Six years of revolution left the new government a disturbing inheritance of economic, political, and financial disorder, coupled with costly foreign wars. This would have taxed the ingenuity of strong and honest government. Almost without exception the Directors were men of modest abilities, given to plot and intrigue, graft and extravagance. Under their direction, speculation in the collection of taxes became rife, the currency was further inflated with additional issues of *assignats*, and the country brought to bankruptcy. In 1797, it was found necessary to repudiate the *assignats* and to suspend the interest payments on two-thirds of the public debt. Meanwhile, discontent among both the radicals and the reactionaries grew, so that the Directory, like every other revolutionary government before it, was threatened with disaster at the hands of militant extremists.

From this fate it was saved temporarily because of the glorious achievements of its armies abroad. France was still at war with Austria, Sardinia, and Great Britain when the Directory assumed power, but within two years humiliating defeat had been inflicted upon both continental enemies. Two armies had been fitted out for this purpose: the first, presumably the better equipped and commanded, to march to Vienna from the Rhine; the second, under a little-known general, Napoleon Bonaparte, to conduct less important operations against the allies in Italy. By skillful strategy, brilliant tactics, and extraordinary good luck, Napoleon's army carried the day and humbled both enemies in an unexpectedly short period of time. Sardinia asked for peace, and was forced to cede Nice and Savoy to receive it; Austria was glad to accept the terms which Napoleon himself dictated in the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797), and agreed to cede the Austrian Netherlands to France in return for the Venetian Republic. These victories saved the Directory from its many enemies at home but placed it at the mercy of the successful general. Napoleon Bonaparte had become the most popular man in France, feared and respected by those of all shades of political opinion. The

Directory flattered him because it would have been unwise not to do so, but it sought to be rid of him at the earliest opportunity.

Bonaparte himself provided the Directory with a way out. He suggested that he be commissioned to undertake an expedition into Egypt and the Near East with the view to cutting the communications in the Mediterranean of Great Britain, which still continued to prosecute the war. The Directory consented, and in 1798 Napoleon landed an expeditionary force which soon overran Egypt, but was subsequently halted in Syria, long before the final goal was reached. Meanwhile the British Fleet, under the command of the redoubtable Nelson, had destroyed Bonaparte's transports and blockaded the coast so effectively that all thought of returning with the army to France had to be abandoned. Bonaparte therefore determined to leave the army behind and flee alone. His luck was with him, the blockade was run without serious threat of danger, and in October, 1799, he set foot once more upon French soil.

The people knew nothing of Napoleon's defeat in the East; but they were humiliated by the reversals of fortune in Europe during his absence. A Second Coalition had been formed against France, including Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, and in 1799 their combined armies had succeeded in driving the French out of Italy so effectively as to undo all that Napoleon had accomplished two years before. Little wonder, therefore, that Napoleon was greeted with wild enthusiasm upon his return; with him there was assurance of victory. His journey to Paris that autumn was like a triumphal march. The plaudits of the crowd indicated that he was the man of the hour and strengthened his determination to destroy the hated government of the Directory. Successful intrigue with one of the Directors prepared the way, and on the night of November 9th Napoleon surrounded the legislature, declared the government at an end, and appointed himself supreme military commander of the nation. Shortly thereafter he promulgated a new constitution which still paid lip service to republican principles; but the Republic had actually ceased to exist. A military dictatorship had begun and was soon to lead to the establishment of an empire under the dictator.

Only thirty years old at the time of his seizure of power, Napoleon's rise from obscurity had been little short of phenomenal. He was born on the island of Corsica in 1769 into a sizable Italian family which had cast its lot with the native forces of rebellion against French authority. Just the year before, the government of Genoa had sold the island to France, and the population, jealous of

its independence, had risen immediately in insurrection. Napoleon's father played a conspicuous part with the local rebel leader, Pasquale Paoli, as did also his mother who, incidentally, gave birth to her famous son while in camp with the revolutionaries. In due time, the rebellion was quelled through the superior might of France, and its leaders, instead of being arbitrarily executed, were granted favors in the hope that the population might thus be more readily reconciled to their new masters. This policy of appeasement provided Napoleon with his first great opportunity. He was chosen, along with the sons of other leading Corsican families, to receive a military education in France at public expense. The science of war intrigued him from the first and he entered upon his studies with keen enthusiasm, distinguishing himself as an engineer and artilleryman. The revolution which broke out just when his formal education was completed offered him an extraordinary opportunity to reveal his genius and satisfy his mounting ambitions.

Easily adapting himself to the changing moods of the revolution, Napoleon won favor and advancement, was charged by the Convention to defend it in 1795 against its enemies in Paris, and the following year was given the command of the Army of Italy by the Directory. It has been observed already that his brilliant feats in this latter capacity made him conspicuous in the public eye and almost literally catapulted him into power.

Small in stature, Napoleon was egotistical, selfish, conceited, unscrupulous, but unquestionably brilliant. He had a fanatical, almost superstitious belief in his destiny and, what is more, he had the genius and magnetic personality necessary to convince others of it as well: In military strategy he was without a peer, but his greatness transcended the military arts. He was a keen judge of men with an intuitive flare for the dramatic, capable of guiding his course in accordance with the public will and at the same time winning its confidence and unswerving devotion. He had a fine taste for the artistic and a genuine appreciation of learning, both of which he encouraged. But his dominant trait was his own lust for power which he constantly sought to satisfy by any means, fair or foul.

Shortly after his *coup d'état* in November, 1799, Napoleon issued a new constitution which thinly disguised his personal dictatorship under the forms of republicanism. Power was concentrated in the hands of three Consuls, the first of whom was Napoleon. These were instructed to select a Senate and from lists provided by the people in popular elections this body was delegated, in turn, to choose a



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

NAPOLÉON I. BY LOUIS DAVID (1748-1825).

This spirited portrait of Napoleon shows that David, director of art during the Revolution and the first Empire, was a realist in temperament as well as a classicist in creed.

Tribunate and a Legislative Body. All laws were to be proposed by the First Consul with the advice of a Council of State. The Tribunate could discuss but not vote upon them; the Legislative Body could vote upon them but not discuss them; and the Senate could determine whether or not they were constitutional. Thus representative government was not wholly destroyed, though it was reduced to a mere sham.

Having entrenched himself in power, Napoleon turned his attention to the destruction of the Second Coalition which had formed during his absence in Egypt. Russia was persuaded to withdraw through successful diplomacy, and in 1800 a lightning campaign

brought Austria to her knees. The Peace of Lunéville, completed the following year, confirmed the settlement of Campo Formio. England, once more left to fight the war alone, despaired of defeating France on the continent, and in 1802 also agreed to peace in the Treaty of Amiens by which she gave up most of her colonial conquests and recognized the European settlement of Lunéville.

Taking advantage of the popular enthusiasm with which these successes were greeted, Napoleon held a plebiscite which supported his appointment as First Consul for life. Two years later, in 1804, it was a simple matter to transform the Consulate into the Empire. At an imposing ceremony in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, in the presence of Pope Pius VII who had come all the way from Rome, Napoleon crowned himself Emperor of France. Thus the revolution had run the complete cycle from absolute monarchy, through the radical republic, to authoritarian government again.

C. THE SPREAD OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS: NAPOLEON

The spotlight of historical publicity has been focused so much on the military and imperial aspects of Napoleon's career that it is easy to forget that he was an administrator and reformer as well. As a reformer he was neither always original nor always wise. His most important reform, the codification of law, was begun by the Directory. Moreover, his reforms consistently ignored if they did not actually flout the demands for political liberty which had rung so loud in the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*. Equality and fraternity, Napoleon could and did promote, but his rule, like that of all other autocrats, precluded individual liberty. Probably the greatest merit of the Napoleonic reforms was the energy with which they were executed. In peace as well as war, Napoleon's *forte* was action, not discussion and deliberation.

Among the reforms of the Corsican were two which involved Powers other than France: the agreement with the Roman Catholic Church, known as the Concordat of 1801; and the reshaping of the Germanies. Many French Catholics had been driven into opposition by the confiscation of church lands and other anti-clerical measures of the revolutionaries. Napoleon both desired and needed the support of a united people and of an established church. To that end he negotiated a settlement with the pope which had the effect of establishing a French Catholic Church. Catholicism, though recognized as the religion professed by most Frenchmen, was not enjoined upon any-

one, thereby perpetuating that toleration which had been a cardinal aim of the Revolution. The French State undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy as a sort of recompense for not returning the property confiscated. Lower clergy were to be chosen by the bishops, but the bishops were to be chosen by the State. Finally, no clerical synod could be held and no papal bull be binding without the assent of the French government. The Concordat did restore peace but the binding ties which it put upon Church and State resulted in grave problems and growing friction before the century was over. A further evidence of Napoleon's desire for popular support is the fact that he later extended state aid to Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Judaism, bringing the first two under State control at the same time.

The reformation of the Germanies begun by the Peace of Lunéville reached its climax in 1803 and 1806. In the former year, Napoleon forced the corrupt and politically inert German governments to accede to the abolition of over two hundred petty states in the west and the south. Their lands were absorbed by France or added to those of other Germanic states, notably Prussia, Baden, and Bavaria. Three years later, fifteen southern states were formed into a Confederation of the Rhine under a French protectorate. Shortly thereafter, Napoleon refused to recognize the ancient and dishonored Holy Roman Empire, which thereupon collapsed with the resignation of the Emperor, Francis II. The Confederation did not survive Napoleon, but his drastic surgery cleared the way for the subsequent expansion of Prussia into the German Empire.

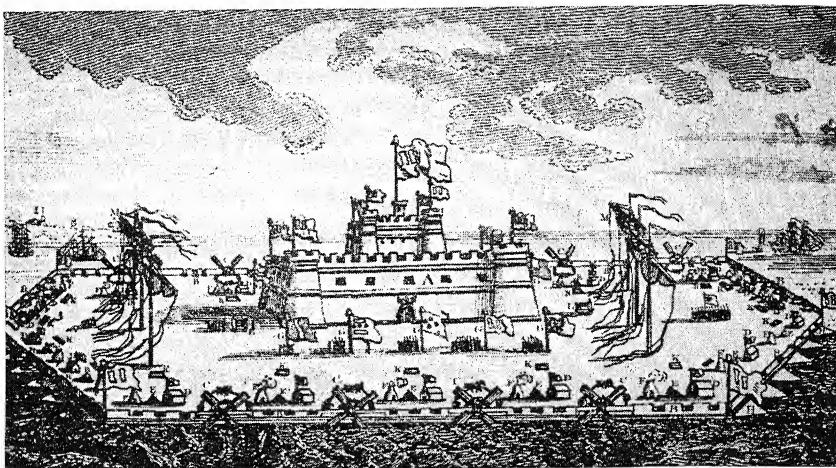
Of his domestic reforms, unquestionably the greatest was the reduction of the numerous, confused and confusing laws of France to a uniform legal system embodied in five codes, of which the most important was the Civil Code (1804). The great need for a legal reform had been one of the causes of the Revolution, but the revolutionaries themselves had not accomplished it. Napoleon chose a board of experts and bullied them into completing a task which stands a monument to their wisdom and skill and to his driving energy. Harsh, exalting authority both in State and family, and denying equality to women, the Civil Code nonetheless deserves to rank with those of Justinian. The great gains of the Revolution—civil equality, religious toleration, the abolition of serfdom and feudalism, and the ending of special privilege—were retained in a form so compact and lucid that it became a beacon for Europe's guidance. The *Code Napoleon* was in very large measure responsible for the spread of the ideals of the Revolution.

Another of the more enduring reforms of Napoleon was the centralization of government along the lines marked out by Richelieu. Beginning in 1800, a series of laws placed the then First Consul in complete control of all local government. The powers of the local councils were curtailed, and officials (*prefects* and *sub-prefects*), appointed by and responsible to Napoleon, were given almost full authority. In addition, the Consul was empowered to control the police of the large cities and to select the mayors either directly or, in the case of towns of less than five thousand inhabitants, indirectly through the *prefects*. Uniformity was thus guaranteed at the expense of democracy. That the French have liked the system is amply attested by the fact that it was continued in operation.

Napoleon attacked the financial chaos into which the various revolutionary governments had fallen with the same zeal that he showed in legal and administrative reforms. Speculation was largely eliminated from state finance and taxes were carefully collected. The currency was stabilized and the Bank of France was established (1800) to give direction and support to financing. Protective tariffs promoted a sort of prosperity for French industry and commerce, and the expenditure of funds upon public works reduced the number of unemployed. Roads were built, canals dug, and harbors deepened and fortified the better to serve both trade and war. In addition, the public works also included the restoration of state palaces such as Fontainebleau, and the completion of the Louvre to which Napoleon brought masterpieces of art, plundered from Italy, from the Netherlands, and from Spain.

Two other reforms were markedly less successful. His attempt to establish a state-controlled system of education proved premature; the Catholic Church continued to dominate education for over two generations more. An effort to build a French colonial empire in Haiti and in Louisiana, which he contrived to get from Spain in 1800, was balked by the determined resistance of the Haitian Negroes under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture and by the British navy. In 1803, Napoleon sold the vast Louisiana territory to the United States for \$15,000,000, and turned his attention to Europe where a Third Coalition against him was in the process of formation.

The most impelling causes of the resumption of war involved Anglo-French relations. Napoleon's attempts at empire-building in Haiti had roused British fears for the safety of the British West Indies, and the activities of French secret agents in Syria and India had increased Britain's concern. Moreover, the exclusion of British trade and traders from all French possessions made many of the powerful



From "The Life of Napoleon" by John Holland Rose,
George Bell and Sons, Ltd., Publishers

NAPOLEON'S RAFT

This contemporary woodcut was drawn from the model presented to the French Directory. The raft was designed in hexagonal shape, 2,100 feet long by 1,500 feet wide, with breastworks at all edges. Three masts fore and three masts aft provided for sailing, while four paddle-wheel mills to be turned by horses are placed on each of the long sides. The citadel stands in the center, flanked by flags which mark the stations of ten regiments.

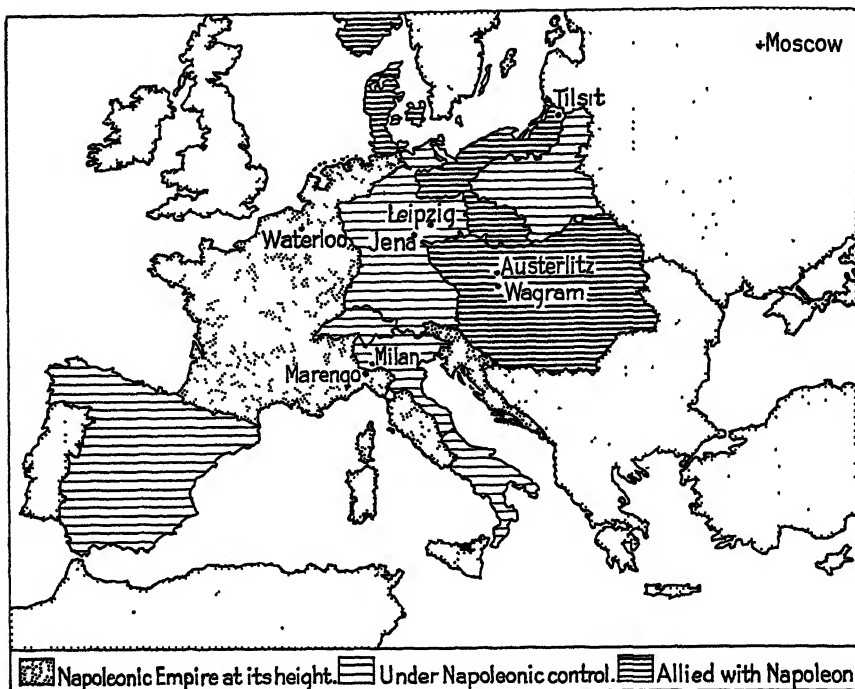
mercantile group feel that the time had come to put Napoleon in his place and check French pretension about regaining a colonial and commercial empire overseas. As far as these two rivals were concerned, the struggle had become economic and commercial. Napoleon, fully aware of this, and realizing also that until he defeated Great Britain he could win no lasting victories on the continent and no victories at all overseas, was rather more than willing that war should be resumed. As to the continental aspects, the continuing aggressions and expansions of the French, represented for example by the annexation of Piedmont in 1802, were sufficient to align Austria and Russia on the side of Great Britain.¹

Before the war began, Napoleon concentrated men, supplies, and ships along the coasts opposite England with the apparent intention of invading the island. Great Britain, led by its Francophobe Prime Minister, the younger William Pitt, countered by concentrating the British fleet in the Channel, preying upon French and Spanish shipping, and spending large sums of money to form the Coalition and support its troops. The threat of a Napoleonic invasion of England

¹ The Third Coalition as it finally formed also included Sweden. France had one ally, Spain.

collapsed when Nelson defeated the French fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar, thus demonstrating that Britain still held the mastery of the seas.

The War of the Third Coalition was both a military and an economic struggle. Against the continental states, the Emperor showed the same military genius as before. His army, the best equipped and trained in the world, and still moved, despite the Napoleonic dictatorship, by the ideals and aspirations of the revolutionary spirit was too much for the professional and uninspired armies of his continental foes. An Austrian army was defeated at Ulm in October (1805) and an Austro-Russian force at Austerlitz in December. The Treaty of Pressburg (1805) which Austria was forced to sign deprived her of about three million subjects and of the revenue from them; removed her from the Coalition; and reduced her to a second-rate power. Prussia after much vacillation, decided in 1806 to intervene against the French, only to be crushed promptly at the Battles of Jena and Auerstadt (October). Berlin was occupied by French troops and Napoleon concentrated his forces against the Russians whom he also defeated at the Battle of Friedland (June, 1807). A month later, he and Czar Alexander I, meeting on a raft in the Niemen River, agreed not only to a peace, the Treaty of Tilsit, but also to a Franco-Russian alliance. Prussia was made the scapegoat. Stripped of the Rhineland, which was made into the puppet Kingdom of Westphalia, and of her Polish possessions, which were re-formed as the quasi-independent Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia was also compelled to reduce her army, to accept a French army of occupation, and to pay a large indemnity. The alliance, which Napoleon desired in order to extend his trade embargo against Great Britain and which Russia entered partly to gain time for reorganization and partly because of hostility to Britain, provided that Russia should take part in the embargo and aid the French against Sweden. In return, Napoleon promised to aid Russia to get Constantinople. A secret clause bound the allies to continue the war on Great Britain if that nation refused peace on the Napoleonic terms. Pursuant to this bargain, Alexander I launched an attack on Sweden which removed her from the war and won Finland for Russia. Napoleon and his semi-ally, semi-satellite, Alexander, were indeed masters of the European continent. The successful Corsican was Emperor of a France that, strong and prosperous, stretched from the North Sea and the Rhine to the Pyrenees and the Papal States. King of Italy, master of Venice and the valley of the Po, he ruled Naples through his brother, Joseph, and enjoyed the alliance of



MAP 27. NAPOLEONIC EUROPE

Pope Pius VII. The Netherlands were also under his control; Spain and Denmark were virtually his dependents; Russia was his ally; his enemies, Austria, Prussia, and Sweden, were humbled. Only Great Britain, secured by her sea power, bulwarked by her wealth, remained in active opposition.

Against this implacable enemy which he could not invade, Napoleon employed an economic attack, which would probably be referred to now as a war of economic sanctions, but which is traditionally called the Continental System. The term implies the Emperor's aim: to establish a continent-wide embargo upon British goods. The first move was the issuance of the Berlin Decree (1806) by Napoleon, declaring that Great Britain was blockaded, and barring British ships from all harbors under French control. The blockade was theoretical since Britain controlled the seas, but it did mean that any ships which traded with Britain were liable to punishment if caught by the French. Later decrees (Warsaw and Milan, 1807, and Fontainebleau, 1810) extended the restrictions to include neutral vessels sailing from British owned or occupied ports. The British answered the decrees with a series of Orders-in-Council (January to Novem-

ber, 1807) which set up a blockade around France and her allies and demanded that in some cases neutral ships touch first at a British port. Neutral traders were thus caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. If they went to French ports, they were liable to capture and confiscation by the British, but they risked the same treatment by the French if they entered British ports. Parenthetically, vigorous British enforcement of the Orders-in-Council was one of the causes which led to the Anglo-American War of 1812.

The Continental System, as Napoleon realized, was a gamble. Could he humble the British government by strangling British trade before the European peoples under his control were ruined by the stoppage of commerce? Could he create such distress in Great Britain that the people would force the government to yield, or would the reverse be true, and European peoples force him to yield? Would his resources suffice to keep his allies faithful to a system which brought them only hardship and distress? Those were the questions that the Emperor had to answer and he decided to take the risks. Experience proved him wrong. He could and did bring bankruptcy to many Britishers, unemployment and suffering to many more, but he could not wholly choke off the trade. Europe, despite his orders, violated the system; in fact, from time to time he did so himself in order to get vitally important supplies; but the factor which really saved the British was world trade which Napoleon lacked the sea power to stop. On the whole, France suffered least from the embargo, partly because, as was just suggested, Napoleon occasionally relaxed it. The real victims were the peoples of Central Europe whose trade was almost ruined. Their strength was drained and the bourgeoisie, many of whom had welcomed the strong, orderly rule and the war business of the conqueror, was alienated.

Hatred of the Continental System proved a rallying point for Napoleon's enemies. Moreover, enforcement of the Continental System became almost a mania with the Emperor, leading him to subordinate other policies to it. The Papal States and the Netherlands were both annexed to France when the Pope in one and Napoleon's brother, Louis, in the other declined to enforce the embargo. More important still, Napoleon in a futile attempt to close the Iberian Peninsula to British trade was led into a campaign against Portugal and Spain which directly contributed to his ruin.

The personal factor in history bulked large in Napoleon's relationships with Spain. The Spanish king, Charles IV, was an incompetent, completely dominated by his coarse and sensuous queen and

her lover, the ambitious and corrupt Godoy. The latter, who was the real ruler of Spain, was controlled by Napoleon. This group hated and feared the crown prince who was as irresponsible as his father but more popular with the people. Under these conditions, it was easy for Napoleon to get permission for French troops to cross Spain in order to force his will upon Portugal. Late in 1807, Portugal was overrun and its royal family forced into exile, but the presence of French troops in the Peninsula angered the Spanish people and turned them against their weak king and his wife's favorite. To save Godoy, Charles abdicated in favor of his son, but Napoleon guilefully undid this and inveigled both king and ex-king to surrender the throne to him. Joseph Bonaparte was promoted from King of Naples to King of Spain and installed under the auspices of French troops in 1808. The new king promptly extended the gains of the Revolution—equality, abolition of feudalism and serfdom, and educational and other reforms—to his new subjects only to discover a fact oft-repeated in social development, namely, that a people prefers bad government of its own to a better government imposed by an alien authority. An outraged Spanish people rose in insurrection, defeated a small army which the Emperor had rather casually despatched to crush them, and drove King Joseph toward the Pyrenees. A guerilla war ensued with the British, for once recognizing opportunity at its first knock, lending vigorous aid to the rebels with an army led by Sir Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington. Napoleon in person led back his troops and his puppet king, defeated the main British army and reinstalled Joseph in Madrid. The guerilla war and the British aid were both resumed as soon as the Corsican departed on other business. Slowly but with almost fateful surety the allied forces drove back the French in this so-called Peninsular War (1808-1813). For the first time, Napoleon had collided with his nemesis, the intangible force of nationalism. For the first time he had to fight, not a professional army whose loyalty to its master was lukewarm, but a proud people whose spontaneous resistance and passionate patriotism made mock of the French might. It was a process shortly to be repeated elsewhere for hatred of Napoleon and the menace of his advance everywhere united peoples as never before. Austria, Russia, Prussia, and even the disparate Italies were impelled by the rising nationalism.

Meanwhile, Prussia rallied from its staggering defeat of 1806 and 1807, and under the leadership of its very able minister, Baron vom Stein, and its chancellor, Hardenberg, embarked upon a process of modernization and reform. Serfdom was abolished and the noble's

monopoly of landownership was broken. For the first time, the peasantry and the bourgeoisie were allowed a share in their country and they responded with an increased patriotism. Free trade was established in Prussia to the profit of the country in general and the mercantile class in particular. Education was fostered on the theory that an educated people strengthened the state. Some changes were also made in the forms and methods of government, although the autocracy was retained. The army, too, underwent a rejuvenation. Compulsory military service, the more acceptable when men could feel that it was for the defense of their own lands, was introduced, and it was made possible for a soldier to rise from the ranks to a position of power. The limitation of the army to 42,000 men by the Treaty of Tilsit was circumvented by training a group, dismissing them from active service, training a second group, and so on. Napoleon, watching these changes with uneasiness, forced the dismissal of Stein¹ (1808), but was unable to check the growing nationalism which manifested itself both in the support of the reforms and in the formation of such patriotic societies as the *Tugenbund* (League of Virtue).

Austria, also, was stung by defeat into making reforms which included the introduction of universal compulsory military service and of the organization and tactics used by the French. But Austria, encouraged by the situation in Spain, was led into a premature attempt to defeat Napoleon. The result was another Napoleonic victory at the Battle of Wagram (1809) and another Napoleonic triumph in the Peace of Vienna (1809). The latter forced Austria to cede part of Galicia to Russia and part to the Duchy of Warsaw, the Illyrian provinces to France, and the Tyrol to Bavaria. The price of peace also included an indemnity; the reduction and limitation of the army; and the marriage of the Austrian archduchess, Marie Louise, to Napoleon.²

This apparent triumph over Austria was somewhat nullified by the growing tension between the allies, France and Russia. Indeed, neither partner had kept his pact very well. Napoleon had hindered rather than helped the Russian advance both in the north and against

¹ Stein promptly went to Austria where he stirred up nationalistic hatred of the French and then to Russia where he became one of the chief advisers of Czar Alexander.

² Napoleon's earlier marriage with Josephine Beauharnais was annulled. His motive was a desire for an heir in whose veins ran royal blood. That wish was fulfilled with the birth of a son (1811) whom Napoleon titled "King of Rome," and nicknamed "The Little Eagle."

the Turks, and his enlargement of the Duchy of Warsaw in 1809 worried the Czar who did not relish the presence of a French puppet state on his frontier. The Continental System, furthermore, had greatly injured Russia by stopping her grain trade with Great Britain. On the other hand, Napoleon rightfully complained that Alexander, uneasy at the protests it evoked from his people, had slowly relaxed the embargo and resumed trade with Britain. The Corsican knew that if his economic war against the British failed, he was lost. The only course that he could see open was to enforce his will upon Russia by war. Accordingly he began in 1812 to gather supplies and collect men from various parts of his empire. Alexander countered by making peace with Turkey to remove that danger, and by agreements with Great Britain and Sweden which gave him their support. By June, the stage was set and Napoleon with an army of over 600,000 began to invade Russia. The Russian army, inferior both in size and efficiency, avoided a pitched battle and slowly retreated, luring the French deeper and deeper into the country. At Borodino in September the Russians made a stand. Casualties were heavy on both sides but the Russians were forced back and the road to Moscow, the capital city, lay open. Napoleon's entrance into that city was indeed an empty triumph. With rare patriotism, the inhabitants abandoned their homes, and the boots of the advancing French resounded through an empty city. That night, Moscow burst into flames with scores of fires set by the retreating Russians. Buildings and supplies alike were destroyed and only the work of the French army, turned fire-fighters for this emergency, saved the city from complete destruction. Nothing daunted, Napoleon, whose unbalanced belief in his star of destiny was at its height, stayed on, sending embassy after futile embassy to demand that Alexander surrender. Against the advice of his staff who insisted that the Czar would not yield while French troops were on Russian soil, and who warned the Emperor of the rigors of the northern winter which would soon begin, the megalomaniac kept his army in Moscow until October. Then, when it was already too late, he ordered a retreat. There are few more appalling stories in history than the one of the French retreat from Moscow. The route lay through the areas already devastated by the invasion, which meant that food and supplies were scarce or lacking. The mounted Cossacks remorselessly clung to the flanks and the rear of the retreating column, swooping down to harass it and then taking swift flight before it could re-form in battle order. Worst of all, the severe Russian winter closed in, with sleet, snow, and bitter cold.

Slowly, painfully, saved from utter rout only by the brilliant rear-guard actions of Marshal Ney, the beaten army crawled home, leaving its thousands of dead and dying along the way. It has been conservatively estimated that not less than 350,000 men were left behind either dead or captive. Napoleon, who warmly clad, well fed, and well cared for, had led the retreat, suddenly sneaked away in the night, for the third time abandoning his men to the mercy of the enemy. As the year of disaster ended, he calmly announced to his people that "the emperor has never been in better health!"

The following year found Napoleon beset by increasing difficulties. Great Britain was still at war with him, and in January, Russia and Prussia allied themselves against him by the Treaty of Kalish. Signs of serious disaffection appeared among his officers and officials, and he found it increasingly hard to recruit men for his army. Moreover, the strain was telling on the man himself. Fatigue, added to the megalomania, brought a definite waning of his powers. Yet, nonetheless, he managed to raise an army of half a million men—young, inexperienced, but an army with which he was able to win several pyrrhic victories over the allied forces. Austria, having tricked him by an armistice which enabled her to gather her troops, entered the war against him in the early summer. In October was fought the great battle of Leipzig, in which Napoleon was defeated with losses of over 50,000 troops. In full retreat, the beaten French, harassed by the allies, and ravaged by disease, crossed the Rhine, and Napoleon's power east of that river ended.

Then France itself suffered for the first time in years from a multiple invasion. Wellington, having worked his way through the Iberian peninsula, moved in from the south. Alexander of Russia, Charles of Austria, and Blücher of Prussia pressed on from the east. Napoleon, still a great general, fought desperately and brilliantly but the odds against him were overwhelming. Driven back on Paris, he sought and failed to rally the Parisians for one last stand. It was no use. The city fell in March of 1814, and Alexander of Russia led the victorious allies into the captured capital. Napoleon, beaten and despairing, retired to Fontainebleau. On April 7 he signed his abdication, then sought to commit suicide. The poison had been kept too long and to his greater humiliation of body and mind, it only made him retch and vomit. Shortly thereafter, he retired to the tiny island of Elba, the only empire his victorious enemies left him. It soon proved to be too small.

Having disposed of Napoleon, the allies set about the task of re-

construction. By the Treaty of Paris (May, 1814), France was reduced to the boundaries she had had in 1792 and most of her colonial possessions were restored to her. The Treaty also summoned a congress, in which France was to be represented, to consider the general European problems. These very moderate terms are evidence that the allies considered that their quarrel was with one man, Napoleon, not with the people of France. Further evidence of this appears also in the restoration in France itself. The Count of Provence, brother of the guillotined Louis XVI, was established on the throne as Louis XVIII,¹ but no effort was made to restore the social or political systems of the Old Regime. Louis, who owed his elevation chiefly to the mediation of the wily Talleyrand,² assumed the title and many of the forms of the Bourbon monarchy, but he signified his acceptance of the new order by issuing a Charter (1814) which was prefaced by the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*. This constitution gave full executive power, including control of the ministry and of the upper house of the bicameral legislature, to the Crown. The lower house was elective, but since suffrage was limited to those men who paid an annual direct tax of at least three hundred francs, it was far from democratic.

Louis' first wise moderation was gradually transformed into reaction as the returning émigrés once more made their influence felt at court. Their ultra-royalism and extreme clericalism were very distasteful to a people most of whom hoped that the Revolution had banished such things forever. Particularly obnoxious and especially menacing were the impolitic remarks about taking the lands which the revolutionary governments had confiscated and distributed. This threatened alike the bourgeois who had bought lands once held by the Church, and the peasant, who had profited from the disorder by seizing the lands he tilled. In addition, the new government both injured and offended many of the Napoleonic veterans by its tactless treatment. Discontent was widespread, a fact of which Napoleon Bonaparte on his little island was well aware.

¹ The dauphin, who would have ruled as Louis XVII, never occupied the throne but he was paid the compliment of a number just the same.

² Prince Charles de Talleyrand (1754-1838) was remarkable not only for his talents but also for his ability to be on the winning side. This quondam abbé and bishop had been a member of the National Assembly. His one miscue, the support of monarchism, forced him into temporary exile in the United States but he returned to become Foreign Minister both for the Directory and for Napoleon. With the imperial defeat he again shifted sides and became the chief mediator between the allies and the restored Bourbon. Later, he served France well as her plenipotentiary at the Congress of Vienna.

Meanwhile, the congress called for by the Treaty of Paris had opened in Vienna late in September of 1814.¹ Within a few months dissension broke out among the conferees which became so serious that war among them seemed likely. Of this, too, Napoleon was aware. The ex-emperor had almost exhausted the possibilities for action on Elba, which he had organized into a toy empire, and his ambitions began once more to soar. Moreover, he had grievances, real and fancied. The subsidy promised him was in arrears, his letters to his wife and son were tampered with, and he was not treated with the respect he felt his due. Late in February, 1815, he evaded his guards, stole on board a waiting vessel, and sailed for France. From the landing at Cannes on March 1, his was a triumphal return. The people welcomed him with cries of "Vive l'empereur," and supported him with money and supplies. His veterans flocked to him. Even Marshal Ney, who had sworn to bring him back to Paris in an iron cage, deserted to him with his army. Each succeeding day of his northward march saw his ranks swelled, his power greater. The Bourbon fled, and on March 20, Napoleon entered Paris to resume his interrupted rule.

It was a short-lived triumph. The Powers at Vienna stopped their bickering and renewed the alliance which they had made the preceding year.² Napoleon was branded an outlaw, and troops totaling over 216,000 were rapidly assembled and marched toward France. In June, Napoleon with an army of about 180,000 went out from Paris to meet this threat. On the 18th, the French troops collided with those of the Duke of Wellington near the little Belgian town of Waterloo, south of Brussels. Not even the magnificent bravery of his "Old Guard" could save the "Little Corporal." Before the day was over, Blücher and his Prussians joined the Iron Duke and the French defeat became a rout. The "Hundred Days," as this last Napoleonic scourge is called, were over. Once again, Paris fell before the allies (July 3) and six days later, Napoleon Bonaparte, no longer emperor but a publicly proclaimed "common criminal," was arrested. Placed aboard the British ship, *Bellerophon*, he was transported to the island of St. Helena where he lived in exile until death released him in 1821. This time, France also was penalized for her support of the warmonger. The second Treaty of Paris (November, 1815) reduced her boundaries to the limits of 1790, depriving her of the Saar region; charged

¹ For the story of the Congress of Vienna, see the next Chapter.

² The Treaty of Chaumont, signed on March 9, 1814, which bound Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria in an offensive-defensive alliance, was to last twenty years if need be.

her with an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs to be paid in five years; saddled her with an army of occupation; and forced the return of all the works of art which Napoleon had stolen. Napoleon's megalomania was costly to his people.

No story of the Napoleonic era would be complete without some attempt to summarize, at least, the reasons for his failure. Perhaps the greatest was nationalism which he unwittingly crystallized from a vague intangible into such self-sacrificing patriotism as was revealed in Spain and Russia. As long as he fought professional armies only, he was invincible, but when he had to fight an aroused people, his day of triumph neared its end. The Continental System proved also to be a boomerang which weakened his allies and rallied his enemies. Its failure doomed him also. Closely related to it was the question of sea power. Lacking that, Napoleon was unable to conquer the "nation of petty shop-keepers," as he once scornfully termed the British, or to enforce his economic sanctions. Then, too, the very militarism which fed his greatness finally turned against him. Not only did it sap the strength of his people but it also roused among his enemies a desperation which amounted almost to a phobia. They were determined to be rid of him and his constant trouble making. Had he won at Waterloo, he must certainly have been defeated elsewhere. All Europe was united to that end. Finally, Napoleon was only a man after all, subject to the weaknesses of the species. Fatigue slowly undermined his powers, megalomania distorted his judgments, and the limitations inherent in the absolutism of any one man set a bound to his triumphs.

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The Shackles of Tradition

A. THE BASIC DISTRUST OF NOVELTY

Because most men are conservative by nature, training, and interest, the forces of social change are always powerfully resisted. Not until the ever-shifting economic and social environment has profoundly altered modes of life and rendered obsolete older habits of thought do existing social and political institutions yield. Even then they give up slowly and reluctantly, sometimes by gradual compromise, sometimes through violent revolution. Whatever the method of effecting change, the final result is usually the same, though revolution may sometimes greatly accelerate it. In either case, the new is always adapted to the old; it does not displace the old. Again and again it has happened that when revolutionary minorities have succeeded for a time in altering social and political institutions to conform with views beyond the common understanding they have been forced to retreat. The degree of this reaction, as it is called, varies with the circumstances of time and place, but it always appears, and through its persistence a balance between the old and the new is struck. There is probably no better historical demonstration of this than the period of the French Revolution and the Reaction which followed it, though we can witness it at first hand in the contemporary era. The widespread reversion to authoritarian government in much of Europe after brief post-war experience with democracy, and the compromises of the Soviets with capitalist society, are good cases in point.

The forces which attract men to the past or to the established social and political order and make them resistant to innovations are varied and numerous. For one thing, it is easier to follow the beaten track than it is to pioneer. It requires less effort and it involves less risks. There is security in the known, though it may not always be

satisfactory, while the unknown holds perils and dangers and offers only uncertain guarantees. Most people feel this way, and because they do, they remain mistrustful and skeptical of the new and untried.

For special groups within society, this natural inclination toward conservatism is reinforced by material interests which would have to be sacrificed if radical changes in the existing order were made. In most instances, this was the reason for the vehement opposition of the landed aristocracy and the clergy to the French Revolution; it was also the reason for the opposition of the landlords and the middle classes to the communist revolution in Russia. Civil servants who have a stake in the administration, members of the army and the navy, all representatives of the vested interests, are likely to be the most active defenders of the status quo. The ruling caste dreads change and labors industriously to avoid it. This is as true for a ruling party of radical ideas as it is for a conservative group which happens to dominate.

The task of preserving the status quo is usually facilitated by the natural conservatism of the people, and it is greatly aided by the agencies of indoctrination which the ruling class controls. The most important of these are the school, the Church, and the State. Through the last those few who object can be held in line by force while the majority are induced to renew their faith by appeals to patriotism; the Church does its share by inculcating those moral and ethical doctrines which have sprung from the prevailing order; but it is the school which has done most to strengthen attachment to the existing scheme of things. In all ages, the schools have given instruction in those branches of learning which the established order of society deems useful and worth while, oftentimes deliberately, more often unconsciously, coloring this accumulated knowledge of the past with interpretations congenial to their time and class. By this means, confidence in established social and political institutions is perpetually renewed, and habits of thought are formed which resist change. This does not mean to say that the schools do not adapt themselves to the shifting social environment; the processes of adjustment are in continuous operation, but their accumulated effects are slow to appear above the surface.

Because all these various forces operate to strengthen opposition to change, reformers and revolutionaries are more than likely to be unpopular in their own times. Galileo was compelled to recant because his discoveries controverted accepted religious dogma; Darwin was pilloried because he engendered serious doubt about the accepted

views of the creation; and Woodrow Wilson was rebuffed because he demanded peace without victory. Critics of the status quo are always regarded as dangerous.

B. ALEXANDER AND METTERNICH

The conquerors of Napoleon at Waterloo aimed to restore the status quo as it had existed prior to the outbreak of revolution a quarter of a century before. This was no more possible than it had been for the revolutionaries to make a complete sweep of the past, but public sentiment generally favored a conservative adjustment in the interest of peace and order. After twenty years of almost continuous war, the people had come to believe that revolution meant war and starvation rather than utopia, and its lofty ideals fell into disrepute. The old order, in retrospect, seemed almost ideal. Romanticists extolled its virtues,¹ its peace and tranquillity, and professed to find in its class relationships, its religious institutions, and its political structure the key to human happiness. Almost everywhere there was a noticeable quickening of religious life, a reversion to what was nearly medieval Catholicism and a growing popular attachment to pietism, at the expense of Deism and skepticism. The political innovations of the revolution likewise lost their appeal. Confidence in monarchy, even absolute monarchy, revived, so much so that the most prominent political theorists of the post-revolutionary era were induced to advance doctrines which were little short of medieval.² The forces resistant to change, long at work, had at last gained ascendancy, and threatened a return to the old scheme of things, more complete than either the times or the circumstances would allow.

Even the bourgeoisie and the peasants in France who had profited most from the revolution were now joined by those who demanded peace and order in place of liberty and equality. But naturally they were not reactionaries in the sense that they wished the re-establishment of the old order. They fully expected to keep the advantages and the properties they had won, and consequently resisted the restoration of the rights and privileges of the nobility and the clergy, but with that they were ready to call the revolution to a halt. The

¹For a description of the reactionary character of Romanticism see Chapter XXVIII.

²Typical examples were de Bonald and de Maistre of France and von Haller of Germany. They defended the old class structure as the basis of sound political life, inveighed against the revolutionary concepts of political equality, and stoutly supported the thesis that all power must be vested in the sovereign.

clergy and the nobility for equally selfish reasons rejected even this compromise, which was to be made at their expense. Only the more radical masses among the urban proletariat and the more advanced intellectuals wished to continue the revolution in the hope that they too might wrest some benefits from it, but they were like voices crying in the wilderness. For the time being, preponderant sentiment favored a conservative settlement; it was merely a question whether this would take the shape of bourgeois or privileged preference.

Yet it was not an easy matter to find a solution to this question, to strike a convenient balance between the old and the new. Everywhere in Europe the privileged orders labored to preserve what they had saved and to regain what they had lost, and, having many of the instruments of force still at their command, they were oftentimes successful. The bourgeoisie combatted them at every turn, usually with the assistance of the radical masses and sometimes, as in France, with the aid of the peasantry. For thirty years, European society was sharply divided over this conflict: the clergy and the aristocracy were the "conservatives" seeking the restoration of the old order; the bourgeoisie were the "liberals" fighting to preserve the revolutionary settlement in France or establish it elsewhere in Europe; and the proletariat were the "radicals" seeking to make use of every upheaval for the satisfaction of their own interests. None of these groups gained complete victory, but a compromise was eventually evolved which at least satisfied the bourgeoisie.

In 1815, however, the "conservatives" definitely held the upper hand, and for more than a decade thereafter their cause was ably championed. Much of the credit for this has been properly bestowed upon Count Clemens Metternich (1773-1859), the able Foreign Minister of the Hapsburg Empire whose plotting and intrigue had helped mightily in bringing Napoleon to his knees. Born of a distinguished family of the Rhineland, Metternich was a mere youth when spreading revolutionary contagion first aroused his concern. He conceived an intense dislike for mob violence and an equally intense hatred for Napoleon who was instrumental in depriving him of his family estates. Fortune enabled him to combat both. Pursuing the career of his father, he entered the diplomatic service of Austria where, with the aid of powerful friends, he was rapidly advanced to the highest rank, becoming the actual head of the government in 1809. By cunning and tireless energy he prepared Napoleon's downfall with such skill and finesse that at the end of the Napoleonic epoch he had maneuvered Austria into the dominating position among the continental

powers and had made for himself the reputation of being the greatest statesman of the age. So great was his prestige that sovereigns deferred to his opinions and regularly consulted him. For a generation, he dominated central Europe and directly influenced the course of affairs in the other states of continental Europe. Not without reason, the period of reaction after 1815 has been called "the era of Metternich."

Linked with Metternich as the apostle of reaction, though not fairly so until the latter part of his life, was the enigmatic and temperamentally unstable czar of Russia, Alexander I. Handsome and clever, but weak and superficial, he chose at first to play the role of public benefactor and enlightened despot. He evinced an interest in social and political reforms during the course of the Revolution, counseled moderation in France after he had helped defeat Napoleon, and for a time undertook liberal reforms in some of his own possessions. The constant prodding of Metternich who mistrusted him, the influence of religious fanatics who gained his ear, and fear of revolution at home soon cured him of his reformism. He joined hands with the Austrian statesman, therefore, and threw the strength and great influence of his empire in the direction of conservative retrenchment.

Having disposed of the Revolution and Napoleon, the first care of these conservatives and their numerous associates was to restore Europe to the "normal" state of the pre-revolutionary epoch. By two treaties of Paris (1814 and 1815), France was denuded of her conquests and her frontiers fixed at substantially what they had been in 1790, the Bonaparte family was forever deprived of the imperial throne, and the "legitimate" Bourbons restored. The difficult task of disposing of the rest of Europe, so radically changed by twenty years of French domination, was left to a Congress of the powers, scheduled, by common consent, to meet in Vienna.

The Congress of Vienna assembled soon after Napoleon's defeat at the Battle of the Nations and completed its deliberations just a few days before the final and decisive engagement at Waterloo. It was an imposing gathering, attended by a host of sovereigns, great and small, and by the most conspicuous statesmen of the age, but for the great majority of these it was little more than an elaborate pageant and a pleasant diversion. The foreign ministers of the victorious powers—Metternich for Austria, Castlereagh for England, Nesselrode for Russia, and Humboldt for Prussia—with the later co-operation of Talleyrand, Foreign Minister for France, conducted the negotiations and reached the final settlement. Like the Treaty of Versailles in

1919, the Treaty of Vienna was the work of a few men working behind closed doors and, for the most part, in the utmost secrecy.

The framers of every peace treaty are always guided by "sacred" principles by which their final settlement, despite the number of its compromises, is justified before the public. In 1919, it was the right to national self-determination; in 1815, it was the principle of legitimacy. Cleverly framed by Talleyrand to defend the restoration of the Bourbons in France, this principle of legitimacy was capable of wide application. It meant both the restoration of "legitimate" monarchs and the re-establishment of their "legitimate" frontiers. This objective was kept in mind, but out of sheer necessity or deliberate intention it was frequently compromised. After all, practical considerations demanded that "legitimacy" must not exclude "compensations" to those powers which had sacrificed their manpower and resources to save Europe from the Napoleonic scourge; nor that it prevent the establishment of a *cordon sanitaire*, a ring of strong buffer states about France, to prevent that power from again becoming a menace to Europe.

The necessity of adapting the principle of legitimacy to that of compensations appeared early in the deliberations, and after one compromise had been made, a long succession of others could not be avoided. Prussia and Russia entered the Congress with an agreement by which Prussia was to be allowed the whole of the Kingdom of Saxony in return for Russia's right to incorporate the whole of the old Kingdom of Poland. Apart from the peoples to be disposed of in this cavalier fashion, there were serious objections on the part of the Great Powers, not because they resented bartering of territory but because they feared that Russia might become too powerful. A sharp conflict developed in the Congress, and for a time there was danger of war among the victors, with England and Austria lined up against Prussia and Russia. By artful diplomacy, Talleyrand was able to play the honest broker, winning a position for France in the Congress, and effecting a satisfactory compromise for the disputants. Prussia was allowed to take two-fifths of Saxony, while Russia absorbed most of Poland except for Posen and the "corridor" which were left to Prussia, and most of Galicia which was left to Austria. As further compensation, Prussia was permitted to absorb Westphalia, Pomerania, and provinces in the Rhineland; and Russia was confirmed in the possession of Finland. Since Finland and Pomerania had been taken from Sweden, who had aided the allies against France, she was allowed to compensate herself by taking the Kingdom of Norway.

Norway belonged to Denmark, it is true, but the powers felt justified in giving it away since the Danish sovereign had courted the favor of Napoleon.

To compensate Austria for her services as well as for her sacrifices of territory elsewhere in the common interest, she was given Lombardy and Venetia in northern Italy, the Illyrian provinces, and was allowed to set up Hapsburg rulers in Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. Besides, as will be explained later, she was given paramount influence in the German Confederation which the Congress established.

The Netherlands and Savoy on the French frontier were enlarged so that they might serve more effectively as buffer states, Savoy being permitted to annex the Republic of Genoa, and the Netherlands to incorporate the Austrian provinces (Belgium) together with other minor acquisitions. The independence of Switzerland was confirmed and its permanent neutrality ensured, while across the Spanish frontier the Bourbons were restored.

England was generously recompensed with colonies. Along with the French and Spanish trading posts which she had occupied during the war, she was permitted among other notable acquisitions to take South Africa, Ceylon, and a share of Guiana from the Dutch, and the island of Heligoland from Denmark.

The most complicated of all the territorial problems to be resolved by the Congress related to the Italian peninsula and to the German countries. In both of these areas the changes wrought by Napoleon had been so profound and the principle of compensations so extensively applied, that legitimate restoration in most cases was quite impossible. In Italy, for example, Genoa had completely disappeared, Lombardy-Venetia had been brought within the frontiers of the Hapsburg Empire, and the three important central duchies had been placed under Hapsburg rulers. Elsewhere, however, the old order



Courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library

AUSTRIAN DOUBLE EAGLE.
FROM CHARLES V'S BOOK OF
HOURS.

The insignia of the imperial Hapsburg family of Austria.

was revived. The Bourbons recovered the throne of the Two Sicilies, the Papal States were re-established, and the legitimate dynasty in Savoy restored.

The problem of the Germanies was infinitely more complicated. Before the Revolution, there had been some three hundred sovereign states loosely bound together in the aged and impotent Holy Roman Empire. Napoleon had destroyed this institution, reduced the number of states, and reshuffled their territories. To redraw the map in accordance with what once had been would have been a fruitless and utterly hopeless task; indeed it would have been impossible, for the more powerful families who profited from the changes were in no mood to give up what they acquired, while the lesser princes who had lost out lacked the means of persuasion. The Napoleonic settlement was therefore largely accepted. Thirty-eight independent states of the Germanies were recognized, and these, by common agreement, were loosely bound together in the German Confederation, operating as a unit through a Diet, presided over by Austria, and composed of the delegates of the reigning princes. Though the sovereignty of each of these states was, in general, unlimited, none was to enter an alliance with a foreign power against the Confederation as a whole or any of its members. This settlement was placed under the guarantee of the powers signatory to the Vienna Act. None of the arrangements which the Congress made reflects more clearly than this the degree to which "restored" Europe differed from the model of 1789.

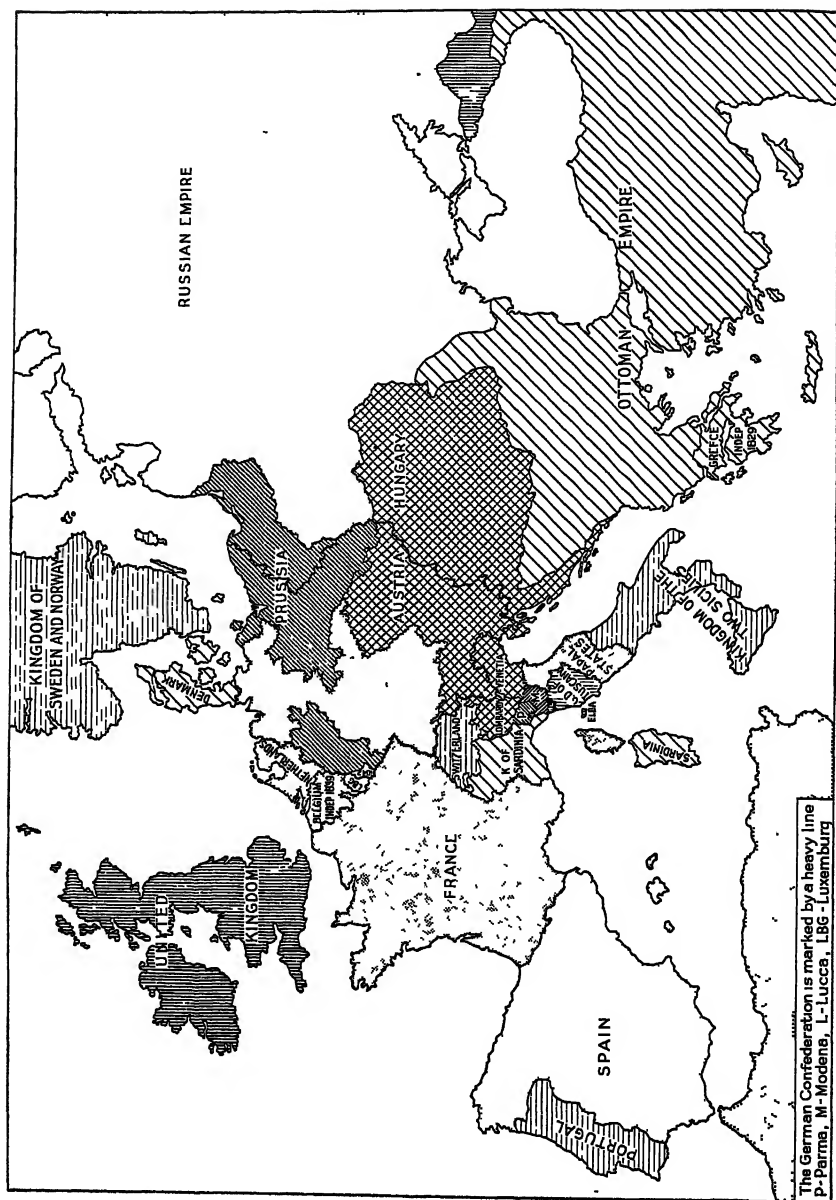
Many of the deficiencies of the peace of 1815 are readily apparent. The principle of nationalism had been flouted at a time that was certainly no longer wise, and even the milder forms of liberalism which the Revolution had advanced and which many had experienced for nearly a quarter of a century were completely ignored. These failures had to be rectified. But on the whole the peace of Vienna was no worse than most treaties of peace and, judged by the standards of the times, it was a success. At least its settlement made for a reasonably stable Europe for half a century.

Having "restored" Europe, Metternich and the other statesmen in power determined, in the usual fashion, to preserve their handiwork for posterity. For this purpose, the victorious powers entered into two solemn engagements before they set their seal upon the final act of Vienna. The first of these, the creature of Czar Alexander I's flighty imagination, was the Holy Alliance. According to this extraordinary document, the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia obligated themselves in holy bond to apply, in their dealings with

each other and with their subjects, the precepts of Christianity, to protect religion, foster peace, defend justice, and preserve the sacred institution of monarchy. No one took this seriously: the Austrian and Prussian sovereigns agreed only to please the personal fancy of the Czar, and even so were roundly reprimanded by the pope for having anything to do with a schismatic; and the British steadfastly refused to join. But in the popular mind this Holy Alliance was confused with the really important Quadruple Alliance, which was the active working agreement by which the victors aimed to preserve the status quo. This was signed by Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Austria at Vienna, and was renewed after Waterloo with the added proviso that the signatories would meet occasionally in international congresses to consult on the state of affairs and to keep watch over the settlement they had arranged. With this latter agreement, there was called into being the nebulous organization, known as the "Concert of Europe" through which the status quo was to be preserved.¹

It was Metternich's determination that this Concert should operate not simply for the purpose of excluding the Bonapartes from France and forestalling new revolution there, as the others wished, but also for the purpose of destroying incipient liberalism wherever it might rear its head. Consequently, after the first Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) at which France fulfilled her last obligations under the treaties and was admitted to the Concert, Metternich proposed that the Powers henceforth devote themselves to the suppression of revolutionary movements within particular countries. The British Foreign Minister, Lord Castlereagh, objected to this because the policing of Europe was contrary to British interests, but the other members approved. In the subsequent international congresses, therefore, (Troppau, Laibach, and Verona in 1820, 1821, and 1822 respectively) the Concert, without Britain's assistance, devised and carried out plans for intervening in the internal affairs of countries to prevent the spread of liberal contagion. The nature of these undertakings was clearly defined in a document agreed upon at the Congress of Troppau and known as the Troppau Protocol, in which it was asserted that any state in which a change of government was effected through revolution dangerous to the other nations should be excluded from the family of nations until order and stability had been restored. This principle was applied on several occasions, but as will be seen, with diminishing success, and soon had to be abandoned. Yet, for the time

¹ Actually the beginning of the Concert can be traced to article V of the Treaty of Chaumont (1814).



being, it served Metternich's purposes well, facilitating his efforts to keep the lid on in Germany and Italy as well as in Austria.

In his own country, Metternich encountered little or no difficulty in making it the model of what he considered sound government should be. Trade languished for want of encouragement, and the feudal system was largely preserved so that "liberals" were few and easily hunted down. Such agitators as there were, were promptly jailed, and among the minority peoples where nationalist insurrections threatened, troops were quartered. To keep out dangerous and infectious ideas a ban was placed upon travel, and all in-coming literature was rigidly censored. Austria, so to speak, was hermetically sealed from the outside world.

The problem in Germany was a good deal more difficult, but through the Diet of the Confederation which Austria controlled, Metternich had an instrument powerful enough to hold liberalism in check for some time. There were a number of liberals in Germany, especially in University circles, who resented oppression and conservatism, and hopefully anticipated the establishment of constitutional governments, even of a united and liberal Germany. Their agitation was centered in a student society, the *Burschenschaft*, founded originally at Jena during the Napoleonic era and subsequently extended to a number of German universities. Poorly organized, uncertain in its leadership and direction, this society nevertheless struck terror into conservative hearts when at a national convention at Jena in 1817 it conducted a mild demonstration against reaction. The subsequent assassination of a prominent reactionary two years later by a demented student who had been a *Burschenschafter* offered an appropriate excuse to destroy the society and eliminate the possibility of all further revolutionary activity. Metternich acted promptly; with the collaboration of the great states, he persuaded the Diet to issue the Carlsbad Decrees, introducing the methods he was already employing in Austria into the Germanies. The universities were placed under strict supervision, students were expelled if suspected of treasonable activities, liberal instructors were removed, and the press was rigidly censored. Student societies were outlawed, constitutions and even constitutional terms of foreign extraction were forbidden, and a special police system was set up with power to arrest any individual, regardless of his citizenship. The application of these decrees drove the liberals under cover and helped considerably in putting off the day of liberal revolutions.

Metternich was equally successful in Italy, especially in Lom-

bardy-Venetia and in the Hapsburg dominated duchies, but also in the other states. Indeed, in some instances the enthusiasm of the returned princes in turning back the clock was of such proportions that even Metternich was persuaded to give counsels of moderation. In Piedmont (Kingdom of Sardinia), for example, the aged Victor Emmanuel I went so far in destroying all remnants of hated French reforms that he had the gas lighting system of Turin torn out and the French botanical gardens uprooted. Papal procedure in the pontifical states was even worse, so odious and so deplorable that Metternich recoiled before it, but at that it hardly surpassed the excesses of reaction in the Kingdom of Naples. King Ferdinand I who had been restored to his throne was almost incredibly ignorant and detestable, and a reactionary tyrant of the first order. Thus the whole of Italy was outwardly reactionary. But beneath the surface, liberal revolution seethed, beginning in Naples, where it culminated in 1820. The king accepted a constitution, solemnly swore to protect it, and then with characteristic duplicity turned to Metternich and the Concert for aid. It was not long in coming. At the Congress of Troppau, Austria was commissioned to restore "order" in Naples, and Ferdinand marched back at the head of an Austrian army to occupy once more an absolute throne. While these events transpired in Naples, Piedmont also experienced a revolution which ended with the abdication of Victor Emmanuel and the proclamation of a constitution. This was of short duration, however, and conservative government in Piedmont soon resumed its usual course. Thus liberalism in Italy as well as in Germany had so far been successfully combatted.

Metternich's system, so uniformly applied in central Europe and in Italy, was not slavishly copied in France; there, practical necessities counseled moderation. In the first place, it would have been most unwise to try to supplant liberal reforms to which the people had grown accustomed through a quarter century of experience. Moreover, complete restoration of the old order would have been stoutly resisted by peasants and bourgeoisie, upon whose support the Bourbon dynasty depended. Louis XVIII (1815-1824) was too much aware of all this to allow his reactionary friends and advisers a free hand. As he put it, he had no desire to resume his travels, especially since his great weight made traveling unusually difficult; and he was certain that flight would be necessary unless a policy of moderation were pursued.

Consequently, when he set foot upon French soil again, Louis issued a Constitution, in deference to those of liberal persuasion. It

was scarcely a liberal document, but at that it was more advanced than any other except Poland's. The Constitutional Charter, as it was called, made it clear that the constitution had been given the people as a gift by the king, that sovereignty was concentrated in his person and not in the least shared with his subjects. It provided for a bicameral legislature, a Chamber of Peers to be appointed by the king, and a Chamber of Deputies, which through provision of a subsequent election law was to be elected from a restricted voting public of approximately a hundred thousand. This legislature was empowered to discuss laws proposed by the king, but was not allowed to amend them. In this fashion, Louis confirmed the principle of representative government established by the revolution. At the same time he adopted its religious freedom and civil equality, and took over in entirety many of the administrative reforms and institutions of the Napoleonic era.

The reactionary nobility and clergy immediately raised a vehement storm of protest, and when Louis refused to retract, they instituted a Terror of considerable proportions. For several months they conducted bloody uprisings in the country and arbitrarily executed liberal "traitors." In the midst of these activities, the first elections under the Charter were held with the result that, by means of inspiring fear in the electorate, the extreme reactionaries, or ultra-royalists, gained control of the Chamber of Deputies. Fearful that these extremists might soon undo everything, Louis dissolved the Chamber early the next year and called for new elections.

His hope that moderate royalists, sympathetic with the Charter and with his policies of conciliation, would be returned, was entirely fulfilled. For the next four years the government pursued a course which was mildly but nevertheless distinctly liberal. Electoral privileges were somewhat extended, rigid censorship of the press was relaxed, and measures adopted to bring about the nation's early acceptance into the family of nations. With this type of government all but the extreme liberals and extreme reactionaries were prepared to co-operate.

In 1820, however, the period of moderation ended abruptly with the assassination of the Duke of Berry, a member of the royal family. The ultra-royalists were once more catapulted into power and hastily sought to undo the liberal reforms. The liberal electoral law was rescinded, the censorship of the press restored, guarantees of individual liberty were suspended, the educational system was placed more firmly under the control of the clergy, and an elaborate system

of espionage installed to suppress all liberal and revolutionary activities. So firmly had they implanted themselves in power that in 1823 the ultra-royalists were able to persuade the king to dispatch to Spain a French army, commissioned to suppress revolution there in true Metternichian style. The ultras did not yet seriously attempt to restore the properties and the privileges of the clergy and the nobility, but in 1824 when the moderate Louis XVIII died, they were well entrenched. Under Louis' successor, Charles X, they became more bold, and sealed their fate as well as his.

The intervention of French arms in Spain to restore "order" represented the high water mark of international reaction on the continent. After the Napoleonic troops had retreated from the peninsula, Ferdinand VII of Bourbon had been restored to power. Cruel, odious, and deceitful, Ferdinand aimed to stamp out every trace of liberalism and to that end, gagged the press, restored the Inquisition, and persecuted suspects at every opportunity. His procedure was no more enlightened than that of his relative, the Bourbon king of Naples. While he indulged in reaction, the empire which he had inherited melted away before his eyes; one by one the colonies in Central and South America raised the banner of revolt, and with the sympathetic approval of Great Britain and the United States, declared their independence. To restore what had already been lost and to prevent the further spread of infection, Ferdinand determined to despatch an expeditionary force to the New World. In 1819, troops were gathered at Cadiz for that purpose, but the paucity of their equipment and the unseaworthiness of the boats which were to convey them, inspired a mutiny. In January, 1820, the king was faced with a military revolution which spread with such rapidity that by March he felt compelled to grant a constitution. Adopting the usual tactics, he vowed to defend this document and to advance with the liberals "along the constitutional path" but at the same time he consulted with the powers to restore him his absolutism. In 1822, this appeal was acted upon at the Congress of Verona which commissioned France to carry out the measures necessary to stamp out revolutionary government in Spain. Next year a hundred thousand French troops crossed the Spanish frontier and marched to Madrid. The Cortes, as the representative constitutional body had been called, was disbanded, the constitution was revoked, and Ferdinand VII restored.

This intervention in Spain created profound misgivings in both Great Britain and the United States where it was feared the Powers might now be encouraged to undertake the restoration of the Spanish

Empire as well. This did not create a pleasant prospect for British traders who profited by the absence of Spanish dominion in the colonies, and it made Americans apprehensive lest success in restoring the Spanish Empire lead sometime to an attempted restoration of the British Empire. Having common interests in the matter, the United States and Great Britain co-operated to forestall such an enterprise. They recognized the independence of the states which had already revolted and then finished their defiance with the issuance of the Monroe Doctrine (presented by President James Monroe in 1823). Though this was a statement of American policy, it was made with the knowledge and the approval of the British government, and it asserted categorically "that we should consider any attempt on their part [the Powers] to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." In the face of such opposition, all hope that "liberalism" beyond the seas might be suppressed had to be abandoned. This was the first serious rebuff administered to the Concert of conservative continental powers. It was soon followed by others.

At the very time that French troops were marching into Spain, a national revolution of the Greek peoples, which could not be suppressed in the usual way, was already well advanced. Organized by a patriotic secret society, the *Hetairia Philike*, this quickly spread throughout the whole of the Greek mainland and the Greek islands. The Turkish governors resisted with brutal savagery, more than matching that of the revolutionaries, but they met with steady reverses. From every state in Europe, from people of liberal and conservative persuasion alike, volunteers were organized to help the Greek cause. Popular feeling here cut the line which divided Europe into liberal and conservative. The Sultan of Turkey, faced with this mounting opposition in Greece, called to his aid his able ally and vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt. The tactics followed by Mehemet and his son Ibrahim aroused the fresh indignation of Europe, and in 1827 Great Britain, France, and Russia, completely ignoring the Metternichian principles, combined to bring about a satisfactory settlement. Mutual rivalries badly divided these allies, but in 1829 an independent Greek kingdom was recognized, and three years later it was provided with a constitutional monarch, Prince Otto of Bavaria. This was another failure for the Metternichian system.

Meanwhile, the Belgian people successfully revolted against the conservative and irritating government of the Dutch king, William I. They had resented union with the Netherlands from the first, but it

was not until they had been goaded by shortsighted policies and inspired by successful revolution elsewhere that they took matters into their own hands and declared their independence in October, 1830.

These were by no means the only victories for liberalism and nationalism in their contest with the conservatives. Indeed, by the time Belgian independence was declared and Greek constitutional monarchy established, a revolution in France put an end to the extreme reaction which had set in there after 1824, and this was followed by similar if less successful revolutions elsewhere. These will all be discussed in a later connection. At this point, it is only necessary to remember that by 1823 conservatism was already in retreat, and that thereafter the Metternichian system suffered steady decline. A new compromise between the old and the new was clearly in the process of formation.

C. THE BRITISH OLIGARCHY

Although Great Britain's insularity saved her from many of the sights and sounds of the Revolution and the Napoleonic era, it could not prevent either the infiltration of the spirit of change or the reaction which that engendered. The old order, battling stubbornly for existence, slowly gave way to a new, but it was a long process and one marked by bitterness, strife, and much suffering both physical and mental. The result, as always, was a compromise between the traditional and the novel.

It will be remembered that Britain of the late eighteenth century was an oligarchy, governed by and for the wealthy, landed minority. Agriculture was the basis of life, with more than three-quarters of the population drawing their sustenance directly from the soil. Cities were few, and the village, "a string of thatched cottages on a single street," was the usual unit of corporate existence. Life was simple and provincial. Each village sought and partially attained self-sufficiency. Industry was in the domestic stage. Farming still followed medieval practice. In short, change seemed unlikely and far away.

Almost all life was dominated by the landed gentry and the Anglican Church to which most of them belonged. Ownership of land was the only entree to society, and, until 1820, to the House of Lords also. The aristocracy was strikingly homogeneous, due chiefly to the similarity of the education of its members. Sons of the landed gentry customarily received their first training from tutors, then went on to the "public schools" such as Eton or Harrow, and concluded their scho-

lastic training at either Oxford or Cambridge. Then followed, usually, a "Grand Tour" of the capitals of Europe to round off the educational process. Most of the gentry lived on their estates as country squires, spending their time in hunting, riding, drinking, and, paradoxically, in public service. The typical squire was a justice of the peace who took his public duties very seriously. It should be added that with his other virtues and faults, the aristocrat was likely also to be a generous patron of the arts.

As justices, deriving their power from their ownership of land as much as from the royal appointment, and as administrators, the squirarchy dominated local politics. As for national politics, that too was the preserve of this group. Ministries and cabinets were chosen from it, and high officials both in the military services and in the church were ordinarily to the manor born. The House of Lords was its stronghold and the House of Commons its generally obedient agent.

The Established Church was Anglican, state-supported by tithes paid by all. Catholics and Dissenters, the latter found mostly in the commercial and lower classes, were hampered by restrictive laws. They could not legally hold any important offices, and until 1829, Catholics were excluded from Parliament. The universities were closed to them, the only marriage legally recognized by the state was that performed by the Established Church, and in many other ways non-Anglicans were legally bound to an inferior place.

British history from Vienna to the accession of Victoria in 1837 lends itself to division into four periods. The first, 1815-1822, was one of extreme conservatism; the second, 1822-1828, saw the beginning of reforms; the third, 1828-1830, was again reactionary; but the fourth, 1830-1837, witnessed the triumph of bourgeois reforms. There was, of course, some overlapping but, by and large, those were the dominant characteristics of each period.

As usually happens during a war, there had been a false prosperity in Great Britain in the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century. Prices were inflated, business was overexpanded, speculation rife, and profiteering common. The price of grain, for example, rose to a high of 120 shillings a quarter-ton, and food prices soared. Again as usual, a few men amassed great riches at the expense of the rest. Benefits were not equally shared. In the case of agriculture, the landlord profited but the laborer did not. This was due mostly to the operation of the Speenhamland System. Its theory was excellent: if wages were insufficient, the laborer would receive enough from the

state to give him a living wage. But what happened was that many employers reduced wages in order to shift the burden to the state. Relief costs rose steeply from £2,500,000 in 1795 to £5,400,000 in 1815, and labor remained largely dependent upon charity.

On the other hand, when peace brought deflation—grain fell to a low of sixty shillings a quarter between 1814 and 1817—labor, which had not shared prosperity, was made to share adversity. The class-conscious Parliament came to the aid of the landlords with the Corn¹ Laws of 1815 and 1828 which attempted to peg the price of grain at an artificial high. The first Corn Law forbade the import of grain until the price of domestic grain reached ten shillings a bushel. The second established a sliding scale tariff, high when English grain prices were low and gradually decreasing as the price rose. The effect was to create an artificial scarcity and so keep up the cost of food. Once more, it was the poor who suffered particularly because the landlords sought to protect themselves by lowering wages and reducing the number employed. Much the same thing happened in industry. When peace shut off the abnormal war-time demands, manufacturers found the market glutted and their plants overexpanded. Prices tumbled, that of iron, for example, dropping from £20 to £8 a ton between 1815 and 1818. Many were forced into bankruptcy, and those who were left, cut wages and reduced their staffs. Wage disputes and unemployment both in agriculture and industry brought riots and disorders.

To make matters worse, the strain of war had increased the national debt to what was then regarded as the staggering total of £850,000,000.² Relief costs kept mounting, the more so since the ending of the war threw some 300,000 soldiers and sailors onto the already overcrowded labor market. Taxes, of course, had to be raised, but the ruling Tories protected themselves. The income tax, which had been used during the war, was repealed in 1816 with a resulting increase in the burdens laid upon the poor. In short, Great Britain had both won and lost the war. Napoleon was in exile, and peace was restored, Britain was mistress of the seas and the most powerful nation in Europe, but her own house was in disorder.

Secure in power were the strongly conservative Tories. George III, his bid for authority long since ended, occupied the throne, although from 1810 until his death in 1820 he was so incompetent as to

¹ "Corn" in England means wheat, in Scotland and Ireland, oats. What Americans and Australians refer to as corn is spoken of as Indian corn or maize by the British.

² The public debt in 1937 was £7,797,200,000.

require a regent. Lord Liverpool, to whom change and reform were things to be avoided like the plague, was prime minister, and his Cabinet was composed of like-minded men. In opposition more or less violent were the extremists of the left, chief among them Owen, Place, Cobbett, Hunt, and Thistlewood. Robert Owen, wealthy, idealistic, not only transformed his mills at New Lanark in Scotland into a model factory and community with higher wages, shorter hours, and better housing for his workers, but he was also the earnest champion of protective legislation for labor. Francis Place, a tailor of London, organized labor unions and effectively lobbied for labor legislation. William Cobbett, ex-plowboy, ex-soldier, ex-Tory pamphleteer, made his newspaper, *The Weekly Political Register*, the voice of the poor. Its low price made it widely available, its lucid and pungent style gave it popularity. Not a supporter of violence himself, Cobbett's constant and vigorous attacks upon the status quo frequently excited others to violence. Of lesser stature were "Orator" Hunt, demagogue and rabble-rouser, and Arthur Thistlewood, author of the "Cato Street Conspiracy" (1820), a plot to kill the Cabinet.

The radicalism of these leaders, and the frequency of agrarian and industrial riots, frightened the middle class into a temporary union with the aristocratic Tories. They confused demands for reform with incitement to revolution, and they answered with harsh repression. The *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended (1816), spies and informers made their appearance, and severe punishment was meted out to agitators. A mass meeting, held in connection with a strike in the cotton mills at Manchester, was brutally dispersed by the local authorities whose action was promptly approved by the government. Ironically termed the Peterloo Massacre, to mark its contrast with the Battle of Waterloo, this disturbance led the government to pass the notorious gag laws known as the Six Acts (1819). These forbade public meetings, established a rigid censorship of the press, and momentarily quieted demands for reform.

The death in 1820 of the aged and insane George III brought to the throne his son, the ill-reputed George IV (1820-1830) who had acted as regent during the last ten years of his father's life. His vicious attempt to divorce his queen, Caroline, so irritated the people that his ministers were forced into making some concessions in the form of reducing expenditures. Gradually a trend toward reform became apparent. Castlereagh, the brilliant and able foreign minister who had become the popular symbol of repression, committed sui-

cide in 1822 and his place was taken by the more popular but no more able George Canning. It was he who withdrew Great Britain from the Concert of Europe and gave support to the nationalistic revolutions in Latin America and in Greece. Associated with him in the reorganized cabinet were the more liberal Tories, William Huskisson and Sir Robert Peel. Huskisson, as president of the Board of Trade, secured modification of the old Navigation Acts, opened colonial ports to foreign traders, and established a system of colonial preference in tariffs which favored British goods in the colonies and *vice versa*. With the co-operation of the chancellor of the exchequer, he abolished export and reduced import duties, and with the aid of Canning, he negotiated reciprocal trade treaties with foreign countries. The humanitarian Peel, as home secretary, reformed the excessively harsh criminal code, improved the penal system, and ended the persecution of the radical press. Under the influence of Place, laws forbidding the unionization of labor were repealed only to be partially re-enacted the next year following an epidemic of strikes. In this, and even more in the reforms of Huskisson, the growing influence of the commercial and industrial plutocracy is apparent. Returning prosperity, in part cyclic, in part due to the new policies, brought better times and less radicalism. The alliance of the middle class and the aristocracy tended to dissolve. It seemed a day of change, but the old-line High Tories were not yet silenced or convinced.

The retirement of Liverpool, the death of Canning who succeeded him, and the ineffectuality of his successor led to the formation of a ministry in 1828 by Wellington, the "Iron Duke." A good general but a poor statesman, Wellington at first sought to turn back the clock, then beat an undignified retreat when his position proved untenable. His first action alienated the liberal elements even of his own Tory Party; the second alienated the ultra-conservatives. The major issue of his ministry was the religious and political disabilities which ancient acts placed upon Dissenters and Catholics. In large measure these old laws had been allowed to become inoperative, but their existence was a constant threat and an offense against justice and tolerance which ill-accommodated with the spirit of reform. Finally, against the protests of the timid conservatives, the Test and Corporations Act, which had excluded Dissenters from public office, was repealed soon after Wellington came to power. Immediately there arose an agitation for relief of the Catholics from laws which prevented their sitting in Parliament. Under the leadership

of the ambitious and nationalistic Irishman, Daniel O'Connell, a Catholic Association was formed in Ireland. Its growth was rapid and, to the English conservative, very disquieting. O'Connell's adherents elected him to Parliament in which he was legally forbidden to sit, and the issue was joined. Enforcement of the old law would probably have brought a civil war. With bad grace, George IV and Wellington yielded, and the Catholic Emancipation Act, opening most of the offices of the state to Catholics, was passed in 1829. However, a joker in the act disfranchised some 190,000 Irishmen by raising the property qualifications for suffrage from 40 to 200 shillings. It was a typically shortsighted move which angered the Irish and led to an agitation for self-government.

The fourth period, 1830-1837, began with the death of the fourth George which brought not only the accession of a new king, William IV, but also forced the election of a new Parliament. Wellington paid both for his basic conservatism and his grudging acceptance of the inevitable by losing fifty seats in Parliament to the Whigs. A depression which again plunged the working classes into hardship and violent despair, roused middle class fears of a social revolution. At the same time, the successful bourgeois revolution in France (1830) gave them courage to seek reforms for their own benefit. Wellington and his Tories were out of step with the times, and, his slim majority gone, the Iron Duke was forced to resign in 1830. A Whig cabinet, headed by Lord Grey, took office, and under strong pressure from public opinion, moved toward a long-discussed, badly needed reform of the British government.

Early in 1831, Lord John Russell introduced into the Commons a bill calling for a redistribution of seats in Parliament and an extension of the rights of suffrage. For a year and a quarter the fight was on. Dissolution of Parliament and a new election gave the Whigs a big majority and a clear mandate for reform. The Commons accepted the bill only to have the Lords summarily reject it. Widespread disorder gave evidence of the popular discontent. Again the Commons passed the bill. This time Wellington and his cohorts sought to amend it out of existence. Tension in the country grew apace. Revolt was in the air. For the second time the ministry resigned, and Wellington tried unsuccessfully to form another. The country would not have it. Wellington resigned and back came Grey. In his pocket was William's written promise to create enough new peers, pledged to support the bill, to ensure its passage by the upper house. That threat sufficed. Wellington and his cohorts, unwilling

to accept, not daring to reject, withdrew, and the small group of Lords left sitting accepted the Great Reform Bill in July, 1832.

More than the Revolution of 1830 in France, the British Reform Bill of 1832 marked a new era. Most of the rotten and pocket boroughs were eliminated, and the sections which had grown populous with urbanization and industrialism were given more nearly adequate representation. In both borough and county, the franchise was extended so that an estimated one out of every thirty Englishmen was given the right to vote.¹ The power of the landed gentry was thus reduced while that of the upper urban bourgeoisie was greatly increased. The working class, to its chagrin, especially since it felt correctly that its agitation was partially responsible for the passage of the bill, was scarcely affected at all. The Reform Bill, in short, was not by any means a democratic measure but it was a step which led in that direction. It made pre-eminent the House of Commons, and led directly to the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie who were there entrenched. Within half a generation they had won control of the government from the landed oligarchy which had ruled England for more than a century.

The Great Reform was soon followed by other reforms, political, social, and economic. The Scottish Burgh Act (1833) gave Scotland the first popularly elected municipal governments it had had since the fifteenth century; and the Municipal Corporations Act (1835) established democratic, local self-government in the English cities. A growing humanitarianism and social conscience, as well as a changing economic system, was reflected by the emancipation of slaves, with compensation paid to their owners by the government (1833), and by the first effective Factory Act which was passed the same year. The latter was the work of three Tories, Sadler, Oastler, and Ashley whose constant agitation finally forced the Whig Parliament to provide for the limitation of child labor. The act only partially cured the abuses, but it was a good beginning and a precedent frequently followed thereafter. The final great socio-economic reform of the Whigs was the Poor Law of 1834. The Speenhamland System had proven costly and subject to serious abuse both by employers and by recipients of relief. The reform measure sought to curb costs and cut down the relief rolls by treating poverty as a crime. The dole was stopped, and to get public aid one had to become the inmate of a workhouse where treatment was deliberately

¹ The French Revolution of 1830 enfranchised one out of every two hundred.

made harsh in order to encourage people to stay out of them. It was a drastic remedy and it earned the hatred of the lower classes.

With these reforms, the Whigs, and Parliament, settled back in a rather smug complacency, broken during the succeeding generation only by various factory acts, by the repeal of the Corn Laws, and by the proletarian movement known as Chartism.¹ Commercial bourgeoisie and landed aristocrat contentedly co-operated in the maintenance of the status quo, serene in the prosperity which marked the long reign of Victoria (1837-1901), niece and successor of William IV.

Although her accession cost England Hanover, somewhat to the relief of British statesmen who had found it an embarrassing hostage to fate, the girl-queen did not lack for empire. Scotland and Wales, thoroughly habituated to union, were integral parts of the United Kingdom. Ireland, nationalistic, smolderingly rebellious and sporadically insurrectionary, was relatively quiet. But the bulk of Britain's empire lay across the seas. On the far side of the earth was Australia, discovered by the Dutch in 1645, rediscovered and claimed by the English explorer, Captain James Cook in 1769-70. Used originally as a convict station, Australia soon attracted other settlers and by the year of Victoria's enthronement, Britain had four organized colonies there.² Neighbor to Australia was New Zealand, also discovered by the Dutch and rediscovered by Cook. Settled by casuals and missionaries between 1795 and 1837, the islands were annexed to Great Britain in 1840. India, won for Britain by Clive at Plassey, had been a property of the East India Company until 1784 when an act of Parliament subjected the company to partial control by the government. This somewhat anomalous situation continued until a serious revolt at the beginning of the second decade of Victoria's reign resulted in control of India being transferred to the Crown and Parliament.³ By that time the original British holdings had been expanded until virtually all of the great peninsula was either owned outright by the British or controlled by them through acquiescent native princes. It may be noted, as a clue to British interest, that India in that period took ten percent of all Britain's exports and 33 1/3 percent of the output of the Lancashire cotton mills.

¹ For a discussion of the labor legislation see Chapter XXIII; Corn Law repeal and Chartism are treated in Chapter XXIV.

² They were: New South Wales (1788), Tasmania (1825), Western Australia (1829), and South Australia (1836). Victoria was organized in 1851 and Queensland in 1859.

³ The revolt was the Sepoy Mutiny (1857) and the change in status was effected by an Act for the Better Government of India (1858).

The Napoleonic Wars and the Vienna Settlement had also enriched Britain by the addition of the Cape of Good Hope, which gave her the nucleus of an empire in South Africa; Ceylon and Mauritius in the Pacific; Tobago, Trinidad, St. Lucia, and Guiana in the Caribbean area, rounding out her West Indian holdings; Malta in the Mediterranean; and Heligoland in the North Sea.

Finally, of course, there were the provinces to the north and east of the United States: New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Upper and Lower Canada. The migration of Loyalists as a consequence of the American Revolution had made these provinces definitely and somewhat defiantly British. The Anglo-American War of 1812 had an effect at once similar and dissimilar. The threat of American expansion tended to make the Canadians more conscious of their British connection upon which they were dependent for protection, but at the same time, their loyal support of the mother country marked their first real co-operative action as a united Canada, thus increasing the development of a national consciousness. This led to a crescive demand by the Canadians for responsible self-government.¹ In the year of Victoria's accession, abortive and ill-led minority rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada roused the British government to the need for action. Lord Durham, a liberal Whig, was sent to investigate the situation, and his report led directly to the union of the two Canadas, and indirectly to the granting of responsible government. The latter was finally achieved in 1849 under the governorship of Lord Elgin. Meanwhile a change in British economic policy, foreshadowed by the reforms of Huskisson, had resulted in loosening the economic ties of empire and promoting Canadian-American intimacy. Any fears that this would lead to American expansion at Canadian expense or with Canadian co-operation were dispelled by the British North America Act of 1867 which united Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec (Lower Canada), and Ontario (Upper Canada), into the Dominion of Canada.

In brief reprise, when on that June morning more than a century ago, the girl Victoria was aroused from her sleep to be told that she was now Victoria Regina, Great Britain had already experienced a quasi-revolution. The political and social monopoly of the landed, Anglican aristocrat had been successfully challenged by the increas-

¹ Until mid-century, the provinces were ruled by a governor appointed by the colonial office, assisted by councils of his appointment. The elective assemblies, which were the lower houses of the legislature, had relatively little power.

ingly powerful plutocracy. Parliament had ceased to be the tool of the one and was on its way to being the voice of the other. The traditional mercantilism was slowly yielding to the free-trade demands of the classes to whom the world was a market. And Englishmen could already boast of an empire upon which the sun never set.

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The Mechanization of Life

A. THE FOUNDATIONS OF COSMOPOLITANISM

Few aspects of the development of western society are more intriguing than the ways and means by which men broadened their horizons, literally and figuratively, and in seeming paradox, shrunk the world by bringing its many peoples into closer contact. The story is long, for it has been a continuous thread in the human pattern. It is also complex and, to him who would tell it in short compass, somewhat appalling in its ramifications. Treating it as a whole does violence to chronology but it does emphasize the element of continuity. Of the many possible approaches, we have chosen the broad ones of the growth of cosmopolitanism and the increasing mechanization of life.

In many respects men are today members of a cosmopolitan world society. If Hitler goes to Berchtesgaden, the citizens of Kansas, of Capetown, of Tokyo, will know of it within twenty-four hours and all of them, more or less simultaneously, will speculate upon its significance. At his table modern man may enjoy the tea of India or the coffee of Brazil, and perishable delicacies from the most remote regions of the earth; he may ride in an automobile which has been manufactured from materials imported from many distant lands; and if he so desires he may talk directly with most of the world by telephone. These are things so common in our daily lives that we seldom realize that they are of recent origin. Yet much less than a century ago men remained ignorant of the events in their own locality longer than we do now of events in the entire world; and their material existence was determined largely by the produce of their own communities. Economically, intellectually, and indeed politically, the bonds of human interdependence appear to be tightening steadily.

It is impossible to ascribe this transition to any single circum-

stance; it is the consequence of accumulating scientific knowledge, of constantly improving systems of communication, of mechanized industrial production, and all of those other factors in civilization's advance which have contributed to the slow conquest of time and space. The mountain barrier and the swift-running river once cut off peoples from contacts with those beyond and forced them into isolation. The mountain is now tunneled from beneath and crossed above by radio waves; the river has been bridged. The ocean is no longer a forbidding obstruction but a ready means for the communication of ideas and the transportation of goods.

A fundamental prerequisite to cosmopolitan, as distinguished from localized, society would appear to be trade and commerce, stimulating mutual understanding or possibly mutual antipathy, but in any case establishing a degree of economic interdependence. The existence of this on a fairly extensive scale is what distinguished ancient from medieval society; its great revival and extension in modern and contemporary times has helped to make our era unique. For medieval men, necessary contacts with the outside world were reduced to a minimum, and what happened beyond the confines of the manor was more than likely to be a matter of small concern. By contrast, Greece and Rome had been cosmopolitan. Life depended to a substantial extent upon the trade of the Mediterranean and isolation was neither possible nor practical. It is much less so today.

Significantly enough, however, the world-scale economy has not produced a cosmopolitan political and cultural society. The odd fact is that this was most nearly approximated in the period of medieval localism under the ægis of the Church. Yet at those times when the interchange of goods and ideas has been freest, when men have been able to project themselves beyond the limits of their own locality, there has always prevailed the hope of achieving a veritable world society. The Stoics of the Hellenistic and Roman ages envisioned this and conceived themselves to be "citizens of the world." During the eighteenth century, when the broadening effects of great geographical and economic expansion had borne in upon the intellectual world, and when science had postulated a natural order for men, this humanitarian faith was strengthened. The men of the Enlightenment also considered themselves to be "citizens of the world" and, so far as their intellectual labors were concerned, acted as though they were members of a great international republic of letters. Many of them scorned nationalism as an obstacle to the attainment of a

world society, and, in the final analysis, believed all men brothers. During the nineteenth century their faith in the rationality of men and in the imminence of a world society gave way to increasing skepticism and a rising confidence in the virtues of nationalism. But this did not mean that the hope of achieving a true world society had been abandoned. Indeed, optimistic and idealistic nationalists, influenced by the humanitarianism of the rationalists themselves, sincerely believed that the nation-state might be made the basis for a world state and that national culture might be made the basis for world culture. Others, less hopeful of the possibilities of political and cultural nationalism, came to feel that eventually the internationalizing of economic life with its accompanying speeding up of exchange of ideas must sometime clear away the practical obstructions to a true international order.

However, the fact remains that those very forces which have operated to make men more completely interdependent in an economic sense have thus far also strengthened the forces which keep them apart. The era of discoveries and explorations, and, even more, the age of expanding markets and expanding business after 1870 were precisely those times when nationalism was rampant. It is true that so long as Britain was predominant in the industrial world, the English bourgeoisie were internationalists, favoring free trade and peace among nations. But the competition of business soon made them, as well as their rivals in other nations, bent upon securing control of foreign markets and supplies and, at the same time, of protecting themselves by closing their home markets to others. Moreover, improved facilities of travel and communication probably made as many intense nationalists as cosmopolitans, and even popular education which came in the wake of international trade and commerce enforced rather than diminished the cultural peculiarities of various peoples. Against these strengthened forces of nationalism, those of internationalism and cosmopolitanism have been thus far comparatively impotent. The interdependence of men is more than ever keenly recognized; that their fortunes and misfortunes are common in the larger sense is better understood; intellectually, men are more cosmopolitan; but still they have not achieved a world society. Perhaps, however, it is not too much to hope that in some distant future, common economic needs and such instruments for the communication of ideas as the radio will clear away many of the cultural obstructions to a genuine cosmopolitanism.

B. CHARTING NEW SEAS

The reader will recall that beginning in the tenth century Europe experienced a marked commercial revival.¹ This was due chiefly to the stability and security offered by feudalism which made possible the reappearance of the economic promise; the increase in population and the conquest of more land from men and from nature; and the rise of Venice and Flanders as trading centers. Trade recovery opened fresh markets for labor and for capital, tapped new sources of wealth, and made feasible an expansion of credit. It raised the general standard of living, and at the same time brought a different distribution of wealth which was mirrored in the development of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Feudalism became anachronistic; serfdom decayed; and agriculture began to change from small-scale subsistence farming to larger-scale profit farming. Politically, the change was reflected in the growth of national monarchies and the eventual emergence of nation-states. The trade revival also resulted in a steadily crescentive secularization of society in which the Renaissance represents a climactic period.

One phase of the Renaissance was the so-called Commercial Revolution, less a revolution in the usual meaning of the word than the culmination, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of a long, slow process begun at least half a millennium before. A many-sided movement, the Commercial Revolution does not lend itself to easy or short definition. It encompassed the development of new trade and new trade routes which eventually reduced the Mediterranean trade to a portion of the whole and undermined the importance and wealth of the Italian cities. At the same time it both caused a northward shift of commercial centers and was itself in part a result of that shift. It meant that commerce became national and international instead of remaining local and intermural. Perhaps the clearest evidence of this was the growth of mercantilism which was definitely a national policy. Finally, the Commercial Revolution included also an increase in the quantity and variety of goods and the development of new forms of business enterprise.

Among the factors responsible for these changes the most important was the growth of nation-states. Only nations were rich enough or strong enough to begin and maintain transoceanic commerce. It was necessary that a strong centralized government provide a peace

¹ See Chapter XI.

area in which trade could flourish at home, and, further, that the government be strong enough to protect its merchants both against pirates and against the medieval strand laws and other trade restrictions. The relationship between the nation-states and the new trade was reciprocal: each strengthened and profited the other. A second important factor was the marked increase in self-confidence among the peoples of the new nations. The Crusades were an evidence of this self-assurance; they were also a sort of preliminary trial in European colonization and business expansion. As was pointed out earlier, the Crusades stimulated and accelerated the trade revival. They aroused a larger demand for eastern goods; brought a prosperity to the Italian city-states which was reflected throughout the rest of Europe; gave practical experience in shipbuilding, navigation, and water-borne commerce; and promoted money economy and the evolution of various devices for the extension and employment of credit. It might be added that their termination released men, ships, money, and energies which soon found their way into overseas explorations and trade. Other forces which tended in the same direction were the desire for profits, always one of the strongest and most constant motives; the increase in geographical knowledge, which will be discussed shortly; the improvements made in the fourteenth century in the design and rigging of ships; and the discovery or development of instruments for navigation such as the compass and the astrolabe.

To appreciate fully the extent and the meaning of the explorations and discoveries which both preceded and were part of the Commercial Revolution, it is necessary to cast a brief glance backward to see what the situation had been. The ancients, who knew the Mediterranean area fairly well, had no notion of the world as a whole. Their most famous and influential geographer, Ptolemy (c. 130 A.D.), thought, for example, that Africa was a barren, uninhabitable desert which stretched south and east to Asia. Most of the early middle ages accepted his dicta and further obscured fact by using the Bible as their major geographical authority. On this basis, they assumed that the world was flat and that Jerusalem was its center. During the later middle ages, many voyages and journeys of discovery were undertaken but not all of this new knowledge reached Europe. The Vikings, from the ninth century on, made extensive explorations in the west, and the Arabs explored the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, but none of the Viking and few of the Arab discoveries seem to have been known to Europe. Travelers in the thir-

teenth century penetrated into the Middle East, and the famous Polo family of Venice made their way to China and returned with a detailed account of it and of their travels. Geographers, however, paid little heed until the fifteenth century. In summary, the men of the fourteenth century knew only Europe, North Africa, and the Near East; but they had heard rumors of the Far East.

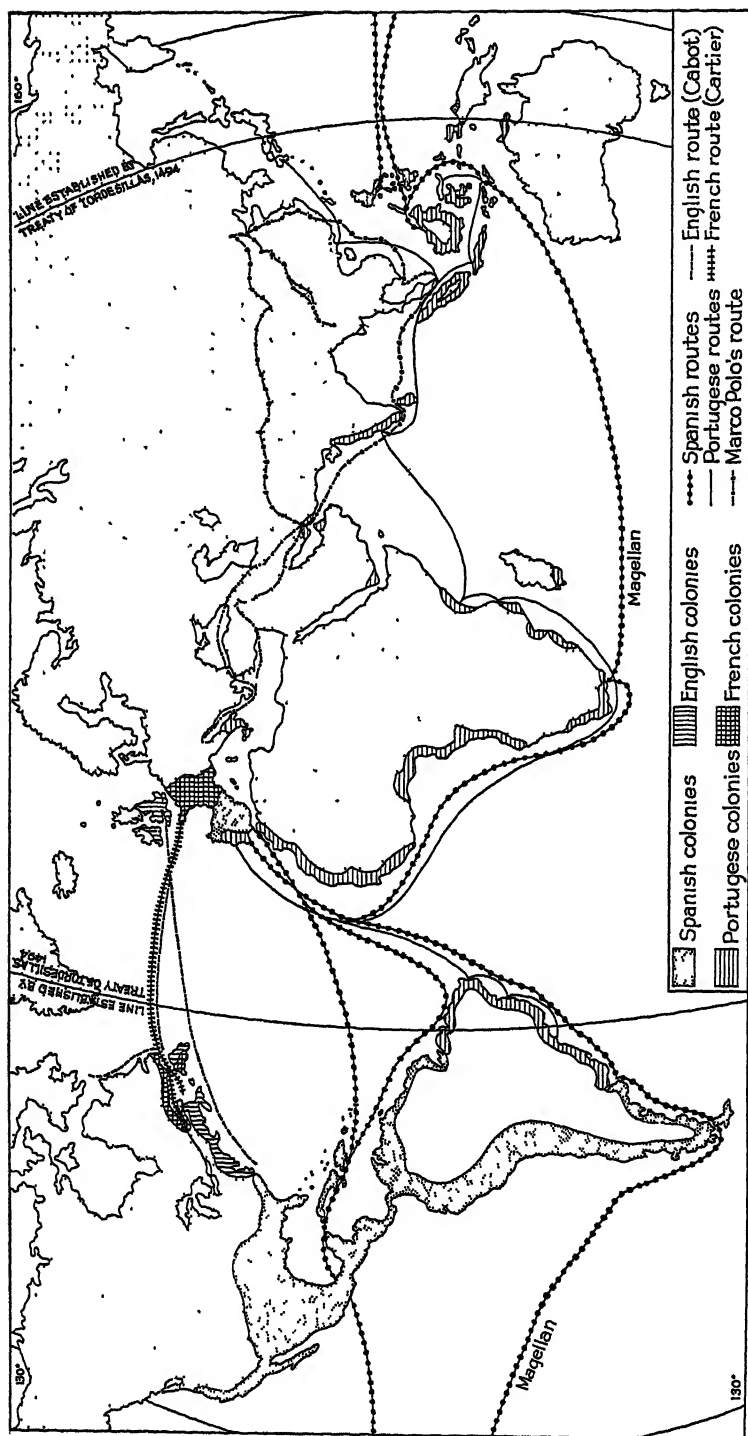
The outburst of exploring activity in the fifteenth century seems to have been due to three things: Renaissance curiosity; the desire to proselytize—there was a strong wave of religiosity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and commercial motives. The last included: (1) an increased demand for eastern goods, due to the growth of population, the increase of wealth, and the Crusades; (2) the desire to find an easier and cheaper route which would replace the overland routes controlled by the Turks and Arabs;¹ and (3) the ambition of the new nation-states to break the monopoly of this trade which the Italian cities enjoyed.

Repetition of the familiar stories of the voyages made by the explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would serve no purpose even if space permitted. The pioneer was the Portuguese, Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), not himself an explorer but an organizer and co-ordinator of exploring activity. He was followed by Bartolomeu Diaz who opened the route around Africa (1486-1488) which remained for four centuries the main sea road to the East; Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), too famous to need comment; Vasco da Gama who first sailed to India in 1497 and 1498; Amerigo Vespucci who may have discovered Brazil in 1499, and whose first name was given to the new continents; Fernando Magellan whose ships circumnavigated the globe (1519-1522); and many others of equal or lesser note. Suffice it to say that by the middle of the sixteenth century, the Americas, China, the Philippines, India, and the Spice Islands, and the coasts of Africa had been brought within the range of European knowledge, trade, and colonization.²

Part and parcel of this overseas expansion were major changes in the economic structure of society. The shift from barter economy to money economy, which began with the tenth-century commercial revival, had gone on apace. Just how this change took place is

¹ Contrary to the popular misconception, the conquering Turks did not close the overland trade routes. They did, however, levy heavier taxes on the trade and so increased the cost of oriental goods.

² A summary of the growth of colonial empires is given in Chapter XVIII.



MAP 29. EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION, FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

not wholly clear, but the phenomenon becomes slightly less baffling if one remembers that money, fundamentally, is nothing more than some desirable commodity which can be easily transported and readily exchanged for other commodities. The growth of nation-states, which as was previously explained was furthered by the use of money, greatly facilitated this change by increasing the areas wherein the national money was readily exchangeable. The expansion of credit was likewise accelerated when law and order were established within a nation, thus rendering the completion of deferred exchange both more feasible and more likely.

It will be remembered that the form of business enterprise developed by the tenth-century revival was the gild. For some centuries, these gilds served adequately but both trade and industry outgrew them in time. There appeared an *entrepreneur* or middleman who had accumulated enough capital to buy a stock of goods, transport them if necessary, and sell them to smaller-scale merchants who retailed them to the consumer.¹ Eventually the need for more capital or greater protection led individual *entrepreneurs* to form partnerships and, later, companies. The first of these companies were of the type known as "regulated" or "chartered." The typical charter, granted by the king, gave the company a monopoly of a certain trade in a fixed area. Individual members of the company were free to trade within that area, subject to the rules and regulations of the company itself. Sometimes, companies licensed non-members to trade in the area also. The distinctive feature of a regulated company was that each member traded on his own without any pooling of resources. Usually, however, each member was liable in full for the debts of his company.

This device served reasonably well but it did not solve the problem of financing the long and costly transoceanic voyages of the sixteenth century. To surmount this, there was developed what is known as a joint-stock company. These also were usually chartered by the Crown and given monopoly rights. But in distinction to the older regulated companies, a joint-stock company represented the pooling of capital. Shares were sold, first for a single voyage, later in a company. Anyone might buy and the shares were transferable. Furthermore, the shareholder's liability was limited to the value of his shares. In the beginning, each shareholder was paid off after every

¹ A similar middleman appeared also in industry and caused a gradual transformation from the gild to the domestic system. This was discussed in connection with Tudor England. See pp. 465-466.

THE MECHANIZATION OF LIFE

age. If he desired to participate again he had to buy new shares. If, when the shares were regarded as being in the company rather than in a single voyage, they remained valid and the owner was repaid by dividends. This corresponds quite closely to modern practice.

The relation of the new companies to the national governments was close and important, but highly variable. Usually the Crown received a share of the profits and the governments often benefited in fees, customs dues, and other taxes. It was also the ordinary circumstance for governments to borrow heavily from the companies, and sometimes to fail to repay the loans. Company agents were frequently used by the government for diplomatic and other purposes, and in several instances, most notably those of the East India Companies of England and the Netherlands, as empire builders. On the other hand, some companies occasionally bent the governments to their will and benefited greatly thereby. Their effect upon national prosperity is controversial, but some experts believe that their exclusiveness, and their monopolistic and mercantilistic policies were shortsighted and eventually injurious both to themselves and to the public.

Of equal importance to this growth of commercial capitalism was the development of banking and exchange. The first medieval bankers were probably money-changers whose reputations were so excellent that men trusted them with the keeping of their valuables as deposit.¹ Gradually, the embryo banker gained permission to use (invest) some of the funds left with him, paying (interest) for that privilege. He also fell into the practice of advancing sums (loans) to his patrons for which he charged a fee (interest). Sometimes he probably held the valuables as security (collateral) that the loan would be repaid. Interest charges were high and variable, but by the sixteenth century the general European average was 16 percent. In much the same accidental way, bills of exchange, letters of credit, and checks all came into use. These various practices just sketched were quite common prior to the Commercial Revolution, but they were vastly extended and refined during it. An interesting evi-

¹ There were many variations in the development and characteristics of regulated and joint-stock companies, but the multiplicity of detail does not invalidate generalizations about them. In this and the remainder of the discussion of companies, the authors have in mind the English experiences which are thus used as prototypes of the general development.

² This description is largely conjectural. Details of the development of banking are unknown. The use of parentheses is for the purpose of suggesting the modern practice which evolved from these beginnings.

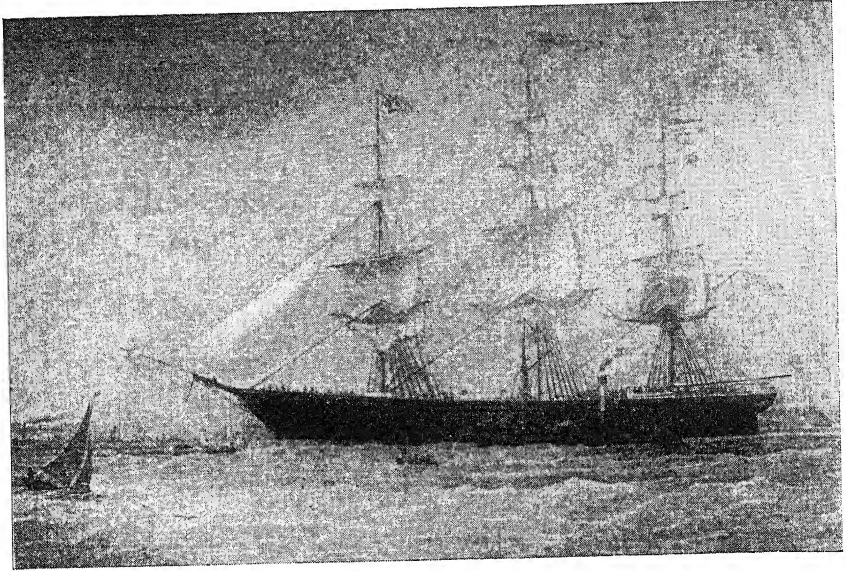
dence both of the growth of banking and of the northward shift of commercial and financial centers is offered by a comparison of the leading bankers of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The fourteenth century leaders were the Peruzzi who had an estimated capital of \$800,000. They lost their leadership in the next century to the Medici, whose capital is estimated at between five and seven and one-half millions of dollars. Both Italian bankers were eclipsed in the sixteenth century by the Fuggers of South Germany who at their height had a capital of probably forty million dollars. The first of the great modern banks was the Bank of Amsterdam, founded in 1608; the foundation of the Bank of England (1698) has already been discussed in another connection.¹ Both were very closely connected with the city government of Amsterdam and the government of England, respectively.

Stock exchanges as we know them did not develop until the late seventeenth century when one was founded in London (1698). The earlier exchanges, of which the Antwerp *bourse* (1531) was the prime example, dealt very little, if at all, in stocks. There was some trading in commodities and a great deal of speculation on rates of money exchange and prices. Lotteries were common and popular, and betting was rife. Insurance, both short term life and maritime, which had appeared in medieval Italy, developed also.

Commercial and financial capitalism were partially dependent upon another development of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: the influx of gold and silver from the New World. Late in the Middle Ages these were mined in considerable quantity in Central Europe and, after the Portuguese had opened trade with West Africa, some was imported from there. But by far the most important single source was the Spanish dominions in the New World. We have no way of knowing the amount imported or the portion of it which was coined. Neither do we know how much of Europe's whole supply of the precious metals was circulated as coinage and how much went into plates, ornaments, and the like. It is usually estimated, however, that the amount of European coinage increased about 1,200 percent during the sixteenth century.

Since gold and silver are commodities, their appearance in greater quantities rendered them relatively less desirable. This meant that an ounce of silver, for example, would "buy," i.e., could be exchanged for, smaller amounts of other goods than before. Put in more familiar terms, the price of commodities other than gold or silver rose. This

¹ See p. 52.



CLIPPER SHIP

The fastest sailing ships ever built were the "clipper ships" developed in America and England during the first half of the nineteenth century. This is a picture of the *James Baines*, an Australian packet built in the 1840's by Donald McKay for Messrs. Baines and Co. of Liverpool. It was one of the ships of the Black Ball line, as the flag indicates.

is not to say, however, that the tremendous dislocation of prices apparent in the sixteenth century was caused solely by the influx of gold and silver. The expansion of credit, the growth of banking, the existence of monopolies, and the improvements in transportation were among the other factors.¹

Two other aspects of the Commercial Revolution should be noted before an attempt is made to summarize its results. The opening of new lands, the cheapness of water-borne commerce, and the expansion of business brought to Europe an amazing variety of new goods, among which may be mentioned by way of illustration: tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, potatoes, and tropical fruits. Europe was also supplied with much greater quantities of such familiar things as fish, fur, lumber, silks, spices, and drugs. The second item concerns agriculture. For centuries, farming had been for subsistence; now a beginning was made in larger-scale farming for a profit. Some men

¹ Lack of statistical information prevents any detailed or wholly satisfactory discussion of the rise in prices. However, it has been estimated that in England wheat rose from about four shillings per quarter in the thirteenth century to approximately thirty-five shillings per quarter in 1660. Other prices presumably increased in similar proportions.

of wealth invested their capital in the purchase of land and the employment of labor to till it. This tended to displace small-scale farmers, reducing some of them to tenant status, forcing others to become agricultural laborers, and driving others to the growing cities in search of employment.¹

For the sake of clarity, the more important consequences of the Commercial Revolution will be summarized under the separate headings of economic, social, and political. It must be remembered, of course, that such division is arbitrary and somewhat misleading since there was much overlapping and interaction. The steady rise in the standard of living, for example, was both an important economic and a significant social consequence. The other major economic results have already been stated or implied and need only be listed here. International and oceanic trade came to overshadow intermural and thalassic commerce, though of course, local trade not only continued but flourished. There was an increased use of specie and a further development of money and credit economy. New forms of business enterprise evolved, and new outlets were offered for wealth and labor. The amount of wealth and of capital available for further investment also increased, and the era of commercial capitalism, when wealth was derived chiefly from trade and reinvested in trade, in the domestic system and agriculture, began. The continuing shift in the distribution of wealth from landowner to merchant and manufacturer greatly augmented the numbers and powers of the bourgeoisie. It was also reflected in the growth of the proletariat. The social and political consequences of these developments have been treated at some length and will be followed in the succeeding chapters. In repetition, it may be remarked that the creative political power of the bourgeoisie was used first in support of royal authority and then successfully to challenge that authority. From the viewpoint of intellectual results, the Commercial Revolution enlarged the range, the variety, and volume of men's knowledge; and provided powerful stimulus for tolerance and cosmopolitanism.

There was also a close kinship between the Commercial and the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions which are to be discussed in the last part of this chapter. In the case of the Agricultural Revolution, the capitalization of agriculture provided both the means and the incentives for the improvements of methods; the higher standards

¹ One phase of this development was the English enclosure movement already discussed. See p. 466.

of living, the growth in population, and its shift from rural to urban areas produced a greater need and demand for foodstuffs. Much the same causal connection existed with the Industrial Revolution. Commercial capitalism supplied the wealth for investment in industry; the New World produced raw materials, such as cotton, in quantities too great to be manufactured profitably by hand; and the potential and actual market for manufactures was greatly expanded at home by the augmented purchasing power of the bourgeoisie, and abroad by the foundation and growth of colonies. In short, the so-called Commercial, Agricultural, and Industrial Revolutions were really climactic phases of the continuous economic changes taking place in western society.

C. FARM AND FACTORY

Despite the changes wrought by the Commercial Revolution, agriculture long continued to be the major support of life. What is more, agricultural methods remained essentially medieval until the eighteenth century.¹ Most land was still unfenced, the three-field system of planting was still practiced, and pasturage and woodlots were co-operatively owned. Tools were crude, primitive, and inefficient. Crop rotation was only vaguely understood, and little use was made of fertilizer. The majority of the people were peasantry, living in isolation or in small, rural villages. Their habitual lot was poverty, but withal, they usually enjoyed a measure of security which would compare favorably with that of union labor today. It was, of course, inevitable that the socio-economic changes of the Commercial Revolution should react upon this system; the two, in fact, cannot be divorced from each other. The first nation to feel the effects of this impact was England; and since that country led also in industrial developments, the remainder of this chapter will deal largely with the English experiences, most of which were repeated in some degree elsewhere in the West.

The most important single cause for the revolution in agriculture was the growing demand for food which was due to an amazing increase in population and to the shift in population from country to town. The rate of population growth was exceedingly rapid as attested by the fact that in England the population was augmented by more than three million between 1750 and 1801. Growth in the preceding seven centuries had been only five million. The enclosure

¹ For a discussion of medieval agriculture, see pp. 148-154.

movement, by driving small farmers from the land, placed a greater burden on those who were left and thus swelled the demand for food. As enclosures increased, and this was one aspect of the Agricultural Revolution, more men sought work in the growing towns, thus expanding both the labor supply and the number who were dependent upon others for the production of their food.

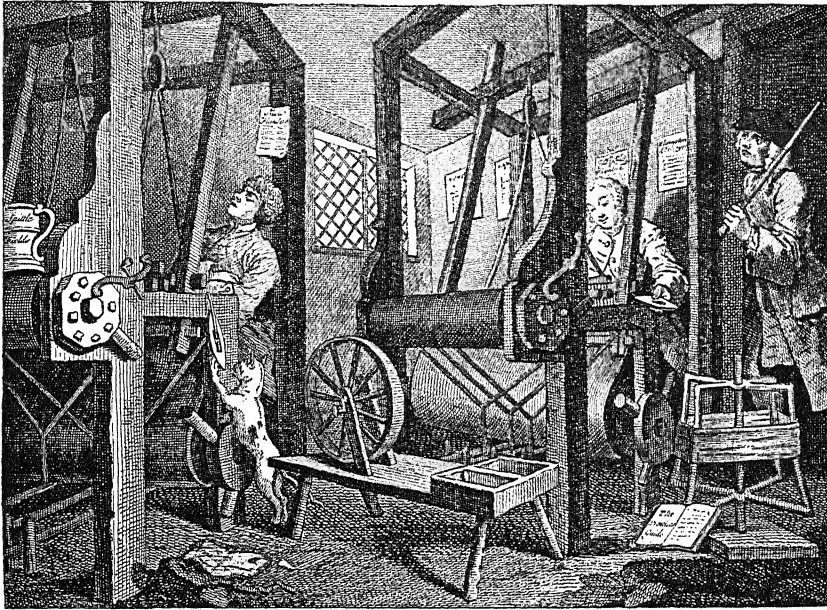
Aside from enclosures and their results, the Revolution effected many improvements in agricultural methods. New tools and implements were invented, and old ones, improved. Iron plows replaced those of wood and various devices for cultivating, such as harrows, were introduced. The pioneer in this was an Englishman, Jethro Tull (1674-1740) who invented a seed drill for planting grains, and who led in the then novel practice of cultivating crops other than grain. Another English pioneer was Lord Townshend (1674-1738) who introduced the practice of rotating crops, i.e., planting one year grain, the next clover, and so on. In this way, the soil was not exhausted of its nitrates so that it was no longer necessary to let one-third of the land lie fallow each year. Townshend also experimented with the use of fertilizer to restore and preserve the fertility of the soil. Improved implements and methods yielded larger crops, making it possible to raise more livestock. This led Robert Bakewell (1725-1795) to begin experimentation in selective breeding to produce animals especially fitted for a definite purpose. Sheep were bred for wool or for mutton; cattle for milk or for beef; horses for draft work or for riding, and so on. A fourth Englishman, Arthur Young (1741-1820), carried on extensive propaganda both for these and similar advances, and for the capitalization of agriculture which alone made such reforms possible. It seems scarcely necessary to add that the Agricultural Revolution is still going on in the fields of improved machinery, soil chemistry, and scientific farming in general.

Coincidental with and closely bound to the Agricultural Revolution was what is coming to be called the First Industrial Revolution. Like the Commercial Revolution, it was a movement so vast in scope and so long in happening that it all but staggers the imagination to attempt to picture it. Prior to it life was predominantly rural and agrarian; as a result of it, society became, in time, urban and industrial. Before it, communication and transport could move no faster than the speediest horse or sailing vessel. As invention followed invention, communication became almost instantaneous and transport unbelievably rapid. Machinery more and more supplanted

hand work; the domestic system gave way to the factory system; labor left the villages and farms to crowd into the cities near the new factories; and local self-sufficiency was replaced by international economic interdependence. Industrial capitalism¹ took its place beside commercial capitalism, eventually overshadowing it. The plutocracy definitely displaced the aristocracy of land and birth as the dominant class; the bourgeoisie continued to thrive and prosper; and scattered labor became the relatively compact industrial proletariat. In short, the Industrial Revolution and its effects permeated all of society as thoroughly as had the Church in medieval times.

This great series of changes began in eighteenth-century Britain largely because British manufacturing and exporting were already developed by that time. The gild system disappeared comparatively early in Great Britain, making possible the rapid growth of the domestic system, and British maritime superiority gave her a marked advantage in the competition for oceanic trade. The point to be remembered is that by the eighteenth century there was already a steadily mounting demand for British goods, especially cloth. Moreover, England's very insularity insulated her against European wars and disorders and thus was of great benefit to her trade and industry. Later, in the era of the French Revolution and Napoleon, that insulation enabled her to retain and increase her leadership at the expense of those areas which, devastated by war, were forced to depend more and more upon the British for manufactured goods. Peace and security within the British Isles during the eighteenth century also favored the development of industry. Furthermore, the British social system, aristocratic but flexible, offered what has been called "the social incentive to the acquisition of wealth." In other words, since it was possible to buy one's way into a higher social class, men were willing to exert themselves to that end. This, of course, was only one aspect of the ever-present profit motive. Finally, Great Britain was rich in the natural resources which were vital to industrialization. The islands produced iron, coal, and water power; the latter being especially valuable as an intermediate source of power between animals and steam. The moist, mild climate was well suited to the processing of textiles, especially wool whose threads snap and break in hot, dry air. Labor, too, Britain had in abundance, the more so

¹ Industrial capitalism is the stage where wealth, derived first from trade, later from commerce and industry itself, is reinvested chiefly in industry. Ownership of industrial and business enterprises of this stage was ordinarily synonymous with management of them.



THE INDUSTRIOUS 'PRENTICE. ETCHING BY WILLIAM HOGARTH
(1697-1764).

Hogarth was one of England's outstanding artists. A man of strong convictions, he used his satirical genius to attack the abuses and ridicule the foibles of his day. This is the first of a series of 12 etchings in which Hogarth preached the moral value of industry, a theme which was popular with the rising bourgeoisie. This picture is interesting not only as an example of Hogarth's work but also because it shows something of the processes of silk manufacturing about the middle of the eighteenth century. See also p. 534.

as enclosures continued to rob the poor of the land and force them to seek subsistence from occupations other than farming.

Undoubtedly, one of the most interesting aspects of the Industrial Revolution was the inventions which transformed manufacturing, transportation, and communications. Short of an actual catalogue, it is impossible even to list all of them. The following makes no pretense, therefore, at completeness; it merely aims to suggest some of the beginnings and the highlights.

As one would expect from the fact that the greatest demand was for cloth, the first inventions in the field of production were made in the textile industry. In 1733, John Kay invented a "flying shuttle," a spring-actuated device which carried the weft (moving thread) across the warp (fixed thread) much more rapidly than was possible with hand-thrown shuttles. This approximately doubled the production of cloth and so increased the demand for thread that the

spinners using the old-fashioned wheels were unable to keep pace. This led to the invention by James Hargreaves of a "spinning jenny," a machine by which the power delivered by a single wheel was used to spin eight threads (1765). Four years later, Richard Arkwright patented a "water-frame" which spun thread by drawing out the fibers between rollers and twisting them on revolving spindles. Run first by horsepower and later by waterpower, whence its name "water-frame," this was an expensive machine which only men of wealth could afford. Here was the prime example of the working of the new economic system. Arkwright went into partnership with two wealthy men who provided the funds to construct the "frames" and install them in factories built for that purpose. The industrial capitalist had arrived. So also had industrial labor, and the factory system had begun to supplant small-scale, domestic handicraft. The next invention, a combination of the "jenny" and the "frame" called a "spinning mule" was of the same expensive type. Its inventor, Samuel Crompton (1779), was cheated by the men who bought his first "mule" to use as a model, and, though his machine made millions for others, Crompton died in poverty. These various improvements in spinning reversed the balance until the perfection of the power loom in the early nineteenth century equalized the two processes of spinning and weaving.¹ Mention should also be made of the cotton "gin," invented in 1792 by the American, Eli Whitney. This greatly facilitated the separation of the seeds from the fibers and so provided a greater supply of cotton and led to a corresponding increase in the manufacture of cotton textiles.

The efficiency of most of this machinery was limited by the lack of satisfactory mechanical power. Water power could and did serve but something more was needed. Experiments with steam engines had long been made but without practical results until Thomas Newcomen succeeded in building one (1705-1711). The Newcomen stationary engine, used chiefly for pumping water, was crude and inefficient, but it worked. The most powerful models burned thirteen tons of coal to produce twenty horsepower, and the smaller ones were proportionately wasteful. James Watt of Glasgow perfected the Newcomen engine by adding a condenser (1764-1775), and by mastering the problem of transforming the straight power of the piston stroke into rotary motion (1782). Within less than two decades, almost three hundred Watt engines were in use in Great Britain.

¹ The power loom was patented in 1785 by Edmund Cartwright, but it was too clumsy and inefficient to be profitable.

The development of engines and other machinery soon involved changes in other fields. Precision tool-making equipment such as lathes were urgently needed and were slowly developed. Some experts go so far as to call these "tools to make tools" the keystone of the whole mechanical structure on the ground that without them complicated and delicate machinery could never have gone beyond the designer's plans. The other crying need was for more and better metals with which to construct the new machinery. This demand was answered by improvements in mining and refining ores. About the middle of the eighteenth century the Darbys (father and son) succeeded in reducing iron ore by the use of coke instead of charcoal, which was fast growing scarce and costly. This coking process, which produced "pig iron," was improved by James Smeaton who devised an effective forced draft (1760). Cheaper and easier to produce than the older malleable wrought iron, early pig iron was overly brittle due to the presence in it of a great deal of carbon. About 1783 Henry Cort and Peter Onions developed a technique known as "puddling" which gave a better, tougher iron at less cost. Puddled iron remained the chief structural material until Henry Bessemer discovered a method of producing steel by forcing blasts of hot air through molten iron (1856).

The rapid expansion of industry and commerce soon created a demand for cheaper, easier, and faster means of transportation. Late in the eighteenth century, Britain, which had lagged badly behind France in this, belatedly began to construct roads and canals. Pioneer road engineers were Thomas Telford (1757-1834) and James Macadam (1756-1836), who gave his name to a type of road construction still in use. This, however, did not solve the problem of drayage and men began to experiment with steam engines. The first steam locomotive was patented in 1802 by Richard Trevithick but it was not until 1825 that George Stephenson built a successful railway locomotive.¹ The first railway to use steam power was the Stockton and Darlington (1825) of which Stephenson was the engineer.

Meanwhile, other inventors had sought ways and means of propelling boats by steam engines. An American, John Fitch, built and operated a steamboat on the Delaware River in 1790, and an Englishman, William Symington, built a steam tugboat which was used briefly on the Forth and Clyde canal in Scotland in 1802. But the first successful promoter of steamships was the American, Robert

¹ Trevithick's locomotives were designed for use on highways.

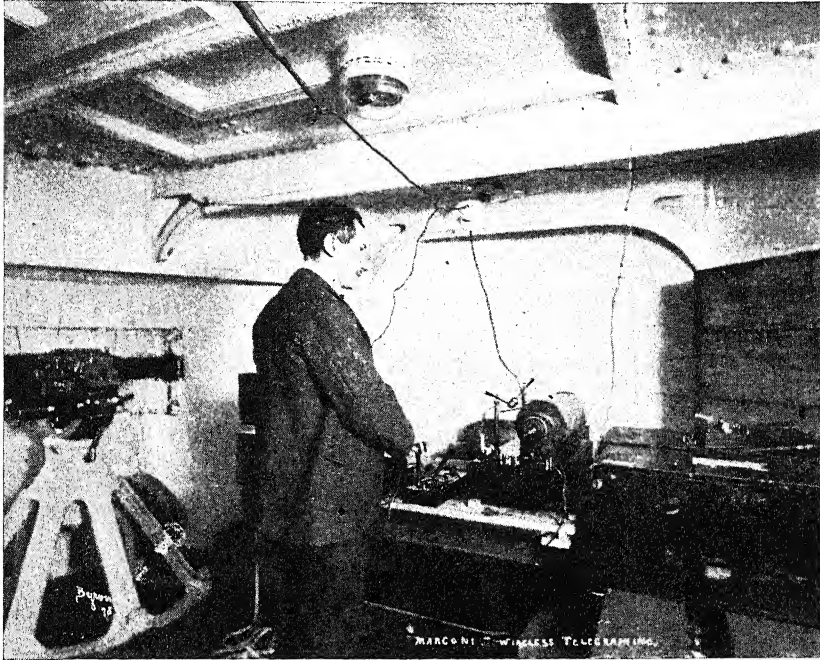
Fulton, who designed, built, and operated the *Clermont* on the Hudson River in 1807. Eight years later he built the first steam warship for the United States Navy. The pioneer steam crossings of the Atlantic were made in 1838 by the *Sirius*, which made the trip in eighteen days, and the *Great Western* which did it in fifteen days.

Communications developed more slowly. In 1837, an Englishman, Charles Wheatstone, and an American, Samuel Morse, both patented an electric telegraph. It was not until 1876 that Alexander Graham Bell produced a workable telephone.

The reader hardly needs to be told that the Industrial Revolution continued throughout the nineteenth century and is still in progress. Some historians in recent years have termed the period from about 1870 on the "Second Industrial Revolution." This is convenient and satisfactory if it is borne in mind that the separation is purely arbitrary and implies no real break in the continuity. The Second Revolution presented the same general features as the First: improved and increasing mechanization; new inventions and techniques; novel and larger forms of capital enterprises. No attempt can be made here to follow this story since to do so with any completeness would involve not only the history of the many changes but a description of the current situation as well. It must suffice to suggest by way of illustration that machinery for production has steadily become more complex and more efficient; that Stephenson's locomotive has been improved to the streamliner stage, and the *Clermont* to the *Queen Mary*; that Bessemer steel has been developed into stainless steel; and that telegraphy and telephony have been supplemented by the teletype, the telephone, and the radio.

Besides continuing already established fields, the Second Industrial Revolution has had some unique developments of its own. Industrial capitalism grew into monopoly capitalism, marked by large-scale industry, and the growth of corporative ownership which transformed the capitalist from an active owner-manager into an investor. This, in turn, resulted in the growth of finance capitalism, a stage in which ownership is almost wholly divorced from management, and control of industry and business tends to center in a few great banks and financial houses. Both Revolutions have resulted in a vast increase in wealth—and in a tendency to concentrate the ownership of that wealth in the hands of a few.

The Second Revolution was also distinguished by the marriage of science and industry which resulted in the development of whole groups of new industries. These may be listed under four headings:



Byron from T. F. Healy

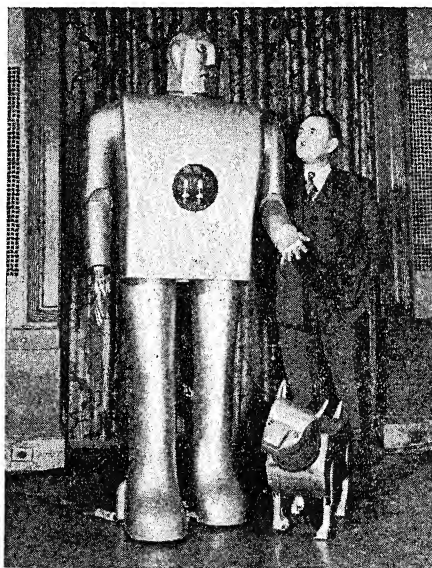
MARCONI WITH HIS WIRELESS APPARATUS

Guglielmo Marconi (1874-1937), perfecter of the radio, conducted his first successful experiment with wireless transmission in 1895 in his native Italy. When the Italian government showed no interest in his discovery, Marconi secured a patent in England, and in London, 1897, there was organized the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company. Transmission was at first possible for only short distances, but improvements came so rapidly that in 1901 a trans-Atlantic communication was made.

(1) electrical, including the telephone, the telegraph, the radio, trolley cars, railways, and all forms and uses of electrical power; (2) aids to physical comfort such as heaters, refrigerators, plumbing, sewing machines, rayon, and plastics; (3) internal combustion engines—automotive, including Diesels, aviation, and the closely related fields of petroleum production and processing, rubber, and cement; and (4) photographic industries, including, of course, the movies. By no means exhaustive, this listing is merely suggestive.

The second phase was further marked by the spread of industrialism and its concomitants from Britain and Belgium to all the western world and even to the Orient; and by the steady urbanization of society. Proof of this latter change is the fact that whereas the urban, industrial population exceeded the rural, agrarian groups only in Great Britain and Belgium in 1870, by 1910 it was the larger group in Germany and the United States also.

In conclusion, since the next chapter will deal at some length with the social and political consequences of the Industrial Revolution, it is only necessary to summarize some of the economic results which have not already been mentioned. One of the most spectacular was the tremendous increase in production. For example, the production of coal in Great Britain was 17,350 tons in 1740; 12,000,000 in 1800; 110,000,000 in 1870; and 265,000,000 in 1910 when it was only about twenty-five percent of the world's output.¹ Similarly, the value of British cotton manufactures rose 600 percent between 1750 and 1910. In addition, costs per unit were lowered, making possible a wider distribution of goods. Another consequence was the growth of international trade which may be illustrated by the fact that in 1792 the United States' export of cotton was 275 bales; in 1913, it was 9,250,000. Finally, this development plus the export of capital, enormously augmented the economic interdependence of the world.



Courtesy of Westinghouse

THE ROBOT, ELEKTRO

Elektro stands seven feet tall in his shining aluminum armor. Eleven motors, operated by remote control, enable him to obey verbal orders (according to the number and spacing of syllables), to walk forward or back, count to ten on his fingers, smoke a cigarette, talk, sing, etc. He might well stand as a symbol of the "mechanization of life."

¹ These figures, while reasonably accurate, are only approximate.

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¹ See also the bibliography for Chapter XXIII.

Class Distinctions of Modern Society

A. PROGRESS AND POVERTY

No era of human history witnessed such phenomenal advances of material welfare as that which began with the Industrial Revolution. The machine had mastered nature and had forced her to lavish her gifts bounteously with a constantly diminishing expenditure of human energy. The prices of prime necessities declined steadily until, presumably, they were in reach of all. Per capita wealth increased and standards of living rose. Undreamed-of luxuries such as the theater, the radio, the automobile, came within the grasp of all; and an increasing amount of leisure time in which to enjoy them was made available. If he wished and had the means, the common man could light his house with electricity, heat it with steam, and supply it with running water. He could travel cheaply and comfortably, and all kinds of mechanical conveniences promised to relieve his customary drudgeries—if he had the money with which to buy them. Within little more than a century, the material welfare and potential happiness of mankind had improved beyond anything which had existed since the dawn of history and, indeed, had outstripped what the most fertile imaginations had deemed possible.

Yet the coming of the machine was not an unmitigated blessing. The majority of men, the tillers of the fields and the toilers of the factories, became its chattel slaves, dependent upon its whims and fluctuating fortunes. For a steadily increasing number, work at home in an occupation of one's choice became a practical impossibility. The factory became the only alternative, and when the laborer entered it his flaunted legal and economic freedom often turned out to be a tragic mockery. His work was reduced to rigid and monotonous discipline, both labor and leisure time were strictly regulated for him, and, what is most important of all, his wages became his

only resource. The advantages of bargaining for these were mostly with the employer, for labor, like the resources of nature, became a marketable commodity. If the supply were great, and the machine steadily enlarged it by reducing the premium on personal skills and by making production more efficient, wages diminished; if the supply were reduced, wages rose. Moreover, the legal rights of property made the employer the final judge of whom he would and would not employ. If he chose to terminate one's employment there was no appeal, and the only alternatives left were to face starvation, to become a public charge upon the community, or to secure employment elsewhere. If times were "good" it would not be too difficult to get another "job"; but if they were "bad," little or no choice remained. There was nothing in the new economic system during its early career to take up the shock of recurring crises which occurred with such regularity that they came to be regarded as one of the laws of nature. The "business cycle" ran its course from "normality" through boom and decline to the depths of depression, then leveled off and began all over again. During the long periods of decline and depression, labor glutted the market, unemployment became common, and the plight of the workers grew. Wages were usually low, and even brief periods of unemployment were so disastrous financially, that it was impossible for many to store up resources against future misfortunes.

Poverty stalked in the midst of plenty. While statistics revealed steadily mounting material welfare and the growth of national and per capita wealth, hundreds of thousands of wretchedly poor filled the slums of the great urban communities. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries humanitarian sympathies were deeply moved by these conditions; laborers sought to save themselves and organized for common action; wealthy philanthropists contributed for material relief; municipal and national governments embarked upon vast programs of social reform. Many of the worst evils disappeared, but, from the experience of the Great Depression of our own times, the conclusion seems inescapable that at best what has thus far been done to solve the problem has been a momentary palliative, not by any means a cure. The problem of poverty in the midst of plenty still remains, indeed is more acute than at any time since the machine came into being; it is the great challenge of the modern era, begging for a prompt solution.

The crux of the present difficulty would appear to be that of technological unemployment, a natural and seemingly inevitable con-

sequence of mechanical progress. Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution machinery has become both more productive and more automatic until now, in many industries, it is capable of performing all of the necessary operations under the watchful eyes of a comparatively small number of men. While formerly it was possible to absorb the labor thus displaced in pioneering adventures or in other industries which sprang up to supply a constantly expanding market, today neither of these favorable conditions prevails. Much of the frontier has been absorbed and, what is more important, improvements in machinery have proceeded more rapidly than the market has expanded. The amount of labor required to supply it has therefore actually diminished. If these assumptions are correct, the problem of unemployment is basically technological, and no solution of the contemporary economic difficulties will suffice unless this is taken into account. In the final analysis, the bulk of purchasing power belongs to those who labor; if they cannot earn a wage, they cannot buy; and if they cannot buy, business dries up. A great body of more or less permanently unemployed can therefore hold out only the promise of economic stagnation. It is important also to remember, in this connection, the suggestion of able economists that even if the solution of technological unemployment be found, there also must be discovered some way of equalizing the returns of capital and labor, so that the fundamentally important purchasing power of the latter should not tend to diminish to the point at which the market vanishes and crises in the whole economic system consequently occur. It is essential to make distribution and consumption of goods equally as efficient as production.

Every government of the western world has been struggling with the problem of poverty in the midst of plenty. Millions of unemployed in nations of great natural wealth, ample to accommodate all, is not only illogical but dangerous. The solutions offered thus far have varied all the way from the most highly regimented economic activity within the state, as in Communist Russia, Fascist Italy, or Nazi Germany, to an elaborate system of doles and public works programs within the existing political framework, as in the United States. It is fair to say that none has been really effective. Doles and expensive public works, provided for through taxes upon business and the rich, make the middle class resentful to the point at which they may threaten to dry up the financial springs of the government; and at the same time the unemployed are inspired to greater violence and threaten a veritable revolution. The Fascist and Communist

expedients are in most respects worse than the diseases which, among other things, they aimed to cure. One must seriously inquire in his own mind whether the loss of personal freedom is worth the loaf of bread which a regimented state may promise, but which it may withhold if it chooses. How best to reconcile personal liberties and personal initiative with a social and economic system which will ensure a greater degree of material security is the greatest problem of contemporary times.

B. INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

To use a currently popular expression, the real difficulty is that the capitalists, who own the means of production, and the laborers, who operate them, are locked in conflict. Such an arbitrary division of society into two hostile classes is superficial and technically incorrect, but it does express a fundamental truth. The control, if not the ownership of the facilities of production has become steadily concentrated in the hands of a few whose fundamental interest was profit; labor, with only its labor power to sell, was forced to accommodate itself as best it could to the profit motive. The growth of industrial capitalism gave rise to a serious social conflict.

During the very early stages of the Industrial Revolution, the relations between the capitalist and the laborer were sometimes cordial and always direct. The factory was small and the owner was usually also the operator, personally managing affairs. Expanding markets, accumulating capital, and the introduction of new and more productive machinery, however, resulted in the continuous expansion and rapid impersonalization of enterprises. The owner delegated management to paid employees and turned his attention either to new undertakings which would produce more profit or to the formulation of general business policies. By the middle of the nineteenth century, economic conditions made even this form of private ownership inexpedient for many. Larger factories, equipped with the most efficient new machinery, held out the prospect of greater net returns and provided some insurance against competition, even the chance of securing a monopoly, but the risks involved were more than one wealthy man could bear. Private ownership gave way to partnerships and these in turn gave way to great corporations, collectively owned by a number of stockholders. The corporation had great advantages. It distributed risks, and the resources which it could tap for its capitalization through the sale of profit-sharing stocks of

small denomination were almost limitless. More than that, it encouraged the consolidation of small enterprises operating near the margin in a number of fields of production, and by reducing overhead expenses, eliminating costly duplications, and destroying cutthroat competition, it either reduced the cost of the commodity to the consumer or increased the profits of the shareholder, or it struck a happy medium between both. But with the establishment of the great corporations, ownership and management were completely divorced. Many laborers, to be sure, were enabled to share an interest by becoming stockholders, but this was not the general rule, and when they did invest it was usually in such small proportion to the total that they had little or no opportunity to control policy. The men of wealth who held great blocks of stock became the directors of the corporation, determined its general policies, and then turned over its management to a trained agent whose primary obligation was to see to it that there should be profits to distribute among the shareholders.

While the corporation widened the basis of ownership through the sales of stocks, it also concentrated the control of the most important agencies of production in the hands of fewer and fewer individuals. By well-placed investments, men with sufficient liquid wealth have been able to acquire controlling stock in a variety of enterprises, and by establishing a holding company or by setting up a variety of interlocking directorates, have actually dominated industries with capitalizations many times as great as their investments. Thus, for example, it has been estimated that J. P. Morgan and Company, with a capitalization of something above 50 million dollars controls a series of productive enterprises with a capitalization roughly estimated at 55 billion dollars. Because this form of remote control has been realized through financial manipulation, it is usually referred to as finance capitalism. It means that ultimate responsibility for the policies of key industries rests with this relatively small number of finance capitalists, many times removed from the laborers who run the machinery. The growth of an increasingly impersonal relationship between the factory and the worker is one of the elemental characteristics of the present capitalistic system, and because of it labor and capital find it difficult to understand each other and to reach adjustments.

Besides the concentration of production control and the impersonal relationships between labor and capital, the "factory system" of industrial capitalism created other grounds for social conflict,

especially during its formative years. It would be difficult, indeed, to exaggerate the evils and abuses of the early factory. Some of these were entirely new with the Industrial Revolution; others, almost as old as civilization itself, grew greater in extent and degree. As will be explained in the next part of this chapter, many of these evils were mitigated before the end of the nineteenth century, but not without struggle and difficulty. Some of the worst of them remain. It is most convenient to describe these by reference to England, since it was there that the factory system first took shape and there that its evils and abuses appeared in clearest form. It must be understood, of course, that these were often duplicated wherever the factory was established; but, in general, the rest of Europe and the United States learned some of the ways to avoid the British experience.

One of the natural consequences of the factory system was the concentration and grouping together of workers under one establishment. While this ultimately facilitated common action in mutual self-defense, its first result was to deprive the worker of his personal freedom and expose him to a rigid, and often heartless discipline. Close regulation of the employee's activities in enterprises employing hundreds of men was obviously necessary unless chaotic conditions were to prevail, but there is little question that the early codes of conduct established by the factory owners frequently exceeded the bounds of reason. To take a typical example from a cotton factory of Manchester, England: the laborer's hours of beginning and leaving work were precisely fixed, and any deviation was punished with a fine; if he were ill and failed to secure a satisfactory substitute, the fine was six times as great as for late arrival or early leaving; coming to work dirty was punishable by fine, but so also was washing oneself during working hours; whistling or conversing with others was prohibited; and the most minute regulations governing the use of machinery and equipment, in the interest of operating economy, were enforced through a scale of graduated fines. In many instances, the factory owners went further, fixing the hour in the evening at which the laborer must be in his house, regulating his recreation when he was not at work, and limiting his privilege of travel to specified distances from the factory. These had to be endured, unless the laborer wished to face starvation, for governments during the early nineteenth century did not assume the responsibility of protecting him, and, in many fields of production, the machinery was much too cumbersome and too expensive for the laborer to become an independent producer.

The factory also brought with it the concentration of populations into urban communities. At the end of the eighteenth century more than 95 percent of the population of western Europe was rural; by the beginning of the twentieth century more than 50 percent was urban, with the concentrations steadily continuing. Great cities like London, Paris, or Berlin, with inhabitants numbering well into the millions, outdistanced anything which former ages produced, and gave the tone to contemporary civilization and culture. Industry and trade were the elemental factors in their growth, and, naturally the cities took shape in accordance with the needs and interests of both of these. There was at first little or no planning; where the factory should be located, how and where the laborers lived, were determined by the incidence of profits. Both in the older cities and in the new factory towns which sprang up close to sources of power, markets, or supplies, the living quarters of the workers were barren, congested, lacking in light and air, devoid both of hygienic facilities and recreational advantages. Disease was a natural consequence of these conditions, as was also, of course, social unrest.

Probably the worst feature of the early factory system was the nature and extent to which the labor of women and children was used. As an evil in kind this was not new. Women and children had always been employed in one form or another, and even before the Industrial Revolution the abuse had become vicious enough to excite humanitarians. John Locke, for example, had become seriously concerned over it in the late seventeenth century. But the Industrial Revolution exaggerated the problem beyond anything of which Locke had dreamed. It was of the very nature of the machine that it required simple and routine operations rather than highly specialized manual skills. A woman or a child could run it as well as a man, and what was most appealing to the factory owners, they could and would do it for considerably less wages. Therefore, because it was regarded as profitable, the employment of women and children in the factories which were so adapted became the general rule. In the cotton industries of England alone during the early nineteenth century, it has been estimated that fully 75 percent of the labor was that of women and children.

The conditions under which the children labored were particularly baneful and abusive. There were two forms of child labor, that of the "workhouse" children, or the children of the pauper poor who lived upon parish poor relief, and that of the so-called "free labor"

children who lived more or less independently with their families and contributed to the general family income through their work in the factory. The former was the more vicious and the first to arouse public concern. Many of the earliest textile factories, powered by water, had to be set up where there was no concentration of population and where, consequently, it was necessary to import labor. The easiest and cheapest arrangement was to appeal to the parish poor law authorities for children of the poor under their care, and, since this would have certain material advantages for them, the poor law authorities were frequently happy to comply. To be rid of some of the poor meant the possible opportunity of cutting down the poor law rates (taxes) of the local property holders, while at the same time it was argued that useful and disciplined employment would have great moral advantages for the children as well as for the community. Contracts were easily arranged between the poor law authorities and the manufacturers, to the advantage of all parties except the children. They were apprenticed to the factory owner usually around the age of seven and, with certain exceptions, were bound to him until the age of twenty-one. The owner promised to provide them with lodging and a certain minimum of clothes, and undertook to see that their morals were developed. The child's part of the contract could not be broken, but the manufacturer's obligation ceased if he felt it expedient to close his factory or, perchance, went bankrupt. Labor under these conditions was usually indescribably bad, as revealed by contemporary Parliamentary investigations. Hours of employment averaged between 14 and 16 per day, with no time off for breakfast and dinner, which had to be eaten while one was engaged at his regular operations. Often on Sundays a sizable portion of the children were occupied cleaning and oiling the machinery so that no time would be lost when the work-week began next day. Those not so engaged were required to attend church services, and since the church was usually located at a considerable distance from the factory, that meant a long and tiresome walk after a week of labor without adequate rest. The accommodations for these children were not calculated to give them relief when they were not at work. In a number of instances, it was revealed, as many as a half dozen children were required to occupy one bed; there was inadequate ventilation; and there was no properly controlled hygienic system.

The "free labor" children were little if any better off, though they did have the advantage of living with and under the jurisdic-

tion of their parents. The problem of this group arose in its acute stage with the development of machinery powered in such fashion as to enable the manufacturer to set up his establishment in urban communities where the labor supply was abundant. Since the labor of the children was cheaper, the frequent practice of the employer was to engage the services of the adults only in case the children worked. And, indeed, in accordance with prevailing wages, the combined labor of the entire family was absolutely necessary for subsistence. Once in the employ of a factory owner, the children were under his jurisdiction during all of their working hours, which usually ranged from five or six o'clock in the morning until about ten or eleven o'clock at night. With all of this there was usually time off for only one meal.

Neither the "workhouse" nor the "free labor" children secured anything approaching the absolutely minimum requirements of sleep, rest, or recreation. Undernourished and exhausted, they fell victim to disease and, if fortune blessed, died early; but if fate was unkind, lived on to endure added years of hardship in poverty or despair. There were many who were genuinely shocked by these conditions, but the extraordinary fact is that many were left unmoved, holding the wretchedness of the children to be the unfortunate but inescapable law of nature. Harriet Martineau, one of the early British propagandists of the virtues of the factory system, has left this choice morsel on child labor in her *Autobiography*:¹

The only hope [for the wretched factory children] seems to be that the race will die out in two or three generations, by which time machinery may be found to do their work better than their miserable selves.

The extensive employment of women and children at low rates naturally debased all wages, so that labor for excessively long hours with inadequate compensation was common for men as well. The normal working day hovered around fifteen or sixteen hours, with average wages ranging, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, from \$2.25 to \$7.50 per week. Throughout the remainder of the century, for reasons which will be examined subsequently, the hours of employment gradually declined and wages gradually increased. In 1897, the average agricultural laborer in England was receiving \$4.00 per week and the skilled artisan \$10.00 per week, for about a ten-hour labor day. The improvement was not inconsiderable, but

¹ Quoted in C. J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, II, 71.

relatively, when compared with the mounting incomes of the middle class manufacturers, it was hopelessly inadequate. The disparity between those who employed and those who labored grew steadily greater and more apparent. Possibly no feature of the factory system did more to build up the psychological basis for vigorous attacks upon it.

Low wages and excessive hours were accompanied by unhealthy, unsanitary, and unsafe conditions of labor in the factory. In the textile factories, where a certain type of humidity had to be regularly maintained, and in the glass factories, too, adequate ventilation was prohibited. Often unbearably hot during the summer, they were as unbearably cold during the winter. Adequate provision of rest rooms was the exception rather than the rule. Worse still, few if any precautions were taken against accident. If the laborer became enmeshed in unguarded belts or was maimed by exposed shafts, the fault was likely to be regarded as his, and he or his family bore the consequent financial losses from lack of employment. The owners regarded the costs of fencing in hazardous equipment as too great. Even as late as the 1850's in England their protests against government compulsion were so general that a national association of owners was created to combat it, an association which Charles Dickens properly dubbed "The National Association for the Mangling of Operatives."

By all means the most serious of the evils growing out of the factory system was the laborer's insecurity of employment. As was intimated previously, the employer held the legal right to engage or discharge a worker at will. Only his own sense of social responsibility could operate as a restraint, and while this was not lacking in some, for the majority it was certainly fickle and uncertain. If the employer discharged his employees because of the compulsion of economic circumstance, the laborer, of course, was left with no resource for the moment. His low wages were almost always so closely approximating primary poverty that unemployment for a week or two was enough to use up his meager reserves; and prolonged unemployment was potentially fatal. It was the laborer who suffered the greatest deprivation during periods of depression. For him, this dependence upon his continuously uncertain ability to sell his labor was made the more serious by the fact that through the concentrations of populations in urban communities, he was divorced from the soil, and had no avenue to prompt relief through his own

efforts. In comparison, his misery was worse than that of the medieval laborer, for the latter, at least, had some soil to which he could turn for a living. It was no relief for students, with the long range point of view, to point out that the convulsions of business and labor were only temporary; that unemployment occasioned by mechanical improvements would never last long for the labor displaced would soon be absorbed elsewhere. It never has been easy for men who have learned certain types of skills and physically adjusted themselves to them to turn to new and different employment; and, of course, during the time lag which usually intervened between employments, misery could be critically acute. Whatever might be said of the virtues of the modern age of business, it must be remembered always that it has failed miserably in providing a great proportion of the population with any reasonable degree of security. Technological advancements within the last quarter of a century have not improved this situation; indeed, they seem to have made it more critical.

Very naturally, the search for economic security constituted the central theme of the social as well as the political history of nineteenth-century Europe; it still does today in the twentieth century. It was this which vitalized the political revolutions of the '30's and the '40's, both for the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; for the former, because they felt that their own prosperity and indeed the fortunes of labor depended upon their controlling the government; for the latter, because they believed that the possible chance of securing political rights would enable them to protect themselves. It is significant that throughout much of the nineteenth century the proletarians constituted the backbone of democratic movements. The first approach to the problem of security through alliance with bourgeois parties, through parties of their own, and even through unions was basically political. Their influence was enough to make a number of the governments democratic and to force others to make concessions in the direction of democracy.

The democratization of governments brought great material improvements in the lot of the laboring classes, as will be seen shortly: public schools to which they could send their children, public care of the indigent, state regulation of factories to improve the hours and better the conditions of labor, and even public insurance against some of the more serious stresses and strains of the business world. Far-reaching and important as all of this was, it was not regarded as sufficient. To ensure greater security, labor unions resorted to eco-

conomic pressure to win better wages and secure redress of grievances. And among an increasing number of the more radically minded, the hope was held out that the whole capitalistic system might be destroyed, to be replaced by social control of the workingmen themselves.

C. PROLETARIAN DEFENSES

Among the instruments of self-defense which labor devised for its protection under the factory system, probably the most important and the most efficient was the labor union. It was built upon the logical premise that only through combination could the laborers attain an equality of bargaining power with the employer. The individual employee could not bargain, for if he were unwilling to work at a given wage or under prevailing conditions, the employer could be reasonably sure of engaging someone else who would. By combination, the situation could be potentially reversed. Through joint action on any considerable scale, the workers could substantially close the labor market in a local or even a national enterprise, and force the employer to come to terms. If he proved obstinate, they could strike and, by picketing, prevent others not pledged to the union from working, or, if it seemed advisable, they could institute a boycott to cut off the market of the manufacturer's product. By these means, the labor union aimed and still aims to win fair wages, reasonable hours, and favorable conditions.

Labor unions were not new in the nineteenth century but it was then that they sprang into prominence and became an accepted feature of the business world, though the winning of recognition and legal right to exist resulted only after a long and difficult struggle. In both France and Great Britain, labor unions had been organized during the eighteenth century, but in both countries they were held to be illegal, and strikes were considered criminal. The English Combination Laws of 1799 and 1800, restricting the rights of labor to organize, remained upon the statute books and were rather strictly enforced for the first quarter of the century. Considerable distress among the working classes, accompanied by agitation and violence, however, induced Parliament to review existing legislation and radically to reshape it by two acts (1824 and 1825). These measures legalized the formation of unions for the purpose of consulting and agreeing upon wages and hours of labor, but, in substance, they denied the unions the effective means of the strike as an instrument

for bargaining. Nevertheless, the growth of unions was rapid during the next decade and strikes were frequent. In 1834, the characteristic tendency of this period to organize all workers on a national scale, culminated in the formation of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, which aimed at a general strike to secure an eight-hour working day. Its growth had been too rapid, its organization was too weak, and the obstructions of the employers and the government too strong for it to succeed, and it disintegrated almost as soon as it had been established. For some time thereafter the union movement lost in popularity among the workers, who diverted their attention to the attainment of political and social reform through the Chartist Society. But in 1845 the unions began a new growth, organized locally by trades and gradually became federated on a national scale. The establishment of trades councils, representing the various trades unions and functioning in their common interest in the leading industrial centers, facilitated co-operation among all union members and laid the basis for a national labor movement. By 1869 the gradual evolution of conferences among delegates of these trades councils culminated in a national congress, or parliament of labor, which thereafter became an annual event. The steady and substantial growth of unionism which these developments reflected led shortly to an adjustment of the legislation governing union activities. Between 1871 and 1876, a series of laws more clearly defined the legal rights of the unions, allowed them to hold property and accumulate funds, and permitted the use of peaceful means to gain their ends. The number of unions and their membership increased immediately, and by the end of the century they had an enrollment of above 2,500,000 members. Two serious legal rebuffs, however, threatened to curtail their activities. In 1901, the House of Lords handed down the judgment (*Taff Vale Case*) that under existing statutes a union might be sued in its registered name and that its funds might be impounded for damages sustained against it. This threatened the unions with extinction by financially exhausting them. Eight years later, the House of Lords (*Osborne Case*) also maintained that a union could not employ its funds to support members of Parliament representing labor, nor could it tax its members for this purpose. This threatened to deprive the unions of the opportunities for political action in their own behalf. The labor vote was sufficiently sizable, however, to secure satisfactory legislation to annul the most damaging consequences of these decisions. In 1906, a Trade Disputes Act forbade the courts to entertain actions against the unions

for acts committed by or in their behalf; and in 1913, a Trade Union Act allowed the unions to use their funds for political purposes, provided the majority of members, through secret ballot, indicated their consent to such use, and provided members were not compelled to make contributions to this end. On the eve of the World War, therefore, the battle for recognition and rights had been substantially won, and by 1914 the unions had a membership of approximately 4,000,000. Throughout this period, the British unions concentrated their attention chiefly upon the improvement of wages and conditions of labor through direct economic pressure, though they did not neglect to use political methods for this purpose as well. Radicalism did not become as strong a force as it did in some quarters on the continent.

Next to Great Britain, the labor union movement enjoyed its greatest development in Germany. Political disunion and the tardiness of the industrial revolution, however, largely prevented its growth prior to the Franco-Prussian War. When it did take shape, it became identified with Marxian socialism and consequently suffered from repression under the Bismarckian legislation of the 1870's which was directed at the socialists. Nevertheless, a number of unions, secretly organized, continued to carry out their functions. In 1890, they were at length accorded full legal recognition and the right to employ the strike. Thereafter the unions were chiefly organized into three principal groups, one under the Social Democratic Party, one which was Catholic, and another which was expressly non-political. Including the smaller unions not affiliated with any of these groups, the unions in Germany in 1914 had a membership of 2,000,000 or more.

Trade unionism in France did not keep pace with that of either Germany or England. Eighteenth-century legislation against combinations of labor was vigorously enforced throughout more than the first half of the succeeding century, and what organization existed was largely secret. The continuing expansion of business, however, encouraged the working classes to redouble their agitation for the repeal of these statutes. In 1864, they won a partial success when they were given the right to unite for the purpose of the strike but were denied full opportunity to organize. Without abolishing these restrictions, the government, in 1868, announced that it would "tolerate" workingmen's combinations. A number of unions were thereafter organized, though without any basis founded in law, and it was not until 1884 that they were accorded full legality and were permitted to combine into federations. Despite this victory, the union move-

ment long lacked inherent strength. From the very first, the laborers became deadlocked in dispute as to whether the union should be used for political or non-political action. The National Federation of Syndicats (or local unions) which was formed in 1886 fell under Marxian influences and split for this reason. The opponents of the Marxian faction proceeded to organize *bourses du travail* (labor exchanges) in opposition to the syndicats, federated these nationally in 1892, and adopted the non-political general strike as the weapon with which to win satisfaction for the laborers. The controversy between these and the Marxians prevented united action by French labor until 1902 when an adjustment of differences permitted the formation of the General Confederation of Labor. This body adhered chiefly to the idea of non-political action through the general strike. It is to be noted that the French unions were distinctly more radical than either the German or the British. Generally speaking, they renounced the idea of winning small victories in favor of a complete economic or political revolution which would place production in the hands of the workers. Partly for this reason, and partly because of the continuing preponderance of agriculture in French life, the unions had a membership of only slightly more than a million in 1914.

Throughout the remainder of Europe the trades union movement paralleled in character and in growth that of the three major Powers. After the World War all of them experienced phenomenal expansion: membership in Britain rising by 1921 to about 8,000,000, that of Germany to 13,000,000, that of France to above 2,500,000. Throughout the world in 1921 it was estimated that there were 41,000,000 union members, 34,000,000 of whom were in Europe. Their great numerical strength and their generally identical aims inspired attempts at the formation of an International Labor Union Movement. Complete co-operation proved impossible, but in 1923 an international organization was formed at Vienna which combined some 7,000,000 various national union members and managed to co-ordinate some of their political programs. The Great Depression, and the rise of the Fascist and Nazi dictatorships, which "liquidated" organized labor in its entirety, both helped to emasculate the unions nationally and, of course, rendered the efforts to effect international union nugatory. The Third International of Soviet Russia alone has maintained a measure of international organization and this gives little indication of being popular among the workers.

Since before the war, but even more since the 1920's, a significant

change in union organization has been taking place. The older form of combining members of specialized trades in a variety of industries has been steadily losing ground. The newer method, represented in the United States by the C.I.O., is to organize both skilled and unskilled workers by industries.

Labor unionism formed the background for the development of *Syndicalism*, one of the most radical of the labor movements of modern times. Originating in France, chiefly through the influence of George Sorel, *Syndicalism* has aimed at destroying capitalist society through direct action of organized labor. The chief methods to be employed are sabotage, destructive interferences with business to gradually wear down the resistance of the capitalists; and the general strike of all organized labor, which it is expected will terminate capitalism by paralyzing it and the government which sustains it. Sorel's hope was that when the strike had fully carried out its functions, labor would take over the industries in which it was organized and run them; these might then be federated nationally and, ultimately, internationally. These ideas took a strong hold in France as well as in Spain and in Italy. It is interesting to note that the modern Syndicalist and Corporative State of Fascist Italy sprang partly from the Syndicalist movement which had existed there before and after the World War. But Syndicalism lost much of its popularity and influence in France after an attempted general strike in the 1920s turned into a miserable fiasco.

Much less radical than *Syndicalism*, but like it in the sense that it is based upon labor organization and aims at social transformation, is Guild Socialism in Britain. This had its beginnings shortly before the World War, but enjoyed its greatest prominence for a brief period after the war. There have been some marked differences of opinion among the exponents of this movement as to the way in which society is to be organized eventually. But, generally speaking, their project would call for the organization of individuals as producers into guilds or societies of workingmen, each controlling a particular field of production, and all of them together federated on a national scale. For what would concern individuals as consumers, they would keep the existing state, to preserve order, conduct foreign affairs, and regulate other matters of mutual concern. Above the state, which would represent the interests of the individuals as consumers, and above the federation of guilds, which would represent the individuals as producers, they would place a committee, composed of representatives of both, to co-ordinate social production and consumption.

One of the most fruitful adventures of labor, in its effort to protect and defend itself against some of the most serious evils of the factory system, was that represented by the co-operative movement. Chiefly English in origin and initial development, the co-operative is based upon the premise that labor by combining its efforts and pooling its capital can produce, distribute, and lend money under its own jurisdiction, setting up its own rules and saving for itself the profits which ordinarily go to capital. As can be gathered from this, three forms of co-operatives have taken shape: the producer's co-operative, the consumer's co-operative; and co-operative banking. The advantages which these have demonstrated have been apparent not only to labor but to very many of the *petit bourgeoisie* as well, so that increasingly the co-operative has been cutting across proletarian lines to include a larger and larger percentage of the consuming public.

The first successful co-operative venture was made by a small group of unemployed London weavers who set up, in 1844, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society, a small scale consumer's co-operative. Through sound and careful management, this soon proved to be an extraordinary success, and similar co-operatives were launched elsewhere in the Kingdom and in continental Europe. These were supplemented by producer's co-operatives which first developed significantly in France, and by finance co-operatives which took shape largely in Germany. By 1914 there were 1,550 co-operative societies of various types in Great Britain, with a membership of 2,500,000 and a capitalization of £110,000,000; there were over 23,000 in Germany, with a membership of almost 3,500,000; and in France there were approximately 2,000. During and after the war the co-operative movement grew rapidly. By 1920 it was estimated that about 30,000,000 families in Europe, representing about 100,000,000 persons, had connections with consumers' co-operatives in one form or another. Great Britain kept the leadership, for approximately a third of her whole population was supplied in whole or in part by co-operatives, but numerically, the largest co-operatives have been established in Soviet Russia. Recently their growth in the Scandinavian countries has attracted considerable attention.

While labor organized co-operatives, established labor unions to attain better wages and working conditions, and demonstrated its numerical strength at the polls, governments did not remain indifferent. Throughout the nineteenth century, both because of sincere humanitarian motives and because of sheer expediency, the social conscience was sufficiently awakened to deal with the most patent

evils of the factory system. Reform was neither swift nor easy. The long established legal rights of property and the strong beliefs of the economic liberals in economic individualism had to be broken down. Neither of these admitted of interference by the government into the affairs of private property, and so long as the bourgeoisie, who staunchly defended non-interference, held a preponderant influence in government, there was little chance that factory regulation would effectively materialize. Concessions were made, but it was not until labor won the right to the ballot that these became extensive.

Naturally, it was in Britain, where the factory system first revealed its abuses, that the battle for government regulation was first fought and won. It would be useless to follow the history of this in great detail. Suffice it to say that in 1802 a meager beginning was made with the passage of the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act which dealt with the worst evils of employment among the "work-house" children. It prohibited the apprenticing of children under the age of 9 and required that the employer fulfill certain minimum regulations to protect the health and the morals of those whose services he engaged. The act was pitifully inadequate, both because its enforcement was feeble and because it did not touch the increasingly acute problem of the "free labor" children. This latter deficiency was rectified in 1819, and in 1833 a famous Factory Act established for the first time the basis of effective enforcement. The principle that the state might properly interfere in the affairs of private business to ensure the social welfare had thus been established, though, it is significant to note, primarily with reference to the cotton factories where the gravest abuses had occurred. During the next several decades the legislation was broadened to include all textile and then non-textile factories, the minimum age for child labor was gradually and generally raised to twelve, the hours of work for women and children were fixed at ten per day, manufacturers were required to install safety devices and make adequate hygienic provisions, and the industries most dangerous to life and limb were strictly and minutely regulated in every respect. Most of this legislation had been embodied in separate acts dealing with specific problems in specific industries as they arose, creating, in consequence, a considerable amount of confusion and duplication. A Consolidating Act of 1878 and another of 1901 brought standardization and uniformity. Meanwhile, the mines had been placed under governmental jurisdiction, beginning with an important Mines Act of 1842, which was supplemented in many details by additional legislation throughout the remainder of the century.

While all of these measures eliminated an abundance of abuse, they did not touch the problem of wages. The acuteness of this was revealed by investigations into the so-called "sweating" trades, outside the immediate jurisdiction of the factory acts, and in 1909 an important Trade Boards Act was passed to meet it. The Act was made applicable at once to those businesses in which wages were especially low, but the Board of Trade was empowered to add others, with the consent of Parliament. This fixed rates of minimum wage, deviations from which were punishable by heavy fines. For thousands of the most destitute it brought substantial material relief, and for others it held out the promise of similar official intervention. Thus the government had not only assumed the responsibility of improving the conditions under which labor was employed, but it had also undertaken to regulate the wages of labor as well.

Great Britain had pioneered in regulatory legislation for the remainder of Europe and indeed for the whole industrial world. By the time the nations on the continent began to experience the evils of the factory system, the path to reforms already had been cleared and it was not surprising, therefore, that they should have embarked upon them without the same struggles which had appeared in Britain. By the outbreak of the World War, every country of the continent had a code of law establishing the conditions under which labor would be employed, and for the most part these had taken shape in accordance with British models. In France, a comparatively important act of 1842 established a minimum age at which children could be employed in certain types of factories and undertook to regulate the hours of employment for those who could be engaged, but for the most part there was no adequate legislation until the Third Republic had been established. A comprehensive and significant measure passed in 1874, applying to both mines and industries, firmly and soundly established the basis for all subsequent legislation. The minimum age of employment for children was generally fixed at twelve, night work for boys and girls under specified ages was prohibited, and adequate provision for sanitary measures was required. Amended in details many times before 1914, its fundamental principles were finally incorporated into an excellent Labor Code which was substantially completed that year. In Germany, the need for labor legislation became acute during the period of extraordinary industrial expansion which followed the establishment of the Empire. The legislation which had formerly prevailed in Prussia and then in the North German Confederation was spotty in details and feeble in application.

A law promulgated in 1878, setting up government inspectors for factories, brought some improvement, but it was not until 1891 that a really comprehensive and efficient industrial code was adopted. This prohibited employment of children under thirteen and required that those above that age could be employed only in case they had received a primary education; special regulations protected the health and the morals of the employees; and industries were obligated to equip themselves with appropriate safety devices. The other countries of the continent largely copied from these various codes.

Regulatory legislation made labor in the factories infinitely less dangerous and exhausting, but it did not provide security against unemployment and consequent loss of income occasioned by the convulsions of business, by accident, or by sickness, nor did it insure the worker against the misfortunes of old age when he could no longer secure employment. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries an increasing number of economists and socially minded individuals, sometimes known as the state socialists, insisted that the state must assume the responsibility of providing social insurance to protect the worker against these insecurities.

Germany was the first nation to embark upon an extensive program of this type. The impelling motives were curiously mixed. Not only had Germany enjoyed a long tradition of paternalistic government which eased the way to such intervention, but even more the German Chancellor, Prince Bismarck, was faced with the mounting agitation of the Socialists, whom he had been unable to repress, and had come to the conclusion that the easiest thing to do would be to kill their agitation with kindness. By giving labor much of what it wanted, it was reasonable to expect that the popularity of the Socialists would probably diminish. Very largely with this in mind, Bismarck secured the passage of a Sickness Insurance Law in 1883, an Accident Insurance Law in 1884, and an Old Age Pensions Law in 1889. The funds for the first of these were established through contributions by the workers and the employers, two-thirds by the former and one-third by the latter, and these were administered to provide free medical attention and a percentage of regular wages during incapacity for half of each year. The employers alone provided the accident insurance funds which were used to relieve the worker during periods of incapacity or to pension his dependents in case of death. The Old Age Pensions Act guaranteed pensions to those in the lower wage brackets when they had attained a fixed age, the funds being supplied by equal contributions on the part of the

employer, the employee, and the state. No unemployment insurance was devised before the World War, although it was seriously discussed on a number of occasions, but the municipalities and state governments sought to fill this gap. After the War an extensive unemployment insurance program was inaugurated.

The German system of compulsory insurance was severely criticized in Great Britain when it was first instituted, yet, curiously enough, Great Britain soon outdistanced Germany in its use. In 1906 the Liberal Party inaugurated a program of social legislation to relieve the lot of the poor, and, within the next five years, insurance against accidents, old age pensions, sickness insurance, and even an experimental unemployment insurance plan were enacted into law. The Workmen's Compensation Act (1906) required employers to compensate laborers who sustained injuries impairing their earning power for one week or more, at a fixed percentage of their regular wages; required that in the event of a laborer's death a part of the medical and funeral expenses be borne by the employer; and if a family were solely dependent upon the deceased laborer for support, the employer was compelled to supply the family with the equivalent of three years' wages. Under the law, the employer did not need to secure insurance to meet these obligations, but he usually did. The Old Age Pensions Act (1908) differed fundamentally from that in operation in Germany. The funds providing for it, instead of being accumulated from contributions of employers, employees, and the government, were drawn from regular taxation. Every person, male or female, a British subject for twenty years and a British resident for twelve years, if he had a regular income of not more than approximately \$150 per year, was entitled to a pension upon attaining the age of seventy. The amount given each recipient was graduated in accordance with his income. In 1911, the social insurance thus begun was further extended by an important National Insurance Act which provided insurance against sickness and, partially, against unemployment. Generally speaking, every British subject between the ages of sixteen and seventy who labored and received an income of not more than about \$800 per year was compelled to take out insurance against sickness, the employer contributing a sum exactly equivalent to his, and the state supplying an additional contribution. From these funds, medical, maternity, invalidity, and sickness benefits were administered, the amounts varying with the need and in accordance with local conditions. The experiment with unemployment insurance involved the engineering and building trades. Workers above the age

of 16 engaged in either of these were required to make a regular contribution, approximately matched by the employer, and supplemented with subventions by the state. From the funds thus accumulated, the laborer was guaranteed a fixed weekly benefit for a period not exceeding fifteen weeks of each year in case he were unemployed. In 1916 and again in 1920 the provisions of this act were broadened to include all other categories of laborers, excepting agricultural laborers and domestics, and in 1924, when post-war unemployment had become acute, the maximum annual limit of fifteen weeks for the payment of benefits was abandoned for continuous benefits in case of need. With this act, the so-called "dole" was established. The more or less permanent character of British unemployment after the War and its growth during the depression made the "dole" a serious drain upon national finance, and other methods of relieving the situation, such as elaborate public works programs and the stimulation of British trade abroad, were resorted to.

France lagged behind Great Britain and Germany in the adoption of state-regulated compulsory insurance, but before 1914 had also worked out a fairly extensive program. Voluntary associations for protection against sickness long had been in existence, and the government brought them under its close supervision in a series of measures, culminating in 1898. Except for miners and seamen, for whom compulsory insurance was instituted, all sickness insurance remained voluntary under these state supervised mutual aid societies. Accident insurance was likewise voluntary, but through legislation between 1898 and 1906, it was established that employers were liable for all occupational accidents. In 1910, an Old Age Pensions Act, modeled to a considerable extent upon that operating in Germany, was passed. The pension fund, made up from contributions by employers as well as employees, was used to distribute benefits to all wage earners of the lower categories when they attained the age of 60 or 65. In 1930, a consolidating Social Insurance Law set up a complete and unified system of social insurance, providing for unemployment, as well as for old age, sickness, and invalidity.

That regulatory legislation and compulsory social insurance, copied throughout the whole of Europe, immensely improved the conditions of labor under the factory system cannot be gainsaid. Yet there were many who believed and who still believe that they were palliatives and not cures of fundamental evils in the existing order. Indeed, the question has been raised as to whether any kind of legislation can ever hope to deal with these effectively, especially so long

as it is based upon the idea of perpetuating capitalism. Among an increasing number of the more radical socially minded, the conviction grew that only a complete and thorough transformation of the economic, and consequently also the social and political bases of life, could bring lasting improvement. Adherents of this view have popularly been called "socialists."

A complete and wholly accurate definition of socialism is quite impossible for it has meant so many different things to so many different men. Few words have been so badly abused and so generally misunderstood. Everything from revolutionary programs aiming at the destruction of the rights of private property to remedial legislation merely pretending to mitigate some of the evils of capitalism has at one time or another been labeled "socialistic." To avoid this popular confusion, it would be well to bear in mind that socialism as a distinct movement has had three central objectives which clearly distinguish it from other reform movements. In the first place, socialism aims to abolish private property which it holds to be the basis of capitalism and consequently the source of existing evils. Land and factories, the agencies of production and of distribution, would become social rather than private property so that all of the people would have immediate access to the means of securing a livelihood. There has been no uniformity of opinion among socialists as to whether the ownership of one's own clothes, money, and house should be retained or abandoned. Secondly, all of the facilities of production and distribution, after they have been socialized, would become the property of the state which would manage them in the common interest. And finally, the state would require that all members of society contribute to social production. There would be no leisure class living upon the fruits of private property or, as it has been claimed, upon the exploitation of the labor of others. There is little agreement on the method by which individual effort should be remunerated under this system, whether in accordance with one's needs or on the basis of one's industry, initiative, skill, and ability. It is claimed that the attainment of these three objectives will give substance to the vague doctrine of equality by assuring all men equality of opportunity, put an end to unhappy social conflicts by eliminating class rivalries, and make possible common human understanding, thus ensuring international peace.

Socialism was essentially the product of nineteenth-century industrialism, but its original philosophical inspiration came from the eighteenth century. It will be recalled that during the Age of the Enlight-

enment there was widespread confidence in the rationality and perfectibility of man and a great deal of concern over the fact that existing social and political institutions hindered rather than helped the attainment of human happiness. To Rousseau and his followers the original and greatest evil, from which all others had sprung, was the existence of private property. If this were abolished so that man could return to his natural state; if men could be permitted to give their own instincts free play without external compulsion, it was expected that human happiness might be realized. To perfect humanity it was, therefore, required that there be provided the proper environment, where each individual could be given full opportunity to develop according to his capacity, and where private property and the profit motive would not be exalted.

The application of these ideas to the problems which nineteenth-century industrialism raised, produced what is commonly called utopian socialism. Its first able exponent was Count Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), an eccentric individual of aristocratic descent who had made and lost a fortune during the period of the French Revolution, and who spent his last years of abject poverty searching for the cure of social misery. His writings were voluminous, abstract, and oftentimes confused, but they contained the germ of an idea which exerted a powerful influence over the next generation of French social thinkers. St. Simon's basic hypothesis, unlike that of his eighteenth century predecessors, was that the greatest happiness of mankind had not existed in the remote and "natural" past but was yet to come. The machine gave promise of utopia provided it could be properly managed in the interest of all. For this purpose, he believed it necessary that the state take over the control of production and distribution, but, having great confidence in individual initiative and enterprise, he recommended that everyone should be rewarded in accordance with his industry and skill. St. Simon hoped that socialism would hold out to the individual even greater inducements than the competitive system.

The foremost exponents of the utopian idea that ideally created environments would eliminate social abuses and bring human happiness were Charles Fourier (1772-1837) of France and Robert Owen (1771-1858) of England. Both drafted plans for the organization of ideal communities and attempted to put them into operation. Fourier's scheme was based on the conviction that the ideal community would be one comprising approximately 1,800 persons, working co-operatively in occupations which were congenial. When all of society had

been organized into these communities or phalanxes, Fourier hoped that they might be federated on a world scale. He did not expect by this means to equalize all classes or even to destroy all private property, but he did expect that the worst abuses of the prevailing economic order would be eliminated. A number of attempts were made to establish these phalanxes experimentally, but all but a few ended in prompt failure. One of the most famous was Brook Farm in the United States.

Robert Owen was the most interesting of the utopian socialists. Born into humble circumstances, through his own abilities he had become one of the foremost textile manufacturers of Great Britain. Always keenly conscious of the evils of the factory system, he had also become one of the earliest exponents of factory regulation and had himself undertaken to transform his own factory community at New Lanark into a social reform experiment. His disgust and impatience at the slowness with which other industrialists and Parliament followed his leadership eventually encouraged him to propagate the idea of more radical social reform. Much like Fourier, he believed that society should be organized into small, virtually self-sufficing communities with an average population of from 500 to 3,000. These were to be basically agricultural, but with a variety of occupations, and all of the members were to live under one roof and eat from a common kitchen. Owen believed that these communities might be established by private individuals, by local governments, or by the state, and that ultimately they might be federated on a national or international scale. He expended much of his own personal fortune setting this plan into operation, but all of his experiments ended in failure.

It will be noted that the utopian socialists wished to transform the whole of society; their concern was not solely with the industrial workers. Moreover, their schemes were impractical both because they placed too much confidence in the sweetness and reasonableness of human nature, and because their piecemeal experiments suffered the great disadvantage of competing with capitalistic production. The recognition of these deficiencies inspired the more practically minded, who agreed with the general objectives of the utopians, to search for more effective means of attaining them. Among these, the most conspicuous figure was Louis Blanc (1813-1882) of France.

Blanc, an able and popular journalist, was convinced that the problem was chiefly that of the workingmen, who might be expected to help themselves best through their own combined efforts. To make

this possible, he urged first that the state should be reconstructed on a broad democratic basis so that the workers might gain the voice in government which they deserved because of their numbers and interests, and, second, that when democracy had been achieved the state should set up "national workshops" which the workers themselves would manage in their interest. When once the state had made it possible for the workers to control the agencies of production and distribution, its intervention would cease, for the workingmen would be quite capable of running the workshops themselves. Blanc's ideas took strong root among the working classes and exerted great influence during the revolution of 1848 when, for a time, it appeared that the provisional republican government would undertake to set up the contemplated "national workshops." The whole program was, however, effectively emasculated by the more conservative bourgeois elements.

Much like Louis Blanc, Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864) of Germany believed that the workers could save themselves from the abuses of capitalism only through their combined efforts. He too espoused the complete democratization of government in labor's interest and urged the establishment by the state of workshops which the workers themselves would control and operate. Lassalle, however, was a much more trenchant and brilliant critic of the capitalistic system than was Blanc, and in many respects he bore a closer affinity to the Marxian or scientific school of socialist thought which was taking shape during his times.

Judged by its full and reasoned argument and by its profound and continuing influence upon social thought and action, the most important socialistic doctrine was the so-called scientific socialism of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895). The former of these, son of an ambitious Jewish lawyer, had prepared in philosophy and history for an academic future, but finding employment difficult had embarked upon a short but stormy career as a journalist during the turbulent 1840's. His ardent espousal of democracy and a free press brought suppression of his newspaper by the Prussian government in 1843, and for the next five years he eked out a livelihood as a journalist in Paris and Brussels. In France he first became keenly conscious of the degradation of the proletariat and turned his thought to potential reforms in their behalf. Personal discussions with Louis Blanc, independent study of the utopian socialists, and painstaking economic researches, combined with the Hegelian philosophy which he had studied at the University of Berlin, formed

the background of his doctrine which gradually matured during the remainder of his life. Closely associated with Marx from the days of his exile in Paris, was Friedrich Engels, son of a wealthy German cotton manufacturer, and for many years manager of his father's branch factory near Manchester, England. Like Marx, Engels had been deeply moved by the plight of the workers, and had become an active exponent of reform. He too had fallen under the spell of Hegelian philosophy. An uncommonly close friendship developed between these two reformers and revolutionaries, and throughout the remainder of their lives they collaborated in the exposition of their doctrine, which they developed with the same care as the scientist and which they hopefully believed was "scientific."

The essential principles of Marxian socialism are to be found principally in two documents: the *Communist Manifesto*, issued jointly by Marx and Engels in the year of revolutions, 1848; and *Das Kapital*,¹ a voluminous treatise, which purported to be the philosophical, historical, and economic demonstration of their doctrine. Briefly, these principles might be outlined as (1) the concept of "economic determinism" or the materialistic interpretation of history; (2) the labor theory of value; (3) the doctrine of surplus value; and (4) the idea of an inevitable class war, growing out of the logic of events and terminating in the destruction of the capitalistic order.

The materialistic interpretation of history is fundamental to the entire Marxian thesis; the whole argument is built around it, and by means of it the Marxians have believed they could predict with reasonable accuracy the course of events to come. This interpretation asserts that all social and political institutions—religion, government, the schools—and the patterns of thought in any given period are the direct outgrowth of the prevailing economic system of production. Changes in the mode of production produce changes in institutions and in patterns of thought, but not without struggle and conflict. The class which has attained to power establishes vested interests which it will not freely sacrifice, and it yields only when another class has grown sufficiently numerous and sufficiently powerful forcefully to displace it. History, Marx was convinced, was merely the record of this conflict for power among the classes of human society. In a sense, this was the translation to social studies of the biological concept of evolution; but even more it was an adaptation of Hegelian dialectics to social and economic "science." For the convolutions of

¹ The first volume of *Das Kapital* was published in 1867; the other two were not printed until after Marx's death.

society followed the uniform course of the dialectic from synthesis through antithesis to synthesis, and then began all over again until the proletariat attained power, and by eliminating class distinctions called a halt to class conflict. Marx painstakingly, and with considerable skill, fitted the course of historical events from remote to contemporary times into this preconceived pattern, and consequently lent logical force to his contention that the capitalistic system, like all earlier systems of production, contained the germs of its own destruction.

In analyzing the factors which would lead to the ultimate destruction of capitalism, Marx placed special emphasis upon his theory of value. All value, he believed was derived from labor. This was not a new idea; indeed, Marx derived it from some of the soundest of the "classical" economists, but he gave it a new twist. Although labor produces all value, Marx pointed out that labor does not receive in return the full value it produces. All that it receives, like any other marketable commodity, is its market value which is regulated by the accidents of supply and demand. If labor is abundant and the demand of business is low, wages fall; and, conversely, if the supply is low and the demand high, wages rise. In general, the level approaches bare subsistence; it never equals the value which labor produces. From this observation, Marx deduced his idea of surplus value, which he distinguished as the most important feature of the capitalistic system.

Briefly, surplus value, as Marx explained it, was the difference in value of what labor produced and what it received in return in the form of wages. For example, a laborer might be hired to perform certain operations during the course of a twelve-hour day. In six hours he may have produced goods which in value equal the wages for his twelve hours of labor. Nevertheless, he is required to work the remaining six hours. The goods which he produces in this latter period represent surplus value, which is absorbed by the capitalist. In this fashion, labor is perpetually exploited. With surplus value, the capitalist proceeds to enlarge his plant, secure new equipment, and purchase luxuries. For a time, Marx believed that the expansion of business encouraged in this way would tend to strengthen capitalism, and even lead to slight improvements in the normal conditions of labor, but eventually it would bring disaster to capitalism. A few would accumulate more surplus value than others, and to avoid competition, they would ruin or absorb the businesses of the less fortunate bourgeoisie. Eventually, only a small number would control all

of the facilities of production, and the lesser bourgeoisie would be driven into the ranks of the proletariat. The latter, meanwhile, would face an increasingly desperate situation, for the continuous development of technological improvements would reduce the demand for labor and create a great army of unemployed. Sooner or later these would find their lot intolerable and they would rise up to destroy their oppressors.

Thus would occur the inevitable class conflict between the steadily diminishing body of the bourgeoisie and the increasing body of the proletariat. While this is in the very nature of things, Marx held that it is the task of the socialists to prepare the way by stimulating the class consciousness of the proletariat and to hasten the dissolution of the capitalistic order. Neither Marx nor Engels clearly and definitely stated whether this process of hastening the course of events was to be peaceful or violent, for both methods were suggested. Best opinion seems to hold to the view that the choice depended entirely upon the circumstances of the moment and the locality involved. It is erroneous to conceive of the early Marxians solely as blood-thirsty revolutionaries.

When the proletariat had finally succeeded in winning political power, Marx believed their first task would be that of setting up a dictatorship of the proletariat. The duties of this dictatorship were not clearly defined, but its essential purpose was to be that of uprooting the vestiges of capitalism, economically, politically, socially, and intellectually. Since ideas and traditions are tenacious, it was not believed that this objective would be realized in anything less than a generation. But ultimately, the last remnants of capitalism would have disappeared, society would own and operate all of the means of production, and the state, then no longer needed, would wither completely away. Class conflict would have ceased, for only one class would have remained, and the dialectic which previously had operated with inexorable force would cease to function. Then the era of peace and human happiness would have dawned.

Even in their own time these contentions and prophecies of Marx and Engels were exposed to serious criticism, not only by the conservative bourgeoisie, but by men of radical inclination who were prepared to accept a socialist program. Statistics revealed that the assumption of the steady decline in numbers of the bourgeoisie was wholly incorrect, even though control of production became concentrated in the hands of fewer individuals; the supposed continuous degradation of the proletariat was not forthcoming; it seemed dif-

difficult to fit all individuals in society neatly into two distinct and mutually hostile classes, for there was and still is a confusing overlapping and intermixture of social groups; and, finally, serious doubt was cast upon the materialistic interpretation of history, both because it seemed to place undue emphasis upon purely material considerations, and because it was illogical to assume that if it operated at one epoch it should suddenly cease at another. The idea of class conflict, in particular, disconcerted many, for it seemed better to emphasize inter-class co-operation and evolutionary progress in the direction of socialism rather than to stir up hatreds, non-co-operation, and violence.

A group of "revisionists," headed by Eduard Bernstein of Germany, set about to revise the Marxian doctrine in a more conservative sense. They urged collaboration of the proletariat with the democratic forces in each country, welcomed legislative reforms in the interest of the worker, and aimed at gradually taking over the government when the time was ripe. Then they intended to realize the same objectives as the pure Marxians, the socialization of all of the facilities of production and distribution. The most important group of "revisionists" anywhere in Europe were the Fabians of Great Britain, a relatively small body of intellectuals with such prominent members as George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells, who devoted themselves to the task of educating the public to the necessity of ultimate socialization.

This conflict between the Marxians and the "revisionists" was best reflected in their struggles within the various socialist political parties which Marx and his followers had created. It is important to note that this venture into socialist political organization was one of the most significant contributions of Marx to the modern socialist movement. In 1864, he had created the International Workingmen's Association, generally called the First International, to spread his doctrine among the proletariat on an international scale. As an institution this was potentially weak and torn by internal dissension, and it formally dissolved in 1879.¹ But some of the national sections which sprang from it survived and flourished. The most important of these was the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which first adopted the Marxian program in entirety and aimed to paralyze the bourgeois government by non-co-operation. Eventually, however, it was won to "revi-

¹ A "Second International" formed from the several national socialist parties was established in 1889. This was disrupted by the World War. In 1919, the more radical or Communistic Groups organized a Third International at Moscow.

sionism" and persisted in this course until its extinction under Hitler. Both before and after the World War it was the largest and most influential party of Germany. The Social Democratic Party became the model for similar parties elsewhere, and by 1914 socialism was an important political force in all of the states of Europe. Except for relatively small left-wing groups which professed adherence to pure Marxism, the majority of these socialist parties were dominated by the revisionists. Historically, the most important of the minority purists were the Bolsheviks of Russia who eventually attained to power and set up a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Politically, socially, and intellectually Marxian socialism has been and continues to be one of the greatest forces of modern times. The very fear of it compelled many of the most unyielding to make concessions to the working class. Without it, it may well be that many of the great reforms which have been achieved to date would not have been realized.



LUNCH BOX

Symbolic of modern industrialized labor.

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The Political Compromise

A. BUSINESS AND POLITICS

Consciously or unconsciously, people continually evaluate governments in terms of the degree to which they contribute to their material welfare. The farmer believes that government to be best which ensures a stable market for his produce and low cost for the supplies he must buy; the manufacturer wants those things which will contribute most to the prosperity of his enterprise; and the laborer expects government to provide him steady work at a good wage. Sometimes selfishly, but more often because of shortsightedness, each one interprets the common good in terms of his own, and believes that if only his point of view could prevail everyone would be happy. The deficiencies in his scheme of things are all too likely to be ignored or minimized, while its virtues are exaggerated. From the clash of these conflicting views, political opinions are formed, political philosophies evolve, and revolutions are born.

Time and again this simple truth has been demonstrated. The medieval townsman chafed under the restraints of the feudal system and so espoused the cause of national monarchy; the feudal nobility resented the consequent loss of privileges and immunities and obstructed it. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, the commercial bourgeoisie favored the national system of economy, with state intervention, known as mercantilism; after it, with equally good reason, the industrial bourgeoisie insisted that the state must not interfere with business. The landed aristocracy of England secured tariffs to protect agriculture, but the industrial bourgeoisie, after a political revolution, abandoned them. The workers of all the industrial countries demanded democratic governments in the hope that by being able to control them they could redress their grievances. These are merely a few of the more obvious cases in point to demonstrate that there is

always a close correlation between one's economic status and his political views.

It is natural for men, however, to obscure their material ambitions behind lofty ethical and moral principles. For the bourgeois "liberals" of the nineteenth century, the struggle for complete economic liberty was merely part of a great crusade in behalf of human freedom, including such inestimable boons as freedom of speech, press, and assembly. Similarly, the exponents of economic individualism in contemporary times justify their views on the score that they alone can preserve freedom and liberty. The Marxian socialists claim for their system not only distributive justice but the eventual achievement of a classless society, in which human conflicts will be absent, and in which all men will live in a natural state of peace and contentment. Fascists and Nazis insist that through their schemes unhappy social conflicts give way to genuine social co-operation in the common interest. In such fashion, by appeals to sentiment and emotion, by postulating an ideal goal and inspiring faith in its achievement, rather than by emphasizing what is basely materialistic, do men build up the justification for their objectives. This does not mean to say, however, that there is not much genuine altruism among the zealots of every cause; there are, in fact, many who are prepared to make every personal sacrifice in behalf of an ideal. But for most people, idealism is heavily adulterated with personal, material ambition, consciously restrained, perhaps, but no less real.

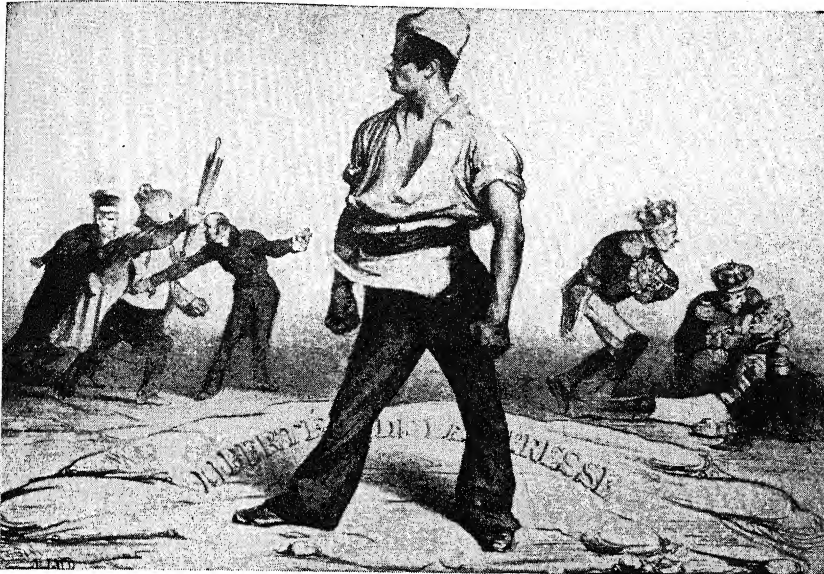
The degree to which men succumb to political panaceas is oft-times the best measure of their economic distress. It is common practice to place the blame for material misfortunes upon the government, especially in times of acute economic disorder. Then political changes can be made most easily, and if these seem inadequate or unsatisfactory, revolutions may ensue. It is not mere coincidence that the most far-reaching political compromises and the most important political revolutions since the nineteenth century have occurred in periods of depression. Ideal objectives may have obscured material motives, but the driving force in each case was the economic factor. It was thus with the democratization and socialization of governments in nineteenth century Europe; it was no less so with the Communist, Fascist, and Nazi revolutions and with the evolution of the New Deal in the United States.

The revolutionary period in Europe, from 1830 to 1848, to be discussed in the next part of this chapter, provides an excellent case study. When it opened, government was largely in the hands of

landed aristocracy and functioned in their interest; when it closed, the new industrial bourgeoisie had won a stake in government for themselves in many quarters. As usual, the old order did not give way completely but was compromised with the new; the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy found a basis for co-operation, and the mass of the people were still excluded from control. It is significant to note that this was a period of industrial expansion and one of recurring crises. There were too many obstructions to business to suit the industrialists, and there was too much insecurity to please the growing proletariat of the towns. It was natural, therefore, that both should seek appropriate change, and this they did under the banners of liberalism, constitutionalism, nationalism, and humanitarianism. These were goals upon which all, even the proletariat which stood to gain little in material benefits, could agree.

B. BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIAN

The number and extent of revolutionary movements in Europe between 1830 and 1848 is so great that it is impossible to deal with all of them in a brief survey. There were frequent upheavals in Italy, France, Hungary, and the German countries, and occasional ones in Poland, Greece, Serbia, Belgium, and Holland, to mention only the more important. In each case, peculiar local conditions determined the time and character of revolutions, and yet, in a general way, they were alike. Everywhere the revolutionaries sought to displace arbitrary government with liberal constitutional government, and in those areas where national unity or independence had not yet been achieved, this was supplemented by nationalist aspirations. The revolutionaries themselves were drawn everywhere from the same general classes of the citizenry: the intellectuals, the liberal nobility, the middle class, and the urban proletariat. In each case, the revolutionary movements were strongest in the towns, a certain indication that they were closely connected with the new industrialism. The country remained quiescent, was even hostile to revolution, and eventually frustrated revolutionary successes or forced the revolutionaries to give ground. Those regions which were still preponderantly agricultural experienced few important changes, those with large and growing urban communities experienced the most. Finally, among the distinguishing characteristics of this revolutionary epoch, it is interesting to make note of the unique leadership of Paris and of France. In every important instance, revolutionary movements which began there



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. BY HONORÉ DAUMIER (1808-1879).

Daumier is most widely known as a caricaturist, but he was also a painter of unusual power, with a deep understanding of humanity.

spread quickly to the rest of Europe. Paris needed only to give the signal to inspire all liberals with fighting courage.

The doctrines of liberalism to which most of the revolutionaries subscribed were partly the heritage of eighteenth-century rationalism and partly the outgrowth of prevailing economic thought. From the former was derived the belief that the individual must be freed from all restraints of class and government, that freedom of speech and press must be unimpaired, that everyone should have the right to worship as he pleased, and that equality before the law must be ensured. To these, nineteenth-century intellectuals added the desire to free nations from "restraints" and "oppressions" in much the same way that individuals were to be emancipated. From the economic theories of the classical economists, the revolutionaries derived their belief that economically the individual must also be completely free, free to compete, free to employ or secure employment on such terms as he could make, free to trade where he pleased. The fusion of these two streams of liberalism, one philosophic and the other economic, gave the liberal movement of the first half of the nineteenth century its peculiar and specific quality. It championed free thought and

religious liberty; it called for government which would be representative and constitutional in such form as to allow the dominance of the propertied bourgeoisie; it insisted that the state must not actively intervene in economic life, but must merely protect property and preserve order; it called for untrammelled economic individualism, demanding especially that legislation benefiting the landed aristocracy be abandoned; it asked for peace abroad; and it championed the cause of national independence.

While these views predominated among the intellectuals, the middle class, and the humanitarian nobility, they were not wholly acceptable to advanced radicals and to the proletariat. Among the latter, growing doctrines of socialism took root, and there appeared champions of democratic, republican government who believed that the state must not only be controlled by the people, but must exercise its authority over economic life in such fashion as to protect the proletarian interests. These were not without influence in the revolutionary movements of this period, but the mass of conservative opinion, bourgeois and peasant, was against them.

Economic unrest, occasioned by decline in trade and consequent unemployment, coupled with accumulating discontent with the post-Napoleonic reaction, opened the era of "liberal" revolutions in Paris during the summer of 1830. For six years, King Charles X (1824-1830), leader of the reactionaries in France, engaged in an active campaign to restore the old order, heaping insult upon injury to bourgeois liberals and proletarian radicals. The press was stifled, freedom of assembly was impaired, and real fear was engendered lest the privileges of the clergy and the nobility be restored. The interests of the Church were openly fostered; its monopoly of education was ensured. As for the nobility, Charles X sought to reimburse them financially for their losses of privileges and lands. For this purpose, the public debt was reorganized in 1825, and the interest on bonds was reduced from 5 percent to 3 percent, inflicting a heavy loss upon the bourgeoisie. All who had profited by the revolutionary settlement were aroused by these measures to such opposition that, despite restricted and controlled elections, the Crown met with a series of decisive rebuffs at the polls in 1829 and 1830. Following the last of these in July, 1830, Charles, ignoring the advice of his friends, issued a series of ordinances, the July Ordinances, substantially nullifying the Constitutional Charter. Besides dissolving the newly elected Chamber before it had assembled and calling for new elections, these ordinances so rearranged the electoral procedure as to place the vote

almost exclusively in the hands of the great landowners. This was too much for the bourgeoisie and the workmen of Paris. Two days later, July 28, the barricades were raised in the streets, and Charles, without effective military support, was forced to flee to England in disguise.

The proletariat who had won the revolution wanted to establish a republic, but the bourgeoisie, who wished no such extreme "solution," took the initiative in inviting Louis Philippe, head of the Orleanist branch of the Bourbon house, to the throne. His liberal conduct during the French Revolution had ensured him a popular following and made him an acceptable compromise candidate.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary movement had been spreading rapidly to other sections of Europe. Directly inspired by the example of Paris, Belgian nationalists rose in rebellion against their Dutch oppressors and declared their independence, which was subsequently recognized in 1839 by a six-power treaty. Plans of the conservative states to frustrate this Belgian undertaking were forestalled by the stern attitude of Britain and France, and by the danger of revolutions nearer home. Indeed, when the Russian government ordered troops in Poland to prepare themselves for the coercion of Belgium, the intensely nationalistic Polish peoples rose in unsuccessful revolt. Foreign assistance, upon which they had calculated, failed to appear, and the Russian government was soon able to reassert its authority. The Polish constitution was revoked and hundreds of Polish patriots were sent to the wastes of Siberia or forced to flee the country in exile.

Uprisings in the German countries, mostly in the south, resulted in the modification of some existing constitutions and the adoption of new ones, but Germany as a whole remained quiescent. Neither in Austria nor in Prussia did the liberals yet dare to raise their heads. In central Italy, revolutions broke out in Modena, Parma, and the Papal States, but all of them proved abortive, partly through lack of organization and partly because both Austria and France intervened to re-establish "order." Outside of Belgium and France, the revolutionary movements of 1830 produced few changes, but liberals and nationalists were nevertheless inspired with confidence and hope. Throughout the next decade, their agitation grew more bold and their preparations for revolution more complete.

It was in France that typical mid-nineteenth century liberalism scored its first notable success. The bourgeoisie had capitalized upon the July Revolution by choosing a bourgeois king and establishing a

bourgeois frame of government. They rewrote the Constitutional Charter, depriving the king of his absolute sovereignty and his arbitrary powers, and establishing parliamentary government with ministries responsible to an elected bicameral legislature. In the customary fashion, they restricted the ballot to themselves by setting up tax qualifications which effectively excluded all of the workers and most of the peasants; only about 250,000 property-holding citizens were accorded this privilege. Nevertheless, this was regarded as a "liberal" settlement for it placed power in the hands of men of wealth and brains, men who believed they knew and understood best what was good for the state.

In the very nature of things, the government of France during the reign of Louis Philippe (1830-1848) functioned by, through, and for the middle class. Business was actively encouraged by the importation of machinery from abroad and by the development of systems of communication, especially railroads, for which the government lent its financial aid. At the same time, the policy of *laissez-faire* was scrupulously applied with reference to manufacturing and the accumulation of wealth. The state neither engaged in business for itself nor interfered with the business which it encouraged, and it rigorously enforced the legislation against trades unions on the score that they prevented "freedom of contract." To please the business interests, moreover, it abandoned the liberal doctrine of free trade, keeping intact such tariffs as would best protect the infant industries of the country. In other matters, such as education and religion, the government sought to apply accepted liberal principles. The number of schools was increased, the Church being allowed to continue jurisdiction over the elementary ones, but the secondary and higher schools were brought more under state control. Religious toleration was guaranteed, although the Concordat of 1801 was preserved.

The chief agents of this liberal, bourgeois compromise were Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877) and François Guizot (1787-1874), the former the dominating minister of the government before 1840, and the latter from 1840 to 1848. Both were bourgeois intellectuals, famed historians and men of wealth; both were distrustful of the masses and admirers of the middle class virtues. Of the two, Thiers was inclined to be the more openminded, but neither could be accused of radicalism. These two men represented different factions among the governing middle class: the Party of Progress which, with Thiers, favored gradual though not excessive democratization at home and assistance to

liberal revolutionaries abroad; and the Party of Resistance which, with Guizot, regarded the revolution as completed at home and favored peace abroad at any price. Louis Philippe, who was arbitrary at heart, much preferred the latter, though he encouraged the Party of Progress to assume power in the first decade of his regime with the hope of killing it by kindness. In 1840, the threat of a serious crisis accomplished his purpose, and henceforth for the remainder of his reign the Party of Resistance was in undisputed control. By bribery and undisguised electoral manipulations, Guizot so consistently and so effectively built up his majorities in the Chamber of Deputies that the government seemed unassailable.



FRANÇOIS GUIZOT

Yet the strength of the government was more apparent than real. While it satisfied the upper bourgeoisie by enabling them to enrich themselves, it was regarded with increasing disfavor by most of the remainder of the people. The workers denounced it for its oppressive and rigorous application of the laws against labor; the petty bourgeoisie, especially those of more advanced views, and many of the peasants, were disgusted with its corruption and its legislation in behalf of the few; and many of the sympathizers with the Bourbon cause, drawn from all walks of life, objected to the government because it was usurped and illegitimate. This accumulating opposition was reflected in attempts which were made upon the life of the King, each of which called forth restrictions of press and assembly, and also in the growth of radical, revolutionary parties.

The most extreme of these parties were the Socialist and the Republican. The former, led by Louis Blanc, was almost exclusively working-class. It demanded the complete destruction of monarchical institutions in favor of a democracy which should function in the interest of the workers. The Republican Party, made up chiefly of

liberal-minded bourgeois and artisans, was more conservative in its views, but it also favored universal manhood suffrage and republican institutions.

On the opposite wing were the conservative monarchists, the Legitimists as they were called, drawn from the landed classes and actively supported by many of the clergy who disliked Louis Philippe's religious policies. Less conservative than they but at the same time somewhat more radical than the governing party, was the so-called Dynastic Opposition of the Chamber. Made up of bourgeois who favored perpetuation of the Orleans dynasty, this group nevertheless believed that further extensions of the franchise, but not universal manhood suffrage, should be made. The differences among these various opposition factions precluded the possibility of combining their strength, and so long as Guizot successfully manipulated the elections there seemed little prospect that any one of them would succeed, least of all the socialists and the republicans, who had come to believe that their aspirations represented ideals to be accomplished only in the distant future. Yet with unexpected swiftness the bourgeois monarchy collapsed in 1848, and the radical parties were the first to profit from its destruction.

The real reason for this collapse was economic unrest and unemployment which had grown increasingly acute from 1846 forward, and had put the proletariat of Paris in an ugly mood. Having already learned to dislike the King and Guizot for their labor policies, they were now ready for revolution. The precipitating cause of collapse, however, the incident which incited the rebellious mob, was the government's tampering with "Reform Banquets." In 1847, after the press had been muzzled and the right of assembly restricted, the Dynastic Opposition resorted to the device of "banquets," harmless affairs, at which they could express their demands for moderate reforms. The fact that these were attended by socialists and republicans gave them a reputation for radicalism which they scarcely deserved, and inspired fear in governmental circles. Because of this, a banquet scheduled for February 22, 1848, was prohibited. This was too much. On the day appointed for the banquet, crowds roamed the streets demanding reform and the dismissal of Guizot, and the day following they got so completely out of hand that the armed forces, many of whom joined with the rioters, were unable to restore order. Guizot resigned, but it was already too late, for the barricades had been thrown up and the people now demanded the abdication of the King himself. Like Charles X before him, Louis Philippe lacked the means

to defend his throne, and so he abdicated, February 24, and fled in disguise to England.

The sudden collapse of the monarchy left the radical mob in control. The Chamber of Deputies which had acted upon the advice of the departed king and named his infant son as his successor, was forced to abandon this decision because of riotous demonstrations in favor of a republic; and, on February 25, a provisional republican government was formed. This was established upon the initiative of middle class republicans, headed by Lamartine, who favored republican institutions but opposed radical social legislation such as the proletarians, led by Louis Blanc, were demanding. The popularity of the latter with the Paris workers was so great, however, that their representation in the government could not be completely prevented, and therefore three of them, including Blanc, were invited to participate. The six others were chiefly middle class republicans.

From the very beginning, this Second Republic lived a precarious existence. The members of the provisional government were able to agree only upon the establishment of republican institutions with universal manhood suffrage. On the important question of whether this should be a socialist or a middle class republic there were irreconcilable differences. The socialists, with the enthusiastic support of the Parisian proletariat, were determined to institute the socialist republic without delay; the middle class members preferred to temporize until the country had spoken in popular elections for a National Constituent Assembly, which was scheduled to draft a permanent constitution. There were sound reasons for believing that the mass of propertied peasants could be rallied against the radicals who were bent upon regulating the rights of property in the interest of the worker. It was precisely because the socialists understood this as thoroughly as their opponents that they demanded prompt reform before the Assembly should meet.

The views of the radicals at first prevailed, for, until sentiment in the country had had enough time to crystallize, the Provisional Government was completely at the mercy of the Paris mob. The National Guard which had been reserved formerly for the middle class was opened to all citizens; a special commission was created to investigate and recommend necessary social reforms; elections of the National Assembly were delayed; and "National Workshops" which the socialists demanded were established in an emasculated form. These "National Workshops," as conceived by Blanc and his friends, were supposed to be co-operative enterprises with the encouragement

and assistance of the state and managed by the workers themselves. The middle class republicans could not be persuaded to accept them, and a poor compromise was adopted in the form of a national public works program which was both inadequate and badly managed. Despite this modification of this plan the stubborn resistance of the middle class majority to social legislation, the workers of Paris were inspired with great optimism in the spring of 1848. Trees of liberty were planted in the city, the red flag was adopted as the national emblem, and the possibilities of destroying the rights of private property were openly and seriously discussed.

Meanwhile, however, the opposition of the country had been steadily gathering force, and as early as April the conservative members of the Provisional Government were able to accumulate sufficient reliable armed forces to hold the mob in check. Fresh demands that the elections of the National Assembly be delayed were therefore ignored. The elections were held in May, and the Assembly met the following month. As was to be expected, the members, who were chosen by universal manhood suffrage, reflected the predominating conservative sentiment of the country. Only a few were socialists, the majority was composed of middle class republicans and upper class monarchists. In consequence, the period of social experimentation promptly ceased, the subsidies to the workers of Paris were cut off, and the National Workshops even in their modified form were closed. This sudden retrenchment reduced the poorer citizens of the capital to a state of unspeakable misery and occasioned a violent rebellion against the Assembly. Faced with this emergency, the Assembly placed virtual dictatorial powers in the hands of General Cavaignac, and the revolution was stamped out in blood. These terrible "June Days," as they were called, ended with the death of some ten thousand workers, transportation of four thousand more to the penal colonies, and execution or imprisonment of most of the radical agitators. The socialists had been beaten, and the breach between the urban proletariat and the bourgeoisie had been measurably widened.

Freed from troubles in the capital, the Assembly set leisurely about the task of laying the foundations for the Second Republic. Moderate concessions were made to all classes and factions; the sacred rights of property were confirmed; as a sop to the workers, a commission was established to investigate social reforms; the Catholics were promised control of education; and for the radical democrats, the tricolor was adopted as the national flag and the *Marseillaise* as the national anthem. Slavery in the colonies was abolished, and the crim-

inal law was made more humanitarian. As to the form of government, the constitution adopted by the Assembly in 1848 called for the establishment of a democratic republic. The executive authority was vested in a president, elected for a four-year term by universal manhood suffrage. Like the President in the United States he was to be permitted to choose his own cabinet, but was neither allowed to veto acts of the legislature nor to stand for re-election. The legislature, a single chamber body, was also to be popularly elected, and was to be solely responsible for legislation.

This settlement was eminently bourgeois. During the few years of life which the Republic enjoyed, the legislature functioned chiefly in the interest of business. Manufacturing and trade were encouraged, taxes were kept low, restrictions were placed upon radical agitators, and methods of effectively disenfranchising the unpropertied were contemplated. Still the legislature was more socially minded than that of the bourgeois monarchy, for although it refrained from indulging in radical experiments, it did undertake to improve housing conditions in the capital, provide better relief for the poor, and set up better regulations governing the employment in factories of adults and children.

While this Second Republic took shape in France, the tide of revolution was sweeping over the rest of continental Europe, toppling governments of the old order and leaving behind a considerable residue of liberalism. In the Italian peninsula not a single state escaped. Revolutionaries in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies had actually anticipated Paris, forcing King Ferdinand to grant a constitution as early as January. Pope Pius IX at Rome was compelled to grant concessions to his subjects and when these proved odious to him, he abandoned the city to the radicals who promptly established a republic. The Hapsburg Princes of the Central Duchies followed the general example, conceding the demands of the liberals, and in March, King Charles Albert granted a liberal constitution, the *Statuto*, to his Piedmontese subjects. Meanwhile, also, nationalist agitators of Milan and Venice organized rebellion against the "oppressive" regime of Austria in Lombardy-Venetia, and soon won the support of liberal Italian nationalists everywhere. Before the end of March, 1848, Charles Albert of Sardinia came to the relief of the Milanese insurrectionaries, declared war upon Austria, and with the unorganized assistance of volunteers from all of the peninsula forced the Austrian forces to retreat. Not only was there success in establishing liberal

governments for the time being, but there was widespread optimism that even Italian national unity might be achieved.

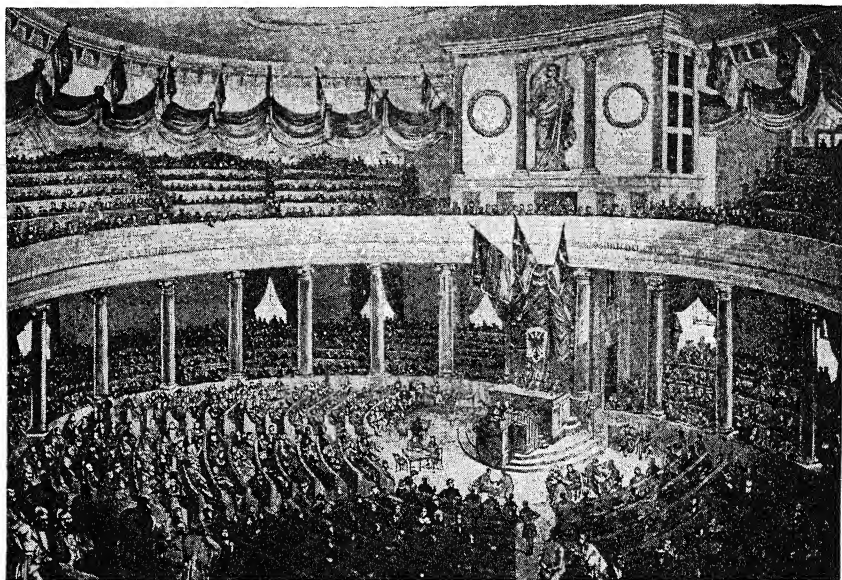
The success of the Italians against Austria was due largely to the temporary paralysis of Austria, induced by revolution. Significantly enough, it was in the Hapsburg dominions, stronghold of Metternich and seat of continental conservatism, that the repercussions of the February revolution were first felt. The storm began in Hungary with a public demand voiced in the Magyar parliament by Louis Kossuth, outspoken leader of the nationalist movement, for parliamentary autonomy. Immediately, other minority groups made the same demands; first the Czechs in Bohemia, and then the liberal German element in Austria. By the 12th of March, Metternich's system was on the verge of collapse and the Hapsburg dominion seemed on the point of dissolution. The next day crowds of students and workmen overran the streets of Vienna and were scarcely molested by the troops. Metternich, convinced that he could no longer master the situation, fled in disguise to England. With his departure, the revolutionary movement reached full stride. Emperor Ferdinand I hastened to make his peace with the revolutionaries; a liberal ministry was established, censorship of the press was abolished, and a liberal constitution was promised. When the sovereign finally bestowed a constitution (April) providing for parliamentary, constitutional government in the whole of the Empire, exclusive of Hungary and Lombardy-Venetia, the liberals refused it. They would have a constitution of their own making, not one graciously given them. It was demanded that a National Constituent Assembly, elected ostensibly by all the citizens but actually by the bourgeoisie, be convened to devise a new instrument of government. Ferdinand could only submit, and while the elections were held and the Assembly gathered at Vienna, he retired to the more congenial, conservative atmosphere of Innsbruck.

In Hungary, the revolution moved with equal speed. Feudalism was abolished, the press was freed, and the parliament, to be composed of middle class taxpayers as well as landed aristocrats, was declared to be autonomous. A national flag was adopted, and although nothing was done formally to destroy Ferdinand's claims, the state acted like an independent one. The Czechs were less successful, partly because of rivalries among them and partly because of the hostility of the Germans who were numerous in Bohemia. Nevertheless, they secured from the Emperor the right to transform their local Diet into a national parliament and were allowed to establish their own

national guard. By June of 1848, the successes of liberalism and nationalism in Austria-Hungary were such as would have been deemed impossible six months before even by the most visionary idealist.

From the Hapsburg dominions the revolutionary movement swept on to the Germanies where Metternich's influence had long been paramount. The most remarkable uprising of all occurred in Berlin, capital of conservative Prussia, just a few days after Metternich's flight. The rapidly growing middle class there, aided by crowds of workingmen and students, followed the Viennese example, demonstrating in the streets and erecting barricades. The muddle-headed Frederick William IV, romantic, paternalistic, arbitrary, faced the rebels at first with musketry; but when this merely drove them into a more ugly mood he hastily capitulated to their demands. He adopted the revolutionary colors on March 19th, established a liberal ministry, and convoked a National Constituent Assembly, elected by universal suffrage and preponderantly liberal in sentiment. Smitten with fear, the princes of the lesser German states quickly followed suit, so that by June most of Germany was governed under constitutions of varying degrees of liberalism.

One of the most important and certainly the most interesting outgrowth of these days of revolutionary enthusiasm in Germany was the convoking of a national parliament at Frankfort, with the view to creating a liberal and united German state. At the request of some of the new liberal governments, the Diet of the German Confederation in April, 1848, authorized the election of such an assembly by means of universal manhood suffrage. Since many of the conservatives refrained from exercising their right to the ballot, the elections returned an Assembly of distinctly liberal leaning. When this met at Frankfort in May, the Diet of the old Confederation ceased to function, a National German Empire was declared to have come into existence, and the drafting of a new constitution was begun. Had it been possible to complete these labors in the first flush of enthusiasm it is conceivable that a united Germany might then have taken shape through peaceful means. But the obstacles which it encountered were almost insuperable, and the resulting delays cost the Assembly dear. It was difficult to decide whether the government should be republican or monarchical, but more difficult to choose an acceptable prince after the monarchical principle was decided upon. It was impossible to reach a solution on the question as to whether only Austria proper or the whole of the Hapsburg Empire should be included in the new state. The "Little Germans," including Prussia, wanted the former;



FRANKFORT PARLIAMENT, 1848. AFTER A PAINTING BY FRITZ BAMBERGER.

This assembly of German liberals made an abortive effort to unify the Germanies during the "year of revolutions." In all likelihood, the artist was present at some of its meetings.

the "Great Germans," including Austria, would have nothing but the latter. Over these questions, as well as over the problem of what should be included within the written constitution, the Assembly lost so much time that when its labors seemed nearly completed it was already overwhelmed by the tide of reaction which was sweeping with full force over central and eastern Europe.

Reaction began, just as had revolution, in the Hapsburg dominions. The reason for this is not difficult to find. In the first place, the conservative traditions were strongly entrenched through long practice, and the majority of the people, who were peasants, had little enthusiasm for the revolutionary movements of the towns. The bourgeois were not numerous, except in the larger communities, and while they were able to master the situation for a while, they could not forever work at loggerheads with the more conservative country. In addition, there was a good deal of dissension between the bourgeois townsmen and the urban proletariat, much as there was in France, so that gains already made could hardly be consolidated against united opposition. To make matters still worse for the revolutionaries, there were profound disagreements among the various nationalities of the

Hapsburg Empire. The South Slavs disliked the Italians and the Magyars, who reciprocated their feelings. The Germans and Czechs hated each other. Under the circumstances, co-operation which alone would have ensured the gains of each was quite impossible, and the Hapsburg rulers, playing upon and utilizing these hatreds, were able to subjugate them all.

The first reversal of revolutionary fortunes occurred in Bohemia, where rivalries among the Czech patriots, and Czech-German feuds, so crippled the liberal autonomous regime that Prince Windischgrätz, the imperial commander, was able to make use of a riot in Prague in June swiftly to destroy the liberal government. The reforms of the preceding months were revoked and the area placed under martial law. Shortly afterward, the Austrian troops who were fighting the Italians were able to capitalize upon the weaknesses of Italian arms, occasioned by local reactions, to inflict a humiliating defeat upon Charles Albert and his allies. These successes revived the courage of the Emperor Ferdinand who now determined to crush the Hungarian and Viennese revolutionaries as well. To the attack of the former he dispatched a Croatian general, Jellacic, and to the attack of the latter, he dispatched General Windischgrätz. Jellacic set to rout an Hungarian army which had been sent to Vienna's relief, and in October the imperial troops beat down the resistance of the capital. A reactionary ministry was then established under Prince Schwarzenberg, relative of Windischgrätz, and a deliberate effort was made to set back the clock.

To release the government of any commitments it had made to the liberals, Schwarzenberg persuaded the incompetent Ferdinand to resign the throne and name his nephew, Franz Josef, as his successor. This done, the prime minister concentrated his energies upon the subjugation of Hungary. The task was more difficult than anticipated, but with the aid of Russian troops, the Hungarian nationalists were forced to their knees by the autumn of 1849.

Successful reaction in the Hapsburg Empire inspired the conservative elements of the German countries to try their hand at counter-revolution. Frederick William IV of Prussia took the lead. When the Constituent Assembly which he had convoked began to discuss the destruction of feudal privileges and of royal prerogatives, he supplanted his liberal ministry with a reactionary one and surrounded the Assembly with troops. Shortly thereafter he dissolved that body completely, resuming political power for himself and his ministers, though he promised to consult on certain matters with a parliament

which would represent the upper classes. Many of the other German princes once more followed suit.

This turn of the tide left the Frankfort Parliament in an embarrassing position. The liberals hoped that their labors might yet bear fruit, and, as a last resort, they offered the hereditary imperial crown of Germany to Frederick William, expecting that in this way his opposition to liberalism might be overcome and Germany be united under the headship of Prussia. The king was flattered and toyed with the idea, but was induced to reject the invitation by stern remonstrances from his powerful Austrian and Russian neighbors. Thereupon the Parliament dissolved and the hope of a liberal, united Germany vanished. In 1849 and 1850, Frederick William of Prussia, however, still contemplated the establishment of a united Germany, and persuaded a number of German states to co-operate with him in devising a plan. This, too, was prevented by the intervention of Austria which compelled Prussia to sign a treaty at Olmütz agreeing to the restoration of the German Confederation under the presidency of Austria. With the "humiliation of Olmütz," as this treaty was called by Prussian patriots, the last flicker of hope for a united Germany, even a conservative one, had been extinguished for the time being.

As in Germany and Austria, so in Italy the conservative elements managed to gain the upper hand almost everywhere. With the aid of French bayonets, the Roman Republic was destroyed and Pope Pius IX restored to the Holy City. King Ferdinand of Sicily recovered his power and filled his prisons with such revolutionaries as he did not execute. Everywhere, except in Sardinia, most of the concessions to liberalism were withdrawn, and the governments were fitted back into the old grooves. By June of 1849, many of the achievements of the revolutionaries were undone.

Because of the nature and the extent of the reaction, it might appear that the revolutions of 1848 had been almost completely futile. But, in fact, a considerable residue of liberalism remained after the flood had passed. Serfdom, which had been abolished by the revolutionaries in the Hapsburg Empire, was never restored, and elsewhere at least the forms of constitutional government then established were perpetuated in one way or another. Among the most notable of the constitutional regimes to survive was that of Sardinia, founded in the *Statuto* of 1848 and modeled after the British system. With it, Sardinia was able to take the leadership among the liberal movements of Italy and eventually unify the nation. Even in conservative Prussia, a constitution was decreed in 1850 which allowed for a popularly

elected lower house, even if it did not subscribe to the principle of ministerial responsibility. Everywhere the monopoly of the landed aristocracy was severely shaken, and the growing body of bourgeois was accorded a conspicuous place in the management of government.

C. BOURGEOIS ASCENDANCY

When the smoke and dust of the "year of revolutions" cleared away, the peoples of Europe discovered that they had exchanged one set of rulers for another. The land-owning aristocracy, although it retained considerable prestige and influence, had lost its monopoly and was forced to share the power with the great industrialists, financiers, and merchants (the plutocracy) who dominated the bourgeoisie. For the next several decades, aristocrat and plutocrat, with the petty bourgeois trailing after, compromised their aims in order to share the power to the exclusion of the proletariat. Lip service was largely paid to liberalism and democracy, humanitarianism was a real force, but government remained by the classes, not by the masses. Nationalism, so perfect an expression of the arrogant self-confidence of the bourgeoisie with its emphasis upon profit and glory for the individual and his group, reached its first maturity. Everywhere, the old order having been broken, the newly elevated rulers sought to make their power permanent. Further change, save in the interest of the ruling classes, became anathema to them; radicalism, socialism, and republicanism, things to be avoided like the plague. In fact, to carry the last simile further, the ruling classes regarded these things as dangerous diseases which had to be stamped out by disinfecting the peoples and isolating the carriers. The remainder of this chapter seeks to illustrate these trends by the case histories of France and Great Britain during the decades of the eighteen forties, fifties, and sixties.

The brief history of the Second French Republic (1848-1852) and of its successor, the Second Empire (1852-1870) center around the figure of the romantic adventurer, son of Louis Bonaparte and nephew of Napoleon I, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (1808-1873). Exiled from Paris at the age of seven, educated in Switzerland and southern Germany, he grew up persuaded that he also was a man of destiny, heir of the Napoleonic tradition and the French Revolution. Forced by circumstance into the role of a conspirator, Louis Napoleon had joined the *Carbonari* in their rising of 1831, been captured and released by the Austrian police; made an abortive attempt

to raise a revolt against Louis Philippe (1836) which resulted in exile to America; and again sought to unseat the bourgeois monarch in 1840. Jailed for this failure, he escaped to England in 1846, returning to France in time to become a member of the National Convention which drew up the constitution of the Second Republic. Entering the contest for the presidency, the magic of his name made him the beneficiary of the build-up which Louis Philippe's government had given his uncle. His undeserved reputation for liberalism and his vague and sentimental utterances in favor of democracy, the rights of man, and social justice won him the votes of the "radicals." The glamor of the family name won the support of those who had been taught to regard the Empire as the "good old days" of French power and glory, and his tactful treatment of the conservative bourgeois and peasantry earned him their backing. "All things to all men," Louis Napoleon Bonaparte won the election by an overwhelming majority and became the first, and last President of the Second Republic.

President Bonaparte was an interesting if not an impressive man. Gracious and pleasant, he charmed most of those with whom he came in contact. Later, his failures and his vacillating and sometimes contradictory policies angered and dismayed those who had first hailed him. A dreamer of dreams, he had visions of himself as the dominating power in Europe. Convinced of the reality of his "mission," he was avidly ambitious to perform it. His policies, usually cloaked in fine-sounding phrases of liberalism and nationalism, were personal, designed to bring the fulfillment of personal ambitions. Despite his pose as the heir of the great general, he hated and feared war and bloodshed. Conspiracy and intrigue, not open force, were the means he preferred. Although he possessed some ability as an administrator and more as a demagogue, he was essentially weak.

Between him and the conservative, monarchistic Legislative Assembly, elected at the same time, an intense rivalry grew up. France, a republic with few republicans in office, had a president who longed to be emperor, and an assembly which wanted to re-establish a monarchy. Only in their essential conservatism were they agreed. With consummate skill Louis Napoleon bid for the support of all classes. He won Catholic backing by sending an army to crush the Roman Republic and restore the pope (1849), and by securing passage of the Falloux Law (1850) which restored control of education to the Catholic Church. Special favors to the army won its loyalty, and the conservatives and standpatters were aligned on his side by

his anti-socialist, anti-radical speeches and actions. By 1849, persecutions and censorship had broken the republican party. On the other hand, he gained the favor of the urban proletariat by a law which permitted voluntary old-age insurance (1850), and won the plaudits of the masses by his loud demands for universal manhood suffrage.

This latter issue he twisted into a means to personal victory. The Assembly in 1850 passed a new electoral law which virtually disfranchised about a third of the nine million adult Frenchmen. The president at once sprang forward as champion of this group, denied the legislature's right to limit the suffrage, and demanded a retraction. A deadlock ensued which lasted a year until Louis Napoleon, with army support, pulled off a coup d'état. When the Assembly ignored his ultimatum calling for the re-establishment of universal manhood suffrage, he proclaimed a temporary dictatorship, forcibly dissolved the Assembly, restored the suffrage to those disfranchised, and sought a plebiscite (December, 1851). Force and exile stilled the opposition, and a popular vote approved his action and empowered him to revise the constitution. The revision was a triumph of hypocrisy. It still called France a republic and provided for an assembly chosen by manhood suffrage. But it subordinated that assembly to a Senate and Council of State, both to be appointed by the President, and reduced its power to nullity. The presidential term was lengthened to ten years. Thus under the guise of liberalism and democracy he paved the road leading to an imperial scepter.

The succeeding months, Louis Napoleon devoted to selling the French people his dream of empire. Napoleonic insignia reappeared, and he made "good-will" tours through the provinces. A portion of one of the speeches he delivered during such a trip is both interesting and revealing of the man and his methods. "I would conquer for the sake of religion, morality, and material ease, that portion of the population, still very numerous, which, in the midst of a country of faith and belief, hardly knows the precepts of Christ; which, in the midst of the most fertile country of the world, is hardly able to enjoy the primary necessities of life. We have immense uncultivated districts to bring under cultivation, roads to open, harbors to construct, rivers to render navigable, canals to finish, and our network of railways to bring to completion. . . . This is what I understand by the Empire, if the Empire is to be re-established. These are the conquests which I contemplate, and all of you who surround me, who, like myself, wish the good of our common fatherland, you are my soldiers." ¹

¹ Quoted by Hayes, C. J. H., *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*. Two volumes. N. Y., 1936. II:193.

The people listened and were convinced. In December of 1852, with the approval of another plebiscite, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed Napoleon III, Emperor of the French. The Second Empire had replaced the Second Republic. He had won the bourgeoisie by his repression of the radicalism which haunted them like a specter, the proletariat by his farce of popular suffrage, and the nationalist by his dream of a new place in the sun to be won for France. The Government which he established was an autocracy, veiled, but real. By laws which limited the rights of debate and of legislation, he controlled the legislature. Elections were manipulated by gerrymandering, by control of nominations, and by the exercise of pressure on the electorate through the dependent and therefore loyal bureaucracy. The press was gagged by restrictive censorship and the universities muzzled by extra-legal pressure. Courses in modern history, always a target for dictators, were suppressed as being dangerous to the regime. The Church was bribed by continuing its control of education and by other favors. Private opposition was silenced by an active and efficient secret police and by the imprisonment or exile of offenders without benefit of a civil trial. His hypocritical mouthings about popular sovereignty to the contrary, Napoleon III, like all other dictators, ruled by force. The steel was no less hard for being hidden with velvet.

Napoleon's major support came from the bourgeoisie, and of their aims and wishes he was tenderly solicitous. "Economic liberalism" was both his theory and his practice. The doctrines of *laissez-faire* were applied, and government restrictions upon business and industry decreased. Free trade was furthered and an Anglo-French commercial reciprocity treaty was negotiated (1860). At the same time, with an inconsistency which has never troubled either business or government, the latter which was reducing its interference in the form of restrictions was increasing it in the form of aid. This contradictory situation in which business demands and gets non-interference on the one hand, and government assistance on the other is a still-recurring paradox. Napoleon III granted large subsidies to railroads and to the merchant marine with the result that both railway trackage and foreign trade increased five hundred percent under his regime. Metallurgical industries, with government aid, also developed rapidly; the great munitions firm of Le Creusot, for example, having been founded in this period. Banks, too, were encouraged by the government and a national bank, *Le Crédit Foncier*, was established. Altogether, it was

an era of prosperity, with prices, profits, and wages all rising, and speculation increasing.

The Emperor was wise enough to conciliate labor. Labor unions, strikes, and producer and consumer co-operatives were all permitted; and unions were given government subsidies to enable them to provide pensions and social insurance for their members. Many asylums, hospitals, and public pawn shops, where the poor could get small loans at reasonable rates, were established. An extensive program of public works relieved unemployment and gave some aid to commerce and industry. As the Emperor had promised, harbors were deepened, roads improved, and canals dug. Paris was rebuilt into "the most beautiful city in the world" and deliberately made the play city of the world as well.

Less successful but more spectacular were the foreign adventures of the Emperor who saw himself as the "arbiter of Europe." Napoleon's first aim was always the attainment of personal triumph and renown which would enable him to remain in power, for he was sensible of the fact that the Napoleonic reputation, fed on conquest and glory, would starve without victories. His second purpose was to give France an empire once more. His third was to pose as a champion of liberalism and a friend of "self-determination." But the underlying fact of his foreign policy was his desperate determination to live and die an emperor. It was this, primarily, which tied his foreign to his domestic policy and caused frequent interaction between them.

He began his adventuring by joining Great Britain against Russia in the Crimean War (1854-1856).¹ No important French interests were involved, and there was no real reason why France should have aided Britain to keep the Russians out of Constantinople and maintain the Anglo-Turkish trade connection. But Napoleon sought personal glory, and sent his troops to die in the Crimea that he might have it. A year later he again allied with Great Britain, this time against China, and the two powers won trade concessions from the Chinese. This done, he nibbled away at China's vassal states, annexing Cochin China (1862-1863) and setting up a protectorate over Annam (1870). Meanwhile, he had completed the conquest of Algeria, begun in 1830, and had become involved in the Italian situation.

Searching still for glory, toying with the idea of succoring an

¹ For more extensive treatments from other viewpoints of Napoleon's adventures refer as follows: Crimean War, pp. 728-796; Far East, pp. 864, 866; Sardinia and Austria, pp. 728-729; and Prussia, pp. 743-764.

oppressed people, and with romantic allusions to his days in the *Carbonari*, Napoleon III allied himself with Cavour (1858) for a price—the cession of Nice and Savoy. Cavour maneuvered, literally and figuratively, and the Austro-Sardinio-French War began. Amid the plaudits of the liberals, French troops marched off to defeat the Austrians at the battles of Magenta and Solferino (1859). Then, though Austria was not yet driven from the Italian peninsula, as he had boasted she would be, Napoleon suddenly withdrew from the war. The reasons for this action were threefold but they are all bound together with his determination to remain in power. Prussia, uneasy at the French advance, and ready to fight if need be to save Austria, had asked Russia and Great Britain to mediate. Napoleon dared not risk either a diplomatic or a military defeat which would have certainly jarred him from his throne. Secondly, he had alienated the French Catholics and the Church by supporting a movement which they correctly guessed would menace the temporal power of the pope. Their complaints swelled the murmur of domestic discontent to a volume which worried the Emperor. Finally, Napoleon belatedly woke to the realization that he was aiding a possible future rival.

But not even his *volte face* could repair the damage already done. Desertion of Cavour did not restore the Catholic's faith in him, and it did alienate the liberals. Austria, weakened by defeat, was an easier prey both for Italy and Prussia so that Napoleon, despite himself, contributed to a radical change in the status quo. Moreover, the Italians, embittered by his abandonment of them, would consent to no compromise to save the old order. By plebiscite, the central Italies, with the benevolent support of Great Britain, voted to join Sardinia. Napoleon had to acquiesce. Finally, much troubled by the crecive discontent among his subjects, Napoleon attempted a policy of appeasement. Censorship laws were relaxed and some authority was given the legislature. The result was not contentment but a swelling chorus of criticism.

Napoleon looked about for some easy triumphs with which to gag his critics. If he could win new victories, or, better, give France an empire, all might yet be forgiven and forgotten. Russian and Prussian hostility precluded any further advances in Europe, but troubled times across the Atlantic seemed to offer a wonderful chance to capitalize on others' misfortunes. In the first years of the American Civil War, he toyed with the thought of an alliance with the South, but when Britain flatly rejected his milder scheme for offering mediation,

he was forced to give up all idea of intervention. However, if the States were closed to him, Mexico, always in a ferment, was not. What was more, Mexico was heavily in debt to Britain, France, and Spain, and President Juarez had suspended all payments on the debts (1861). A tripartite expedition was despatched to force Juarez to meet his obligations (1862). Britain and Spain, correctly suspecting Napoleon of ulterior motives, soon withdrew their troops. The French pressed on, captured Mexico City, dispossessed the government and set up a puppet empire. As a conciliatory gesture, Napoleon offered the throne to the well-intentioned dilettante, Archduke Maximilian of Austria, who accepted it to please his wife.

It was a mistake pregnant with tragedy. The Mexican people rose in rebellion and only French bayonets kept Maximilian on his shaky throne. For Napoleon, life grew steadily more complex. The Civil War over, the United States put heavy pressure upon Napoleon to withdraw his support from his puppet Mexican empire. In Europe, Bismarck was forcing Austria toward war and Prussia toward expansion. Napoleon could afford no trans-Atlantic complications if he were to attempt to set a limit to the Prussian's advance which so menaced his own prestige. Worse yet, his critics at home were growing more outspoken and more dangerous. There was no choice. The Emperor of the French recalled his troops. The Emperor of Mexico played the hero and the fool and stayed to be shot by Juarez' firing squad (1867). The Mexican adventure had ended in utter failure. Money and men had been spent in vain, and the carefully nurtured Napoleonic prestige approached its nadir.

The costs of foreign adventure were piling up, and mounting taxes cooled the bourgeois enthusiasm for empire. The proletariat, their earlier naive trust in Napoleon now turned to ashes in their mouths, listened eagerly to radical leaders. A new Republican Party led by the young Léon Gambetta, rose surging toward power. Catholics, still disillusioned, grew increasingly hostile. Napoleon's house of cards was falling in upon him with each angry blast from his now unmuffled opponents. Abroad, the clouds of disaster gathered fast and in most of them appeared the face of Bismarck. No matter what diplomatic twists and turns he took, the Emperor could not match the Prussian *Junker's* victory over Austria (1866). Nor was the future brighter. Russia had not forgotten the Crimea, nor Austria, Magenta. Italy recalled Napoleon as the traitor who took his pound of flesh despite his treachery; and Great Britain smugly distrusted his too-often demonstrated duplicity. Alone and friendless, aging and tiring,

the little Napoleon still followed the star which led him to his Waterloo.

One desperate gamble remained. Hatred and fear of Prussia united all the French. Dare he make his bid on that? He did. Another revision of the constitution (1870) reduced his power to that of a constitutional monarch. The clamor of discontent lessened but did not still. He tried to drown it out with blasts upon a war trumpet. From across the Rhine, the wily Prussian answered in kind, and two peoples were again made mad by martial music. An invitation to occupy the throne of Spain, left vacant by revolt, provided the fuse. Once refused by its recipient, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, it was renewed and accepted at Bismarck's insistence. Under strong protest from France, Leopold changed his acceptance to refusal. Then, Napoleon, ill-advised, sought to press his advantage by extracting a promise from the Prussian king that no member of his family would accept the proffered crown. The king's reply was vague, but Bismarck so changed its form and content before he gave it to the press that it sounded to the Prussians as though their king had been insulted and to the French as if their ambassador had been humiliatingly rebuffed. The spark had touched the fuse; war began almost at once.

The details of that struggle are of little moment now. Despite their swaggering boasts the French were ill-prepared, and no match for Bismarck's well-trained, efficient troops. In September less than six weeks after the war began, the Emperor himself was captured by the Prussians at the battle of Sedan. The Second Empire was over. Republicans in Paris, chief among them Gambetta, declared the Emperor deposed and a republic established. That belongs to another story. Napoleon, ex-emperor now, remained in a German prison until the final peace was made in 1871. Then, utterly broken, he made his way to England where he died two years later, a disillusioned, broken-hearted man.

The nation which sheltered the exiled Napoleon, no less than the nation which drove him out, had been through the era of the political compromise. The aristocratic Tory and the bourgeois Whig had effected a tacit, informal, undefined and often disavowed alliance whose real purpose was to "keep labor in its place." By and large, this so-called Victorian Compromise sought to carry into practice the basic tenets of bourgeois philosophy. This was the heyday of "economic liberalism" with its insistence upon *laissez-faire* and the rights of "rugged individualism." The rights of private ownership

were held more sacred than justice or even human life. That government was most esteemed which governed least, and no government worthy of its name would interfere between a man and his right to make a profit, no matter what the cost to others. Labor was free to sell itself wherever it could do so best; free also to starve if there were no sale. By the same token, the employer was free to hire and fire as he chose, and to pay as little for labor as he could. Poverty, it was held, resulted from imprudence and the operation of the "natural laws" which weeded out the weak. Private philanthropy might, and often did, relieve the sufferings of the poor but that was charity and not the business of the government. Trade should be free from government impost, though it might accept government aid. Democracy, universal suffrage, the will of the people, were but the cant of unworldly fools. Possession of property alone could give a voice in the government; and the more property, the louder that voice should be. These were the guiding principles of the Victorian Compromise.

Certainly they would have been less widely accepted had it not been for two things which were both measure and symbol of middle-class power: Chartism and the free trade movement. Chartism, so-named for the People's Charter, as the program of its adherents was called, was a social and economic movement of the disfranchised which first appeared in 1836. Stung by what it held to be its betrayal by the bourgeoisie in the Reform Bill of 1832, injured in both body and spirit by the Poor Law of 1834 and suffering from the recurrent depressions, the proletariat sought political power as a means to gain social and economic reforms. Definitely a class conscious movement, it not only rejected bourgeois support but was anti-bourgeois in character. Since the ballot was denied them, the Chartists sought to gain their ends by petitioning Parliament. Three times they tried and three times they failed, yet, to us, their demands seem moderate. They asked for six things: (1) universal manhood suffrage; (2) annual parliaments; (3) equal electoral districts; (4) voting by ballot; (5) abolition of the property qualifications for members of Parliament; and (6) the payment of members of Parliament. Read in the light of the Victorian Compromise it is easy to see why these demands, which would have overturned the status quo, were rejected. Chartism failed in its immediate purpose, and its "radicalism" discredited labor as revolutionary, but in the end its failure turned to success. Undoubtedly the movement speeded the passage of regulatory laws like the Mines Act, but more importantly, the program itself, once the taint of radicalism had vanished from it, was eventually accepted and put

into effect by the middle class. It is worthy of note both that conditions were such as to call forth this movement by the underprivileged, and that its program succeeded only when it later won the blessing of the dominant bourgeoisie.

More clearly than Chartism, the successful contest for the establishment of free trade reflected the attainment of superiority by the middle class. Symbol and center of the old policy, were the Corn Laws, passed by and for the landlord class for its own profit. Never fair to the people at large, the Corn Laws had become more unjust as an industrialized England became increasingly dependent upon imported foods. The fight against the laws was led by the Anti-Corn Law League, founded, organized, and financed by the manufacturing interests, but drawing the bulk of its members from the proletariat. From its founding at Manchester in 1838/39, the guiding geniuses of this lobby were Richard Cobden and John Bright, both wealthy manufacturers. The two formed an excellent team. The dynamic Cobden organized and directed the movement and won financial support for it from his colleagues; Bright, an unexcelled orator, won labor to its side. The motives which led the capitalists to contribute to the League were interesting and complex. Humanitarianism and an honest sense of justice were important, but so also was a desire to increase private profits by reducing the living costs of labor and so making lower wages possible. Some men saw in the League an answer to Chartism; others thought of it as an attack upon the aristocracy. Class interests played a part and so did the belief that free trade was for the national good. As for labor, its membership was recruited by promises of cheaper bread, and of the ballot.

For seven years, the lobby brought increasing pressure to bear, but its ultimate success was partially due to other contributing forces. Sir Robert Peel, Tory leader, became convinced of the justice of repeal and slowly made up his mind that loyalty to his country transcended loyalty to his party. Economic depression with its unemployment, and bad harvests in the "hungry forties" made some action seem the more imperative. But the deciding event was the horrible Irish famine (1846-1847) which took over two million lives, and forced the British government to vigorous action to relieve the distress. In such a case, an import tax on grain seemed wholly criminal. The Corn Laws were abolished in 1846, and the middle class had won. With the repeal of the last of the Navigation Acts in 1849, the old order had given place to the era of free trade and bourgeois ascendancy.

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¹ See also the bibliographies for Chapters XXI, XXV and XXVI.

The Political Foundations of Modern Europe

A. RACIAL AND HISTORICAL NATIONALISM

"Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer" ("one people, one state, one leader") was the slogan used by the propaganda agencies of Nazi Germany prior to the annexation of Austria and Sudetenland in an effort to incite and popularize what may be designated as racial and historical nationalism. As Chapter IX pointed out, the force of nationalism is exceedingly hard to define since it is an intangible which lacks any common frame of reference. For purposes of discussion, nationalism might be defined as, positively, the possession of a sense of national unity in background, aims, and interests; negatively, as a feeling that one's own nation differs from all others. In this sense, nationalism can be in the possession only of an already existent nation such as France, the United States, Bavaria, or Sardinia. It cannot be the attribute of a disunited people who lack a common background, culture, or interest.

Racial and historical nationalism, or unionism, as it might be called, was, however, a powerful force in the small states of Central and Eastern Europe during the nineteenth century. In distinction from nationalism, unionism may be defined as a desire for political union based less on actual resemblance than on the following factors: (1) a vague sense or a propaganda myth that certain peoples came once from the same racial stock, for example, Roman, or Slavic, or Germanic; or (2) a hazy recollection of some past union such as that of ancient Poland, or the Roman Empire; or (3) certain cultural affinities. Probably unionism was inspired in part by the example of nations already formed by the amalgamation of diverse groups as had happened in the cases of France, Spain, Great Britain, and the United States. Another source of inspiration was the intellectual movement of the early nineteenth century which is known as Ro-

manticism, one phase of which laid great stress upon "racial" or "nationalistic" history. Typical of this school of historians was the German pioneer, Johan von Herder (1744-1803), who began the collection of Germanic folksongs and folklore as evidence in support of his thesis that each people had its own peculiar character, genius, and mission.

As an intellectual and sentimental force only, racial and historical nationalism was not strong enough to bring similar but individualized groups together. It was, however, of tremendous importance in preparing for that end. Peoples had to be taught the stories—true and false—of their common origin and past glories. They had to be educated to desire unification with other groups. An excellent and recent case history of this process is found in the actions of Nazi Germany toward Austria and the Sudetenland which climaxed in 1938. Austrians and Sudetens were both Germanic in culture, background, and interests, but neither was German. The distinction is real and important. For months, even years, both peoples were bombarded with German propaganda designed to promote the feelings of racial and historical nationalism. Only when the way was thus prepared did the Nazi government carry out what it called the "unification" of these peoples with the Third Reich. Most of the world, however, termed these actions "annexation" or "expansion," a significant key to an understanding of what took place in Italy and the Germanies late in the nineteenth century. The "unifications" of 1938 and of the Germanic states into the German Empire and of the Italianate states into the Kingdom of Italy in the nineteenth century have much in common. In all of them, a propaganda appeal eased the way for political action which was carried out partly with the compliance of and partly at the expense of the peoples involved.

The delay in what is traditionally called the "unification" of Germany and Italy, but which is more accurately termed the expansion of Prussia and Sardinia into the German Empire and the Italian Kingdom, respectively, was due chiefly to three things. First was the long submergence of these areas under the rule of more or less alien dynasties. When Capetian France and Angevin England were slowly extending their domains, the Italianate and Germanic states were members of the Holy Roman Empire. The theoretical unity of this empire hindered but, as the expansion of the Mark of Brandenburg into the Kingdom of Prussia proved, did not stop nationalistic growth. It did, however, result in the formation of what were actually small, independent, sovereign states, of which more will be said shortly.

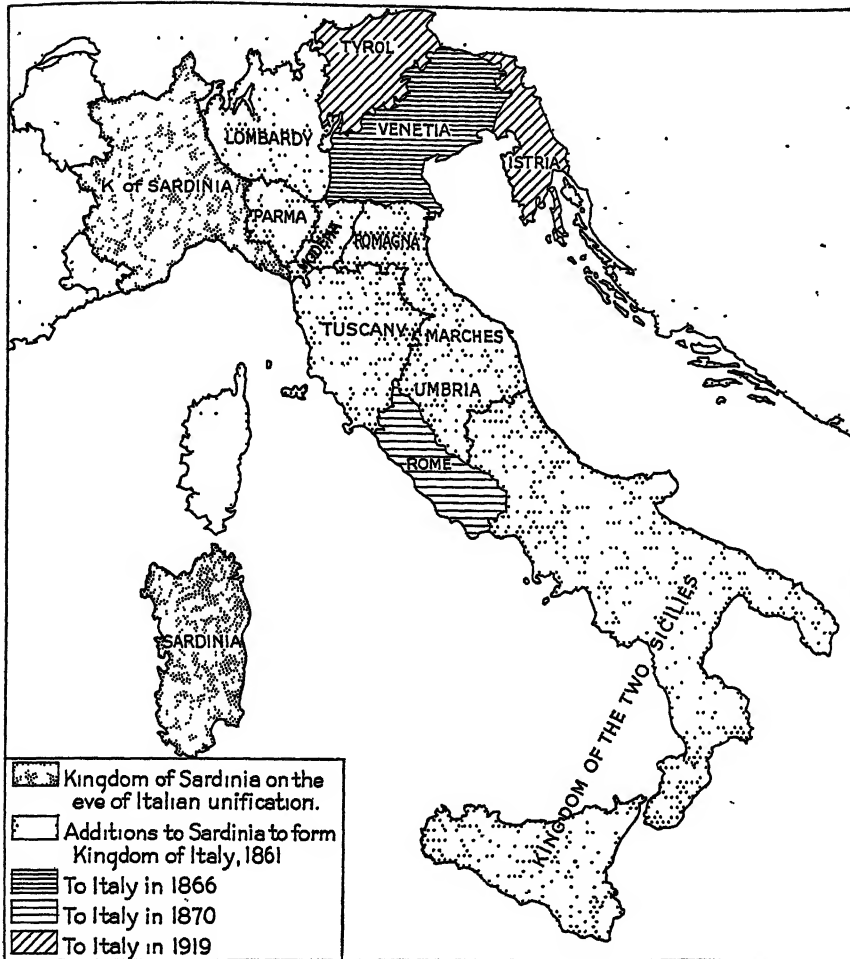
When Napoleon finally buried the long-dead carcass of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, he replaced it with an empire of his own in which these small states, though reduced in number, were still submerged. The Vienna Settlement established the hegemony of Austria in the Germanic Confederation, and assured her direct or indirect control in most of the states of the Italian peninsula. This meant that Austrian domination had to be ended before any other state could expand.

The second, and in many ways the gravest obstacle was the existence of what have been termed particularisms. The actual disunity of the various empires had given rise to scores of states, some tiny, some fairly large, which developed local or particular nationalisms. Most of these states had their own aims and aspirations. Some of them had dialects so distinctive as to be almost a separate tongue. In short, these various states, such as Prussia and Bavaria in the Germanies, and Sardinia and the Papal States in Italy, were really small nations. Naturally they were reluctant to surrender rights and powers which they had exercised for years. To bring them together required not only propaganda, but also concessions and force.

The third set of circumstances which retarded the movement were geographic and economic isolation, the latter being partly one of the aspects of particularism. Until a customs union (the Zollverein) was initiated by Prussia in 1819, the various Germanic states were separated by customs barriers which greatly hindered trade. In Italy, there was a contrast between the northern portion which was influenced by industrialization by mid-century and the southern part which remained pre-eminently agricultural. Economic sectionalism thus tended to keep the various regions separated. A satisfactory working agreement among them had to be effected before a lasting union was possible. The ways and means by which alien dominance was shaken off, particularisms overcome or temporarily downed, and isolations broken constitute the major theme of this chapter. A study of the methods employed and the type of states established will confirm the description of this movement as a kind of expansion.

B. MODERN ITALY

For nearly a half century after the Congress of Vienna, Italy remained, as Metternich once described it, a mere geographical expression. Yet within the short span of two years (1859-1861), prac-



MAP 30. THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

tically the whole of the peninsula had been joined together into the Kingdom of Italy, under the House of Savoy; and within a decade more, through the acquisition of Venetia from Austria and what remained of the Papal States, United Italy took its place with the nation states of Europe. None of the important territorial transformations of modern times was of deeper significance. Austria's domination of eastern and central Europe had been shattered; the temporalities of the Papacy had vanished; the balance of power in the Mediterranean had been unsettled; and, of greater import still, the fires of nationalism had been fed everywhere in Europe, especially in Germany, in Poland, and in the Balkan States. The unification of Italy

was, indeed, one of the great landmarks in the evolution of the modern age.

The obstacles to "union" or even "federation" of the Italian states had long made many despair of its achievement. Divided for centuries, and torn by mutual rivalries and jealousies, there seemed little hope that the reigning dynasties could be persuaded to co-operate, and still less that they could be swiftly banished. There were strong vested interests in each state which clung tenaciously to the status quo, but, of more importance, was the fact that the mass of people, largely peasant and illiterate, had deep-seated local loyalties and marked cultural peculiarities, both of which inclined them to regard federation or union with distrust if not with actual antipathy. Moreover, the Church, which exercised the greatest influence among the peasantry, and a great deal among the other classes as well, vigorously opposed territorial changes which might jeopardize the temporal rights of the Papacy. This was, indeed, the hardest hurdle for the exponents of unity to clear. To create a United Italy without the Papal States and perhaps the city of Rome was impossible; to incorporate them by force was to incite the anger of the Catholic world and to undermine the state from the beginning by antagonizing millions of devout native Catholics. The Papal States stood athwart Italy, a perpetual challenge to the prophets of territorial change. Besides such powerful deterrents was one other: foreign powers, especially Austria, which, because of established interests in the peninsula or for reasons of policy, deemed it essential to perpetuate the existing order. Popular feeling against the "foreigner" was general, but could not be capitalized upon unless the various governments would cease working at cross purposes, which seemed unlikely, or unless the momentary aid of a great friendly state could be enlisted, which to some seemed a pipe-dream and to others a positive danger. That each of these obstacles was successfully overcome was the result of much propaganda, the fortuitous concurrence of economic and political circumstance, and astute, if Machiavellian statesmanship.

The background for this *Risorgimento*, as the period of the "resurgence" and unification of Italy is called, was laid in the post-Renaissance era. The shift in the center of European trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic which occurred then condemned the flourishing cities of the peninsula to economic stagnation. Their grasp upon the surrounding countryside relaxed, and the economic, social, and political bonds which held the city-state together slowly but steadily loosened. Transactions across the frontiers became more fre-

quent; the people ceased to be drawn to the old metropolis. The consequences of this change reflected both in the granting of more autonomy to the smaller towns and communes, and in the steady reduction in number of sovereign states. This latter tendency was particularly marked during the eighteenth century, and even the Congress of Vienna, despite professed intentions to restore the old order, ended by reducing still further the number of independent states. Thus gradually the way was pointed toward complete unification, unconsciously, but in response to the social and economic needs of the Italian people.

During the eighteenth century, the forces leading toward unification were noticeably quickened. Of particular significance was a cultural revival everywhere apparent and everywhere characterized by an awakened social consciousness. Though this was much influenced by French rationalism, which was widely imitated, it possessed a peculiar Italian quality and was reflective of native genius. Literature of other lands, especially England and France, was translated and interest stimulated in the achievements of these united peoples. Local abuses of society and government were exposed, and princes persuaded to institute reforms which might eliminate the danger of future revolution. It is worth noting that much had been accomplished in this direction, under the stimulus of the intellectuals, before the revolutionary storm broke in France. Thus the path to liberalism was cleared. But probably the most important contribution of the intellectuals was their demonstration that the problems of various Italians were common problems, that they partook of a common heritage, and that culturally they were more alike than different. Though none of them actually espoused political unification for these reasons, they helped make it possible for later generations to do so.

To this end the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire also made a notable contribution. The course of the Revolution in its early years had been followed with close attention in the peninsula; many were fearful that the contagion might spread, others, attracted by its ideology, hoped that it would. Among those with more advanced views, it was felt that the revolutionaries might be persuaded to help their Italian brothers win freedom too and then, with self-sacrificing devotion, leave the Italians to their own devices. In this quarter, the advancing troops of France were first greeted with open arms. But optimism soon turned to disillusionment, and disillusionment grew into open opposition, for the French proved to be oppressors bent upon making Italy a dependent province of the French

imperium rather than freeing it. The ruling families were swept aside, and all of the territory, exclusive of Sardinia and Sicily, was made to satisfy the requirements of imperial policy. The Republics, first set up as little more than French dependencies, soon gave way to the dynastic ambitions of Napoleon. Piedmont, Genoa, and even Rome were annexed and the remaining duchies and kingdoms were turned over to Napoleon's family or friends.

These changes might have been less offensive to the Italians if genuine efforts had been made to govern them in accordance with their own traditions and needs. But Napoleon determined to orient Italy toward Paris. Old systems of administration were abandoned; the schools and universities were freed from the control of the Church and brought under the control of the Empire; commerce and trade were diverted toward France; and French agents frequently took over the exploitation of native resources. Native opposition grew, manifested in such forms as secret societies pledged to overthrow the French or to petition the government of Paris, or even to the establishment of an independent and united Italy. Significantly enough, Napoleon himself facilitated the spread of this discontent by breaking down the old frontiers and improving systems of communication. French control gave proof of what the pre-revolutionary intellectuals had already discovered, that the Italian people were much alike, and even more it provided them with a common enemy to fight. These were the real contributions of French dominion to the cause of Italian unity. Yet it cannot be said that French occupation left a real national sentiment, except in the minds of the very few. It was not until the mellowing effects of time combined with oppressions and changes of economic life, that the germs planted in Napoleonic times were able to mature.

For the majority of Italians, hatred of the French was more intense than any desire to set up an independent, national state. It was for that reason that they acquiesced so readily to the "restoration" of the Congress of Vienna and to the establishment of native, reactionary governments. Indeed, the extent of popular feeling against the foreign tyrant who profaned God and disturbed the public peace was so great that the new governments were persuaded to go farther in turning back the clock than was either wise or necessary. Almost all of them made the mistake of abandoning not only "French" reforms but also many of the pre-revolutionary era as well; of failing to restore the local autonomies which were highly prized and which the French destroyed; of silencing all public criticism by force; of align-

ing themselves directly or indirectly with Austria. Their very enthusiasm for reaction spelled their doom, and reawakened a popular interest in the principles which the French Revolution had expounded but had not realized.

Public functionaries, including a number of bourgeoisie, who had served during the Napoleonic era, and were now dismissed by the "restored" governments, radicals of advanced views who were threatened with execution or imprisonment, as well as brigands and malcontents of all types who were ready for any adventure, combined to oppose the restoration. Taking their cue from the secret societies, especially Freemasonry, which had become popular among the cultivated classes during the eighteenth century, they created a number of secret sects, pledged to violence and revolution. The largest and most powerful of these was the *Carbonari* (Charcoal Burners),¹ which established branches in all the Italian states, but conducted its operations chiefly from Naples. Apparently founded by the Spanish liberals who contested the Napoleonic occupation and drafted the famous constitution of 1812, it spread to southern Italy in the latter days of Napoleon where it conducted operations against the French. With the collapse of the empire, it passed through a rapid transformation; its doors were opened to those who had felt the sting of reaction, and it emerged as the champion of reform. Its spread was rapid thereafter, and it soon became the model for and spiritual head of a number of other secret societies.

Composed of divergent groups whose only bond was discontent, crude and obscurantist, the Society of the Carbonari was inherently weak. Its objectives could never be clearly defined, even within the local chapters; and between the branches of the various political divisions, there were the widest differences of opinion. Some wanted only conservative local reforms; some preferred to adopt a constitution of the English model, while many more believed in the constitution of 1812; some would have abandoned monarchy in favor of a republic; and there were not a few who envisioned a united Italy. Indeed the constitution of the Carbonari, adopted in 1816, established as its motto "Unity, Liberty, Independence." But it may well be questioned whether the majority had more than the vaguest notion of what this meant. Most of them, especially the leaders, were attached more to lofty principles than to dull realities; they believed in abstract doctrines without understanding them, and had an unreason-

¹ So-called from their patron saint, St. Theobald, whom they asserted spent his ascetic life in the woods burning charcoal.

ing faith in the conquering power of ideas. To devise a theoretically ideal constitution and then secure its adoption, whether it fitted practical needs or not, was all that seemed necessary. The secret societies were scarcely capable of conducting successful revolution, yet they were responsible for recurrent uprisings between 1816 and 1831 which kept alive the hope of ultimate success. During 1820-1821, they compelled both Naples and Savoy to grant constitutions which were modeled upon the Spanish constitution of 1812. With the actual or promised support of Austria, the sovereigns of these two states quickly revoked the pledges made under duress, and together with all the other governments of the peninsula set about exterminating the secret societies. Austria took the lead, subjecting to execution and imprisonment some 1,500 suspects. Elsewhere the repression was proportionately as great. Despite the severity of these measures, the Societies were by no means completely suppressed; but they were made more cautious. During 1830 and 1831, they were again responsible for widespread revolutionary uprisings. Hoping this time to have the passive support of France against Austria, since Louis Philippe had encouraged their plot, they arranged for simultaneous outbreaks throughout the whole peninsula. Their operations on this occasion were somewhat more than vaguely unitary in character. Beginning in Modena, they soon spread throughout central Italy, including Rome, but elsewhere the movement was disappointing, and the assistance from France never materialized. After a brief and only partial success, the sectarian revolutionaries again succumbed to reaction which Austria promptly supported. These uniform failures condemned the Secret Societies in the eyes of the rising generation of Italian patriots, and they gradually disappeared. But they left a permanent impression upon subsequent revolutionary movements, all of which learned much in the art of conspiracy from them as well as a clearer knowledge of the difficult problems which had to be overcome. What is certainly equally significant, they had helped to mold opinion in favor of that unity toward which the circumstances of life and thought were moving a growing number of the Italian people.

It was no mere coincidence that Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1873), the first individual to give clear expression to the ideal of Italian national unity, was one of the Carbonari. Born in Genoa, the son of a struggling doctor imbued with liberal ideas and of a mother whose deep piety and religious emotionalism left a permanent impress upon his character, Mazzini was exposed during his impressionable years to influences which aroused in him an almost fanatical zeal for the

cause of Italian nationalism. At the age of 22 he joined the *Carboneria*, becoming involved shortly thereafter in the abortive uprising against the government of Savoy (1830). He was imprisoned, but since absolute proof of guilt was lacking, a mild sentence permitted him to retire into exile. Accepting his fate with a heavy heart but a dauntless spirit, Mazzini left for France, and from Marseilles in 1831 launched a new patriotic society, the *Giovine Italia* (Young Italy), to propagate the cause of liberty and unity among the Italian people.

The creed of the *Giovine Italia* embodied the essence of Mazzini's political thought. The complete development of man, progress for the whole of human society, he held, could not be realized without the attainment of absolute freedom, that is to say freedom of the individual and freedom of nations. The French Revolution had made the former possible; the latter had still to be won. When once nations of free individuals were free, then all of them could be united into a vast association of sister republics which, by mutual love, co-operation, and peace, could carry out their respective missions and the missions of divine Providence. National unifications of peoples was thus elevated to a holy cause; and Mazzini preached it with the fanatical ardor of the crusader. It was this religious quality of his movement which gave it its powerful driving force. He saw Italy playing the leading role in the fulfillment of this mission, just as France had pointed the way toward freeing the individual. But he was not provincial, for he both hoped and believed that the Polish and German people would contribute their share. It was for that reason that he organized (1834) a *Giovine Europa* (Young Europe) among Polish, German, and Italian patriots, to supplement the *Giovine Italia* which he had created for Italy.

Fundamental in his whole system of thought was the idea that the attainment of complete freedom be realized only through the establishment of national republican governments, since these alone were based upon free association of free individuals. For Italy, therefore, the course of procedure seemed perfectly clear: drive out Austria; destroy the local tyrannies; and then, abolishing all traditional political frontiers, unite the Italian people under one republican government. He was convinced that the Italians could accomplish all of this alone and unassisted.

Directing activities from abroad, Mazzini established secret branches of the *Giovine Italia* in the principal towns and cities of the peninsula, keeping in touch with them through their committees and through the periodical, *Giovine Italia*, which he published and smug-

gled into the country. As with the older secret societies, members were recognized by signs and passwords, which changed with consistent regularity to elude detection by the police. They were to be young men under forty, pledged to active propagation of unity and the republic, prepared to sacrifice their lives, if need be, for the cause. That "action" was intended was made clear from the fact that each member was expected to supply himself with a dagger, a gun, and fifty cartridges.

Though the movement spread rapidly among the youth and inflamed their revolutionary temper, Mazzini was always overly optimistic about its strength. Theoretically, there were enough followers to conduct successful uprisings, but while many of them sympathized with Mazzini's ultimate objectives, they shrank from acts of violence. Moreover, he failed to realize that the task of simultaneously overthrowing all of the governments, including Austria, was quite hopeless. His frequent incitement to revolution was foolhardy and even dangerous to the cause of unity. Only the most ardent spirits responded and paid for their pains with execution or imprisonment. The heroic but hopeless enterprises of some of these during the decade, 1834-1844, doubtless awakened the slumbering patriotic sentiments of some, but among others, including some of Mazzini's own followers, they seemed more like leading the most courageous youth of the land to the slaughter. By the late 1840's the Mazzinian movement had become identified in many quarters with indiscriminate violence, and its prestige steadily declined.

It is difficult to estimate Mazzini's influence in the *Risorgimento*. The methods he employed were unwise; his objectives were unattainable. The people, upon whom he counted, were not yet unitarians and they were certainly not republicans. That he helped to make them so can scarcely be questioned, but how much no one can say. Obviously, he did not make them republicans. No doubt he did much by way of popularizing the idea that union of the Italian people must be by fusion of the various states rather than by federation, and the extent to which he did this facilitated the unification which was ultimately realized.

While Mazzini plotted, the groundwork for Italian unity was being more surely prepared in economic and social forces which were not exclusively Italian in scope. In Tuscany, in Piedmont, in Lombardy-Venetia, the people were caught in the sweep of the industrial revolution, became conscious of their economic interdependence, and were strongly drawn by economic and hence by intellectual ties to

the "liberal" states of France and England. There was no startling advance of industry in the period before 1848, but its expansion elsewhere greatly influenced the established economic habits of life. The few bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy became keenly conscious of this change and were stimulated to search for means by which they could keep up with it. Among them there developed a Moderate Liberal movement. Frowning upon violence both by princes and peoples, they sought to realize reforms within the framework of existing institutions. Typical liberals, they sponsored free trade, free speech, a free press, popular education, and the advancement of agriculture and industry through the application of technical knowledge. They agitated for the establishment of a customs union among the Italian states, and, to help the Italian people benefit from the economic recovery of the Mediterranean area, they sponsored the construction of a system of interlocking railways on a national scale. They did not obscure their desire for Italian political independence, but they placed political considerations second to economic. What mattered most was not the actual political form under which economic co-operation would be realized, though all of them were loosely attached to representative institutions, but the fact that such co-operation was to be attained. Indeed, at first the Moderate Liberals had little thought of changing the political status quo at all; it was only when they had come to realize, by the middle of the century, that the achievement of their program depended upon some form of union that they espoused it.

Rejecting Mazzini's program, they adopted the idea of an Italian federation of states. Various proposals of methods by which this might be established were made during the 1840's; but the one which made the deepest impression was that of Vincenzo Gioberti in his *Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians* (1843). A Piedmontese priest, devoutly Catholic and patriotic, Gioberti had been exiled for suspected liberalism in 1833, and consequently wrote his work abroad. In it he claimed for Italy and the Italians qualities which made them pre-eminent among mankind, but he observed that the unfortunate political conditions of the country prevented them from fulfilling their great mission to civilization. To eliminate this obstacle, he recommended that an agreement should be reached among the Italian princes to form an Italian Confederation, which the Papacy, because of its great moral prestige, should head. This was a unique suggestion which would not have been altogether impractical if the Papacy could have been made to reconcile its spiritual with its political func-

tions. For at least five years, Gioberti's publication exerted an enormous influence over the political thinking of the moderates.

The death of the aged and reactionary Pope Gregory XVI. (1846) inspired widespread hope that the Giobertian scheme might be quickly realized. The College of Cardinals, sensitive to the temper of the times, passed over the names of those candidates associated with reaction, and, without awaiting the arrival of the Austrian primate who could have vetoed their action, elected as pope a more or less obscure Cardinal, known locally for his piety and common sense. The new head of the Church, who took the title of Pius IX, had some acquaintance with Gioberti's publications, and was doubtless moved by them as well as by his own patriotic sentiments to institute reforms in the Papal administration. Amnesty was extended to political prisoners and exiles, a shadow of representative government was established, and a Civic Guard created to keep the peace in the city of Rome. Inhabitants of the Papal States were overjoyed, and those of the other states, who were anxious for federation, almost believed that the regenerator of Italy had appeared. The fact that Pius seemed to adhere to his course even in the face of Austrian opposition crystallized popular sentiment in his favor.

The pope was literally overwhelmed by his mounting popularity. The people had misjudged him. A kindly, pious man, ready for some reforms, he was neither a liberal nor a reformer; a patriot, in the sense that he wished for the welfare of Italy, he was not the man to unify the country. His first obligation was to the Church whose interests could not in fact be reconciled with the interests of an Italian national state. The people misunderstood this and made him in popular imagination the political leader they hoped him to be. The importance of the reforms which he instituted was thus exaggerated much beyond their due, and motives were attributed to him which he never possessed. The course of revolutionary events in the fateful year, 1848, proved this beyond doubt.

It has been already observed that in 1848 the whole of Italy seethed with revolution,¹ and that an uprising against Austria in the kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia culminated in a general Italian war against Austria. The latter event was of great significance in the evolution of the unitary movement, and it was, to a large extent, an outgrowth of the unjustified enthusiasm which Pope Pius had unwittingly engendered. After the news of Metternich's fall, patriots drove out the Austrian troops, forcing their retreat to the mountains. The

¹ See Chapter XXIV.

patriotic enthusiasm of the Italians everywhere mounted to fever pitch, for it seemed that the day of liberation had dawned. Governments were forced to respond to the popular demand that aid be sent to the insurgents to complete the work. Piedmont took the lead, declared war upon Austria, and was followed by the other governments, some of which submitted only reluctantly to public pressure. Even the pope was persuaded to dispatch some of his own troops, blessed with his own hand, and bearing the cross of the Church upon their uniforms. This seemed another proof of the pope's fidelity to the Italian cause; even more, it imparted the character of a holy war to the struggle. The optimism of the Papal Federalists knew almost no bounds. Out of the baptism of fire they imagined a League of Italian states would be formed, and Italy would be freed.

They were completely disillusioned. The pope who had thus far allowed himself to be carried along by events had come at last to the parting of the ways. As the spiritual leader of Christendom, how could he countenance war, much less wage it upon a Catholic brother? How could he reconcile his spiritual obligations with the political responsibilities of a great state? His duty he felt was clearly to the Church. Therefore, soon after his troops had crossed the frontier, he recalled them, justifying his act on the score that he could not fight a Christian power. That was the death knell of Papal Federalism.

The papal action was followed by the withdrawal of the other troops, until Piedmont, with untrained volunteers, was left to carry on the hopeless struggle alone. Defeated (August, 1848), and forced to sign an armistice, Piedmont nevertheless revived the struggle the following spring only to meet again with swift defeat. The War of Liberation had ended in failure, but it taught a lesson and indicated the future course. Federalism had been discredited. Not only had the pope abandoned its leadership, but the sorry demonstration of "co-operation" among the various states against a common enemy clearly revealed that federation of any kind probably would be impossible. Union through fusion with Piedmont seemed to be the only way. As if to add weight to this conviction, the Republics, established under Mazzinian inspiration in Venice, Tuscany, and Rome, demonstrated their inefficiency and weakness. Before the war with Austria had ended, a movement in northern Italy to effect union with Piedmont was already under way.

The hope which the Moderate Liberals reposed in Piedmont was not unjustified. Since 1835, the government at Turin had steadfastly

pursued the course of mild reforms, accelerating the pace in the 1840's. More than that, it had shown its hatred for Austria on more than one occasion. To be liberal and to be anti-Austrian were absolute necessities. Piedmont had one other asset which contributed to its popularity: its sovereign, Charles Albert (1831-1849). Unhappy experience with the revolutionary uprising of 1821, which he seemed to encourage and then to repudiate, made him long suspect to liberal patriots, but his willingness to institute conservative reforms and his expressed dislike of Austria largely restored him to their good graces. By 1846 he was the most popular prince of Italy, and, though temporarily overshadowed by Pius IX, he emerged to greater popularity in 1848 and 1849 through his granting of a constitution and the leadership which he assumed in the Austrian war. The constitution, or *Statuto*, was particularly important in this connection, for it embodied all the liberal principles which the Moderates had been expounding, including a popularly elected Assembly and the basis for the establishment of responsible government.¹ When Charles Albert abdicated after the humiliating defeat, his son and successor, Victor Emmanuel II (1849-1878), staunchly defended the constitution despite the remonstrances of Austria. With such a government, wedded to the liberal idea, ready to lead the Italians against Austria in the name of independence, the Moderate Liberals and a great many patriots without political stamp were ready to effect a fusion of the Italian states.

It was Piedmont's good fortune to enjoy the services of a statesman capable of bringing the dream of Italian unification under her leadership to realization. Count Camillo Benso di Cavour (1810-1861), the creator of modern Italy, was born of noble lineage near Turin. Following the family tradition, he trained for a military career and then served for a while in the royal court, but found both of these distasteful. Abandoning them, he traveled extensively, especially in England where he was deeply impressed by the economic development and by the operation of the British government. He returned to Piedmont, confirmed in his adolescent liberalism, ready to espouse the Moderate Liberal cause, in which he soon took prominent part. In 1847, he settled in Turin, where he contributed much to the Liberal newspaper, *Il Risorgimento*, and helped prepare the foundations for the *Statuto*. Elected a deputy to the first parliament assembled under this constitution he was immediately included in the

¹ This *Statuto* was made the basis for the constitution of United Italy. It will be discussed in that connection (p. 732).

ministry. His great abilities in administration and his capacity for political manipulation singled him out for leadership. In 1852 he was made prime minister and thenceforward, with only one brief intermission, he served in this capacity until his death.

It is easy to be carried away with enthusiasm by Cavour's genius, astuteness, and success. He had a clear vision of what had to be done to enable Piedmont to assert its leadership. He was genuinely attached to constitutional forms of government,



CAVOUR

and he was a bold innovator and reformer. What is more, he had an uncanny mastery of the diplomatic arts in which he was without a peer. But it must be remembered that however lofty his motives, and however desirable the union of Italy which he achieved, his methods were those of deception, intrigue, and war. Men less astute and less successful than Cavour have been condemned for their immorality.

The tasks which Cavour performed to bring about Italian unity were twofold: (1) to make Piedmont the strongest and most liberal of the Italian states so that it might win the support of liberal and unitary elements; and (2) to so conduct foreign policy as to win the aid of France against Austria. He pursued both of these courses simultaneously, but for purposes of clarity it is well to follow each of them separately.

By way of strengthening Piedmont and cementing its liberalism, he devoted himself to the completion of her railway system, to the encouragement of industry and agriculture, and to the solution of the problem of Church and State. This latter was a delicate undertaking, for the young king, Victor Emmanuel II, despite occasional lapses from the moral code, was a staunch Catholic who objected to interferences with the Church. Nevertheless, royal, conservative, and clerical objections were overridden, and the Church in Piedmont was deprived of its independent juridical status, and the ecclesiastical privileges were suppressed. Even more important to Cavour was the creation of a strong, well-trained army, which he labored to develop without regard to the heavy costs which Piedmont could ill afford.

In the final analysis, this was indispensable to the realization of his larger program.

Meanwhile, Cavour played his diplomatic cards well. His essential objective was to isolate Austria and then drive her out of the peninsula with the aid of one of the liberal states. The union of the peninsula under Piedmont might then be achieved. Events seemed to conspire naturally to this end, and Cavour was careful to bend them to his will. It was his great good fortune that Napoleon III, an arch-intriguer, an exponent of Italian nationalism, and an enemy of Austria restored the Napoleonic Empire.¹ Capitalizing upon the Emperor's weaknesses, playing successfully upon his sympathies, Cavour managed to identify French policy with his own and inveigle Napoleon into fighting for him in the contemplated war against Austria. The first step in this direction was taken during the Crimean War. After Austria had rejected a Franco-British request for assistance against Russia, Cavour proffered them the aid of Piedmont. This was a stroke of diplomatic genius. It further isolated Austria, and it established a credit, so to speak, for Piedmont with France and Great Britain which was to be useful subsequently in pleading the Italian cause with them. Cavour was quick to realize the full advantage of his act. At the Congress of Paris (1856), Cavour succeeded in bringing the whole Italian question to the official and public attention of Europe. He had won the sympathy of Napoleon and, with favorable circumstances, he could translate that sympathy into actual assistance.

Two years later (1858) this plan matured. In a secret meeting which the emperor arranged with Cavour at Plombières, an agreement for common action by France and Piedmont against Austria was arranged. There is no finer example of Machiavellian diplomacy in modern history than this. In return for a marriage alliance with the House of Savoy and ultimate cession of Nice and Savoy to France, Napoleon promised to give military assistance against Austria, and to assist in the establishment of a kingdom of Italy, to include the whole of upper Italy, Piedmont, the Duchies, and the Romagna. It was not clearly established what disposition would be made of the remainder of the peninsula, though the Emperor thought vaguely of a Confederation, and Cavour probably thought secretly of effecting their union with the kingdom which was to be established. The fulfillment of these pledges was made contingent upon some act of

¹ For a characterization of Napoleon III and his part in the movement of Italian unification, see Chapter XXIV.

aggression by Austria which would provoke Piedmont to declare a defensive war. Cavour was left to his own devices to goad Austria into committing an act which would put her in the wrong. This was an easy matter. The story of his procedure is a masterpiece of subtle intrigue. Provoking Austria but never exceeding the limits of absolute legality, building up his army to a war footing and supplementing it with volunteers from the other Italian states, he finally succeeded in gaining his objective. An ultimatum from Austria in April, 1859, demanding that Piedmont disarm, provided the required excuse, and the war with Austria was on.

The Piedmontese and the French armies swiftly repulsed the Austrian troops in Lombardy-Venetia, but before inflicting upon them decisive defeat, or completely clearing them out of Italy, Napoleon III for reasons of expediency decided to terminate the campaign.¹ Offers of an armistice were accepted by Austria and on July 11, 1859, over vigorous Piedmontese protests, the Truce of Villafranca was signed. According to this agreement, Austria ceded Lombardy to Napoleon who in turn gave it to Piedmont; the central Duchies and the Romagna were to return to their old rulers; Austria was to keep Venice. The plan for Italy drafted at Plombières had thus been completely blasted, and for the moment Cavour's larger project of union seemed wholly beyond realization. In anger and disgust, Cavour resigned his ministry. But events proved that all was not lost, and Cavour soon returned to the government.

Before the Truce of Villafranca had been signed popular revolutions in the north, in the central Duchies, and in the Romagna had driven out the established governments and had erected provisional regimes which promptly requested political union with Piedmont. The provisions of the Truce were completely ignored and their demands for union were persistently renewed. Under the circumstances, it would have required the intervention of Austria and France to restore the old governments, but neither power was prepared to do so. Cavour was well aware of this and capitalized upon it. He proposed to Napoleon that Piedmont be allowed to annex the provinces, after popular plebiscites were held to show the wishes of the people, and that in return, France, by applying the same formula of plebiscites, be allowed to annex Nice and Savoy. This offered Napoleon a way of allaying public ill-will engendered among his subjects by the conduct of the Italian war and he accepted. In March, 1860, Parma,

¹ See Chapter XXIV.

Modena, Tuscany, and the Romagna were formally joined with the expanding kingdom of Piedmont.

From this point, events moved with almost breath-taking speed toward the completion of Italian unification. During the war with Austria, and especially after the annexations of March, revolutionaries in Naples and Sicily were encouraged to attempt the overthrow of the hated Bourbon government. They extended an invitation to assist with this to Giuseppe Garibaldi, an adventurer who had already fought most successfully with volunteers against Austria. On condition that native insurrection be sufficiently well organized to give promise of success, and that Naples and Sicily subsequently unite with Piedmont to form the kingdom of Italy, Garibaldi consented, and in May of 1860 embarked for Sicily to head the revolution which within a few months toppled the throne of the Bourbons and laid a kingdom at the feet of Victor Emmanuel II.

Garibaldi (1807-1882) was one of the most colorful figures of the *Risorgimento*. Born at Nice, he took to the sea in early youth, and thenceforth pursued a career of adventure which has been rarely matched. For some time he was established in South America where he organized an Italian legion to fight for independence of the Americas from Spain; he was a candle maker in New York City; but most important of all he managed to be in Italy whenever revolution brewed to contribute his aid to the winning of liberty and independence. Bold and courageous, an able strategist, a born leader of guerilla warfare, he managed to perform such extraordinary feats with handfuls of untrained volunteers that a popular myth of invincibility soon surrounded his name. At his call thousands were ready to rise in revolution. But with all this, Garibaldi was a man of unstable opinions, given to swift changes of loyalty, and consequently unpredictable. Only his attachment to Italy was sure. During his youth he joined Mazzini's Young Italy, and for most of the remainder of his life he leaned toward republicanism. At the time of the Austrian war, however, he declared himself in favor of union under the monarchy of Savoy, believing that Piedmont alone could ensure success. His faith was somewhat shaken by the cession of his native Nice to France, but not enough to divert him to republicanism. Nevertheless, Cavour was unsure of his loyalty when he went to Sicily to head incipient revolution.

Taking with him approximately a thousand volunteers, Garibaldi landed at the western extremity of the island and, with the aid of native insurgents who swelled his ranks as he marched eastward, suc-

ceeded in annihilating the Bourbon armies of Sicily by the beginning of August. It had taken less than three months to complete this extraordinary achievement. Successfully eluding the Sicilian authorities, Garibaldi next crossed to the mainland to repeat the adventure. With his appearance, the corrupt government at Naples collapsed, most of its army melted away, and Garibaldi, almost without opposition, entered Naples on September 6. At this point, Cavour, who at first secretly and then almost openly aided Garibaldi in every way possible, deemed it advisable for the Piedmontese government to intervene. There were substantial reasons to justify this. It seemed likely that the hot-headed Garibaldi might march on into the Papal States to destroy the temporal power. This most certainly would have created serious complications with France, whose troops were defending the pope, and the unity of Italy now so nearly won might have been delayed. More than that, Cavour was fearful that republican elements might gain influence over Garibaldi and thus make immediate union under the Savoy dynasty difficult. For these reasons, when Garibaldi arrived at Naples, Cavour, having already made the necessary diplomatic preparations, ordered the royal army to occupy Umbria and the Marches (papal territory) which promptly voted for union with Piedmont, and with the territorial connections thus established the army moved into Sicilian territory under the leadership of Victor Emmanuel II. On November 7, 1860, the King and Garibaldi entered Naples together. A short while before, popular plebiscites confirmed the desire of the people to unite under Victor Emmanuel. The Parliament of the Kingdom of Piedmont thereupon dissolved, and in February, 1861, a new Parliament, elected by all of Italy except Venetia and what remained of the Papal States, approved the establishment of the kingdom of Italy which was formally proclaimed March 17. Thus Cavour had made Italy within the short span of two years. Exhausted by his almost ceaseless labor he died shortly thereafter.

Italy was united but not complete. Venetia and the Papal States were still under foreign rule. To acquire the former, Cavour's successors joined in alliance with Prussia in 1866 to fight Austria.¹ By treaty the following year, they were confirmed in the possession of Venetia. The acquisition of Rome and the Papal States was a much more difficult and perplexing problem. Since his abandonment of federalism and reform, the aging Pius IX held tenaciously to the papal temporal rights, though compelled to make sizable sacrifices in 1860

¹ For further information on this alliance, see p. 743.

and 1861. The moral support of much of the Catholic world was no insignificant weapon of defense, but greater still was the active support of French arms. For reasons of domestic politics, Napoleon III had maintained troops in the Papal States more or less consistently since 1849. These he could not withdraw without serious damage to his prestige. Italian patriots were therefore confronted with the danger of war with France if they attempted to seize the territory by force; while every attempt to negotiate a settlement either with the pope or with Napoleon ended unsuccessfully. The dilemma was solved easily enough when the imperial armies were defeated in the early stages of the Franco-Prussian War. The seizure of Rome could then no longer create complications, so in September, 1870, after a short encounter with papal troops, Rome was occupied. The temporalities of the Papacy were abolished and, with the exception of some few irredentist (unredeemed) territories (Trento, Trieste, and Istria) held by Austria, the unification of Italy had been completed.

From the time of its formation until the Fascist Revolution (1922) the kingdom of Italy was governed under the slightly modified constitution of Piedmont. This provided for the parliamentary system, with a two chamber legislature, an appointive Senate, and a popularly elected Chamber of Deputies, to which the ministers of the government were responsible. Very much as in Great Britain, the king reigned but did not rule. While this provided for constitutional forms, it did not ensure democracy. The franchise was very restricted, partly out of fear among the bourgeoisie and landed classes, partly because of the high percentage of illiteracy which prevailed throughout the country. These restrictions were gradually relaxed, however, and finally (1912) universal manhood suffrage was established. Experience with this was very brief before the nation was overwhelmed by the World War and then by the Fascist revolution. Not only was democratic government not firmly founded, but it did not succeed in gaining popular respect. There were extensive political manipulation and corruption and a good deal of ministerial instability.

The problems which this new government faced would have taxed the ingenuity of men with much greater experience in constitutional democracy. One of the most serious of these was the application of a uniform system of administration to areas which had long been separated and which had their own customs and traditions. Uniform success was not achieved in this direction until the very eve of the World War.

Another serious problem was that of maintaining national financial stability. The country was poor in natural resources, dependent upon the outside for materials necessary in its manufacturing and to a considerable extent for food. Its trade balance was long unfavorable. In the face of this it was difficult for the government to get along, for, though taxes were high, it was long impossible to make revenues meet expenses, which tended to rise in proportion to the government's attempt to play the role of a great power. Through consistent economy, through the financial returns from its emigrants abroad, and through the healthy improvement of economic life, this situation was gradually reversed. There had been a noticeable development of business enterprise, particularly in the production of silks and metals. In the use of hydro-electrical power, Italy easily took first place. Even so, Italy's trade did not rise to equal that of Belgium.

Long the most perplexing problem of the kingdom of Italy was its relations with the Papacy. After the seizure of Rome, an attempt was made to reach an accord with the pope, and when this failed because of Pius IX's refusal to recognize the new state, Parliament sought to solve the difficulty by the Law of Papal Guarantees. Besides securing the inviolability of his person, recognizing his right to perform the customary activities of a sovereign, and confirming his possession of certain properties, this law also provided generous financial recompense for his loss of the temporalities. Nevertheless, Pius refused to recognize the validity of the law, and declaring himself to be the "prisoner of the Vatican" refused to set foot upon Italian soil. The tradition thus established persisted until the Lateran accords in 1929. Meanwhile, Pius sought to paralyze the government by requesting that all Catholics refrain from participating in national elections. Though formally adopted by Pius' successors, these restrictions upon voting were gradually relaxed and were substantially inoperative by 1914. Nevertheless, the coolness in relations between the Papacy and the kingdom continued, accentuating the normally difficult problems of political life.

During the very early years of this conflict with the Papacy, there was real fear that the popes might seek asylum with one of the other Catholic powers of Europe, and thus endanger the stability of the regime, since it seemed logical that if he should depart he would probably return again at the head of a foreign army. It was partly for this reason that Italy sought an alliance with Germany, and even-

ually joined the Triple Alliance (1882) with Germany and Austria.¹ But there were also other significant reasons for this important step in her foreign policy, among them her anxiety to secure some co-operation in the establishment of an Italian empire.

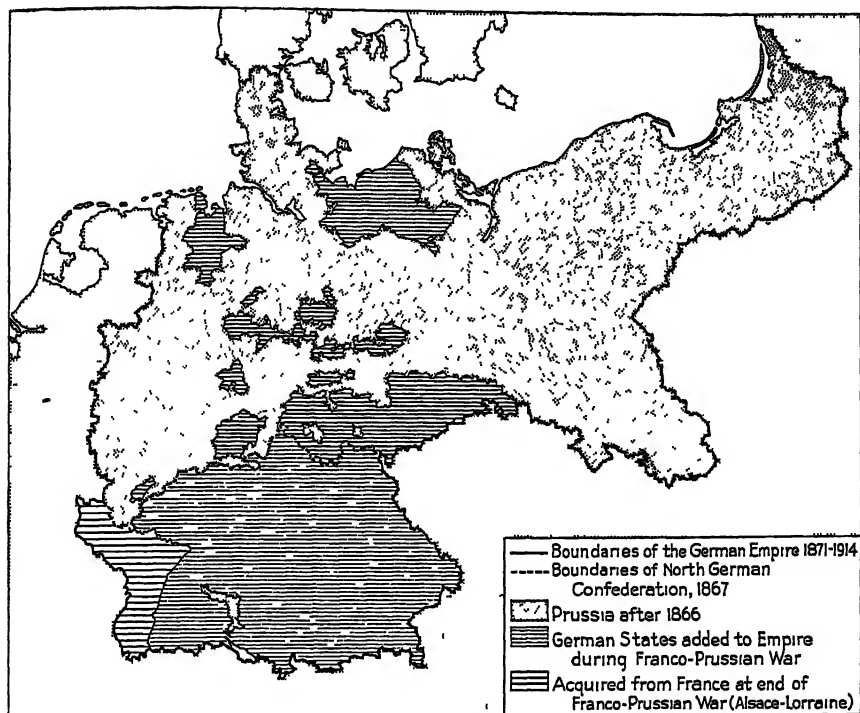
Like all of the Great Powers, Italy succumbed to imperial ambitions. After the French took Tunis, Italy hastened to seize possessions in the area of the Red Sea. These brought her an African Empire which touched Abyssinia, upon which the imperialists, especially Francesco Crispi, long prime minister, had designs. Attempts to dominate this independent African state led to swift disaster when (1896) an invading colonial force was annihilated by native Abyssinians. This humiliating defeat plus the great costs of imperial adventures temporarily cooled the ardor of the Italian imperialists, but in 1912 the expansionist movement once more reasserted itself. With the active or passive consent of the other Great Powers, Italy declared war upon Turkey and took from her the African province of Libya. None of these acquisitions were worth the effort expended to secure them. They were and still are liabilities to the Italian people.

C. IMPERIAL GERMANY

The national unifications of Germany and Italy paralleled each other in many ways. Like Italy, Germany was merely a "geographic expression" at the beginning of the nineteenth century; there were marked cultural differences among the German people, accentuated by religious rivalries inherited from the era of the Protestant Revolt; there were much the same particularisms, entrenched by centuries of usage; there was the same enemy, Austria, to be immobilized or extruded before union could be achieved. Besides, one state, Prussia, effected union by establishing its hegemony over the other German states as Piedmont did over the remainder of Italy; and one statesman, Bismarck, using the same methods of deception, intrigue, and war employed by Cavour, achieved this result. In each case, unification was accomplished in a relatively brief period of time; but, in each case, the way was eased by deliberate planning, accidental circumstance, and an abundance of good fortune.

The obstacles to union of the Germanies had long seemed insurmountable. Loosely held together by the decrepit Holy Roman Em-

¹ For a description of Italy's part in the pre-war alliance systems, see Chapter XXX.



MAP 31. THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

pire, the three-hundred-odd German states, each enjoying sovereign rights, each with its own bureaucracy, each playing its own game at high politics, consistently worked at cross purposes. Even the presence of a common enemy was not enough to make them abandon their petty particularisms, until all were humiliated or crushed. This state of affairs was further aggravated by the fact that the two largest German countries, Prussia and Austria, both Great Powers, had become rivals for supremacy over all the Germanies. Fearing the ascendancy of either one of them, the lesser states aligned with one or the other or combined momentarily against both to preserve the status quo, and for a long time were able to forestall a Prussian or an Austrian dominated union. These dispersive forces were in part the cause and in part the result of deep-seated local traditions, which, in turn, were perpetuated by backward governments. Except for Prussia in the time of Frederick the Great, and a few of the other states which copied his example, the governments of the Germanies during the eighteenth century were corrupt, inefficient, and enervated. The mass of the people were so effectively held in restraint that the ideals of

liberty and nationalism which were elsewhere taking root had little opportunity to develop.

Nevertheless, during the eighteenth century a remarkable intellectual awakening prepared the way for a fundamental transformation of German political life. Following the general lines of the Enlightenment in France, the *Aufklärung* in Germany revealed a new interest in the things of the mind and a critical approach to social and political problems. Poets and dramatists, philosophers and publicists¹ exposed the abuses of petty princes, proposed social and political reforms, nourished the seeds of revolution, and molded the culture of the Germans after a common pattern. As in Italy, the leaders of this intellectual movement had little thought of aiding the development of political nationalism, which some of them actually characterized as a political monstrosity. They were cosmopolites and humanitarians believing in a world society. Their propaganda, however, contributed toward the national awakening which was first clearly revealed during the French Revolution.

In cultivated circles the upheaval across the Rhine was enthusiastically greeted as the signal for the collapse of absolutism and the emergence of German liberty. The excesses of the Reign of Terror and the mounting imperial ambitions of revolutionary France soon dampened their ardor but inflamed their latent nationalism. As in Italy, the French "deliverer" became the foreign tyrant and oppressor. Increasingly, poets and philosophers directed their attention to the task of "saving" Germany. Native virtues were contrasted with the excesses of the French, the beauties of the German tongue extolled, and the supposed greatness of the German past emphasized to arouse the determination to resist. This movement reached its stride in Prussia following the humiliating defeat at Jena. The government made heroic efforts to regenerate the country² and its efforts were supplemented by able intellectuals who expounded the cause of militant nationalism. Led by Johann Gottlieb Fichte, professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin, whose *Addresses to the German Nation* (1807-1808) expressed so eloquently the hope of creating a single nation, the patriotic chorus was taken up by poets and disseminated among the youth through Gymnastic Societies. The War of Liberation which followed brought the national enthusiasm of this epoch to its climax.

¹ This was the "Augustan" age of German literature, the period of such notable literary figures as Goethe, Lessing, and Schiller.

² See Chapter XX.

The political and social transformation wrought in the Germanies by Napoleon aroused hope among the most ardent patriots that when he had been destroyed a liberal and united Germany might take shape. The impotent Holy Roman Empire had been swept aside; more than two hundred of the petty states had been completely destroyed; and almost everywhere the old regime had been dealt a decisive blow. An impressive number of German delegations petitioned the Congress of Vienna to complete the process by creating a liberal German union. These hopes were not to be realized. The German Confederation which was created was in reality neither liberal nor a union. The thirty-nine states were virtually independent; there was no common policy and no common defense; and the whole organization was dominated by conservative Austria whose chief interest was to preserve the status quo. None of the liberals or nationalists were satisfied with such a settlement. The history of Germany from 1815 forward is concerned largely with their efforts to break it.

While there was agreement that the Confederation was unsatisfactory, there were substantial differences of opinion as to what should replace it. Some believed a union of the north under Prussia and a union of the south under Austria would be best; others hoped for a tripartite settlement, in which Prussia and Austria would be offset by a combination of the lesser states; some wished for complete national union under Prussia; and still others hoped for a democratic union effected by the people themselves. Most of the active exponents of change, intellectuals and bourgeoisie, were liberals who wished that whatever the settlement might be it should be peacefully made and should allow for some form of constitutional government. During the revolution of 1848 the Frankfort Assembly attempted to realize this program but without success. Its failure permanently injured the chances of establishing a liberal United Germany. Thereafter the unitary movement centered about Prussia, and while Prussia was prepared to unite Germany by imposing her will upon the other states, her government intended to make no genuine submission to liberalism.

Prussia's gradual rise to leadership in the German Confederation during the first half of the nineteenth century was the result of circumstances only incidentally connected with its political development, which was, in fact, of such character as to make many nationalists and most liberals despair of its influence. In part, it grew out of its size and political power. Exclusive of Austria, whose varied holdings made it seem almost non-German, Prussia was the largest

of the German States, with scattered possessions from the Baltic to the Rhine, and with a population of above 15 million. Though there was a hostile Polish minority and though many of the Germans acquired at the Congress of Vienna were resentful of annexation, its interests were essentially German. In part, also, Prussia's prestige derived from its pre-eminence in the intellectual world. Despite reactionary politics, education was fostered, and men of learning were accorded substantial freedom for the pursuit of their labors. Some of these, especially a group of distinguished historians, did notable service in advancing the cause of German unity under Prussia's leadership. But even more, Prussia's position as the potential unifier of the Germanies was ensured by its own economic policies and by natural economic circumstances to which most of her partners in the Confederation were exposed.

The sprawling and scattered possessions of the State together with the heavy financial burdens which it inherited from the Napoleonic wars, centered the attention of Prussian statesmen upon economic problems. Drastic economies were introduced, but so long as internal customs and varying tariffs among different sections made smuggling profitable there was little hope that sufficient revenues could be collected. In 1818 a beginning was made in the direction of unifying the customs of the kingdom, introducing free trade, and relaxing the tariffs on foreign produce so that they could be collected and smuggling be discouraged. The beneficial consequences of this procedure were immediately recognized by Prussia's neighbors who, because of the steady increase of commerce, desired to participate but were fearful that Prussian political domination might follow. Nevertheless, in 1819, the first little State joined in a customs union with Prussia; others soon followed, and in 1828 Prussia scored a notable success by securing the adhesion of Hesse-Darmstadt. Meanwhile, neighboring states created their own customs unions to forestall further Prussian successes, and in 1831 these amalgamated with Prussia to form the Prusso-German Union, or *Zollverein*. Most of the members of the Confederation, except Austria which Prussia did not wish to include, hastened to follow suit. The establishment of the *Zollverein* was one of the most notable achievements of Prussian diplomacy. Being the largest, the richest, and the most populous State in the Union, she was able to dominate it and to use it as the stepping stone to her own political ascendancy.

The *Zollverein* helped to create economic unity where political unity was lacking. Internal and foreign trade grew; railroads and

highways to facilitate it were constructed; industry expanded; banking and credit greatly increased. The rising class of bourgeoisie sought new opportunities for the exploitation of the national wealth. They chafed under the restraints imposed upon them by petty governments, grew impatient of the political boundaries which separated the country, and regretted that Germany was not so organized as to make its influence felt abroad. Increasingly, they came to feel that economic union must be supplemented by political union.

The success of the Italians and French over Austria in the War of 1859 indicated the path by which political union might be realized. Many had long since reached the conclusion that Germany could not include two great Powers, Prussia and Austria, and were now convinced that the impotence of Austria might be capitalized upon and unity achieved through Prussia. A *National Union* movement was established in Hanover to propagate this cause throughout the Germanies, and to persuade Prussia to copy Piedmont's leadership in establishing liberal reforms which would make Prussian domination more acceptable to the other German peoples. This agitation exerted a powerful influence in preparing the way for union under Prussia, but it failed to make Prussia liberal.

Aided by the powerful Junker landed aristocracy, who dominated the army and the bureaucracy, the Hohenzollern dynasty of Prussia had managed to preserve the substance of conservative and paternalistic absolutism. The Revolution of 1848 necessitated momentary concessions of constitutional government but these were largely withdrawn two years later when a constitution was granted which allowed for a Parliament elected by the most restricted suffrage but almost completely subservient to the royal will. The growing body of the Prussian bourgeoisie and many of their friends elsewhere hoped that these deficiencies might be rectified by the Crown itself. Little was to be expected from Frederick William IV (1840-1861) who after wavering between liberalism and reaction had at length submitted to the latter, but the future succession of his brother, William I (1861-1888) held out some prospect of change for the better. William became regent in 1858 when Frederick William was no longer mentally capable of handling affairs and three years later ascended the throne. Honest, straightforward, conscientious, sensible, but with only average intelligence and little imagination, the new sovereign was a welcome change after his two fickle and vacillating predecessors. He was patriotic and ambitious for Prussia as well as for himself, but he was staunch in his belief in Hohenzollern absolutism and was opposed

to sacrificing any more of the royal prerogatives. Prussia's prestige and leadership in the Germanies, he felt certain, would be assured not by concessions to liberalism but by a large and powerful army. The hope that the Crown might grant constitutional government therefore vanished at the very inception of William's reign.

Disappointed by his conservatism, the Liberals determined to wrest from the king what he would not concede. William's decision to enlarge and strengthen the army offered them their opportunity. According to the constitution of 1850, it was required that the Crown secure the consent of Parliament to any increases in taxes, and since the contemplated military reforms necessitated greater expenditures and therefore increased revenues, Parliament had the right, if it wished, to prevent the adoption of the royal program. The bourgeoisie of the Lower House resented any increase in the taxes and, moreover, hoped that they could force the king to grant constitutional responsibilities to Parliament if they withheld their consent. William had no intention of capitulating to the demands for reform, nor was he willing to abandon his military program. So serious was the conflict which ensued between the Crown and the parliamentary Liberals, that in 1862 William contemplated abdication to avoid concession. In one last effort to force the passage of the military bill on his own terms, William named as minister-president a conservative and aggressive Prussian Junker, Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), whose friends were convinced that he could resolve the issue in the king's favor. Meeting with continued opposition in the lower Chamber, Bismarck, relying upon the support of the bureaucracy and the army which the king controlled, and upon the Upper House which was dominated by Junkers like himself, proceeded to collect the taxes without parliamentary consent and to institute William's military reforms. Censorship of the press and manipulation of the elections restrained the mounting opposition which was soon made impotent by the brilliant successes which Bismarck achieved in foreign policy with the use of the reinvigorated army. Liberalism was killed, but the cause of German unification won a champion whose uncompromising use of force quickly cleared away the obstacles to unification under Prussia's leadership.

Born into a family of landed aristocrats distinguished for their loyalty to the Hohenzollerns and their attachment to the established order, Bismarck conceived an early hatred for all democratic and liberal attempts to destroy the privileges of his class or reduce the prerogatives of the Prussian kings. University studies which he pur-

sued with lighthearted indifference did little to broaden his views and, in contrast with Cavour, he avoided the liberalizing influences which might have come from extensive travel abroad. After completing his education, he entered the civil service but became bored with its monotonous routine and soon retired to the family estates, the fortunes of which he successfully recovered. Though intensely patriotic, Bismarck evinced little direct interest in political affairs during these early years. The revolutionary upheaval of the 1840's, however, aroused his fighting spirit, and impelled him to abandon the peaceful life of the country squire. He entered the lists in defense of the king, fought against the revolutionary settlement of 1848, and became the most uncompromising and outspoken exponent of the political status quo. In return for this loyalty, he was named Prussia's representative to the government of the German Confederation at Frankfort (1851), a position which he held for the next eight years. It was while serving in this capacity that he perfected the arts of diplomacy which he was to use so successfully later, and formulated his opinion of the means by which Prussia might sometime unite the Germanies. The invaluable experiences of these years at Frankfort were supplemented by diplomatic service at the imperial courts of Paris and St. Petersburg before he was named minister-president of Prussia.

An opportunist, ready to employ whatever means seemed most likely to ensure results, Bismarck brought to his new office no clearly formulated plan of unifying the Germanies, but he did have some settled convictions on the general procedure to follow. He rejected the liberal idea that union would result from Prussia's adoption of constitutional government, asserting that Germany could not be made by phrases and pretty speeches. Unification achieved through peaceful negotiation he regarded not only as unlikely but as wholly undesirable, since in a union of equals Prussian pre-eminence would never be realized, while at the same time mutual jealousies would prevent the establishment of a strong state. Prussia alone could make Germany by forcing the lesser states to coalesce with her and, as Bismarck understood the situation, this could be accomplished only through the elimination of Austria. So long as the lesser states could count upon Austria's age-old rivalry with Prussia to assure their political independence, so long Germany would remain separated. Bismarck, therefore, believed that the first step toward unification was the extrusion of Austria, and this, he was convinced, would require the use of armed force. It was for this reason that he vigorously supported the royal military reforms, despite the dangers of internal

revolution, and sought the first opportunity to pick a quarrel with Austria.

Events seemed to play directly into Bismarck's hands, but he was careful to turn them to good purpose. A national dispute which flared up in 1863 among the Danes and the Germans of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein quickly brought the "German" policies of Austria and Prussia into sharp conflict and provided Bismarck with the excuse for war upon Austria. The sovereign of the duchies had been the king of Denmark, but both states had enjoyed a semi-independent status which allowed Holstein, for example, to be part of the German Confederation. The inhabitants, however, were mostly Germans who were anxious to have their own German prince. The death of King Frederick VII of Denmark (1863) offered them the opportunity to protest the succession in the duchies of his Danish heir, Christian IX, and they appealed to the German Confederation to support the establishment of their independence. German "national" sentiment favored these native aspirations to such an extent that when Christian IX signed a constitution which incorporated Schleswig into his kingdom it was popularly demanded that the German Confederation resort to strong measures. The Diet ordered that an army be sent into the duchies, but Bismarck, anxious to profit from the situation, raised objections to such common action. A previous agreement among the Great Powers, including Prussia and Austria, had already regulated the disposition of the duchies in such an eventuality, and Bismarck claimed that it was the duty of Austria and Prussia, as signatories, to see that Denmark respected this pledge. Acting in this sense, Prussia despatched an ultimatum to Christian IX demanding withdrawal from Schleswig and the removal from the Danish constitution of the provisions by which that province had been incorporated into Denmark. The Austrian government, disliking Prussia's procedure but unwilling to see her score a great "national" victory alone, followed suit. It was physically impossible, as Bismarck well realized, for the Danish government to meet the terms of the ultimatum, whereupon Austria and Prussia declared war. The result was a foregone conclusion. Denmark was defeated and the duchies were turned over to the victors.

Just as Bismarck hoped and expected, a dispute at once arose between Prussia and Austria over the disposition of the spoils. Anxious to preserve the German Confederation and maintain her influence in it, Austria favored making the duchies a part of that organization. Prussia insisted upon virtually annexing them and had her

way. Holstein was turned over to Austria for administration; Schleswig was given to Prussia. Such a settlement was calculated to cause trouble. It was easy for Bismarck to find fault with Austria's management of Holstein; it was natural for Austria to resent Prussian protests and interferences. The relations between the two powers grew steadily worse, reaching the breaking point in June, 1866. Early that month Austria submitted the question of the duchies to the Diet of the Confederation for consideration. This Bismarck construed to be directly contrary to the Austro-Prussian treaty regulating the matter and he forthwith ordered the occupation of Holstein by Prussian troops. Austria then persuaded the Diet of the Confederation to prepare for war against Prussia. Bismarck held this to be illegal, asserted that the Confederation had thereby terminated its existence, and on June 16 declared war upon Austria.

Before allowing the crisis to mature, Bismarck had carefully made the necessary diplomatic preparations. Through vague promises of future rewards, he encouraged Napoleon III to remain neutral. By direct negotiations with Italy he arranged a treaty (April, 1866) which pledged the Italians to join Prussia in a war against Austria within a period of three months, in return for which she should acquire the province of Venetia. Thus, practically certain that France would not interfere and assured that Austria would have to fight simultaneously on two fronts, Bismarck felt reasonably sure of success. With only the feeble assistance of a few members of the German Confederation, and with an army much inferior to that of Prussia, Austria was brought to her knees within the extraordinarily brief period of seven weeks. By July, 1866, hostilities had ceased and in August the Peace of Prague formally ended the war. Apart from the cession of Venetia to Italy, Austria's territorial losses were not great, nor was she compelled to pay a heavy indemnity. With an eye to the future support of Austria in European affairs, Bismarck had made the terms especially lenient, despite the aggressive ambitions of some of the military men and especially King William himself. Bismarck's chief aim of eliminating Austria completely from German affairs was realized, for by the Peace of Prague, Austria consented to the dissolution of the German Confederation and agreed to withdraw from the Germans.

During the course of the war Prussia occupied adjoining German states whose enmity or uncertain loyalty justified such procedure on the score of self-defense. These were subsequently annexed, enlarging the Prussian Kingdom by some 1,300 square miles, increasing its

population to nearly twenty-five million, and uniting its scattered possessions from the Baltic to the Rhine. Thenceforth Prussia controlled nearly all of the seacoast and more completely dominated the economic life of the German people.

With enlarged Prussia as a nucleus, Bismarck created a new German confederation of the twenty-two states north of the Main River. The remaining southern states were allowed to determine their own fate, especially since it was realized that sooner or later they must come to terms with the larger union forming in the north. Bismarck himself drew up the plans for the North German Confederation, devised its constitution, and directed its destinies. The king of Prussia became the chief executive, under the title of President of the Confederation, and as such was to have the army under his control and was to name the ministries of the government. For all practical purposes, the sovereigns of the lesser states abandoned their sovereignty to him. As a sop to the princes and as bait for the Liberals, the constitution of the Confederation called for a Parliament of two houses, whose joint approval on all laws and all taxes was necessary. The Upper House (Bundesrat) resembled the Diet of the Old Confederation, in that it was composed of the representatives of the princes of the separate states who voted according to the instructions of their home governments. Prussia was allowed 17 votes out of a total of 43, a number which made it possible for her to dominate the deliberations since it was easy to cajole the smallest states into co-operation. The Lower House (Reichstag) was composed of slightly less than 300 representatives elected according to the principle of universal manhood suffrage. Unlike the British system, this popularly elected branch had no superior powers, and the ministries of the Crown were not made responsible to it. Bismarck could well afford to make this concession to Liberalism, since it deprived the government of none of the substance of power, while it did hold out the hope of democratic government in the future. Political expediency demanded that a gesture should be made in this latter direction because the traditions of liberalism were strong in the southern states whose incorporation into Germany, which was taking shape now, became Bismarck's chief preoccupation.

By enlarging and extending the scope of the Zollverein, Bismarck made clearer to the southern states the economic advantages of union. Even more forcefully this was impressed upon them by the great prosperity which came to the people of the north following the creation of the North German Confederation. But Bismarck's trump card

in dealing with the southern states lay in cultivating their fear of France. Before the War of 1866 Napoleon III had been offered as bait for his neutrality the idea that he might compensate himself for Prussia's enlargement through absorption of German territories in the Rhine country. Bismarck had made these promises purposely vague, never intending to fulfill them, but he hoped that they might sometime be employed to Napoleon's disadvantage. When the French emperor, therefore, sought to recoup his waning prestige and restore the balance in Europe, which Prussia had tipped to France's disadvantage by calling for the fulfillment of Bismarck's pledges, the Prussian unscrupulously revealed the whole affair in such fashion as to place the odium upon Napoleon among his own subjects, among the States abroad, and especially among the German people of the south who were to suffer most by such shady dealings. Much as they disliked Prussia, the southern states disliked and now feared France even more, and consequently were not unwilling to join with Prussia in a defensive alliance which Bismarck generously held out to them. Their military affairs were substantially co-ordinated with Prussia's, so that in a military sense Germany was already united by 1867, with a potential army of more than a million men. There were good grounds for believing that if France could be made to provoke a war the military alliance would promptly give way to political union and Germany would be made. Bismarck became convinced that this was the case and therefore sought deliberately to goad France into making war.

The story of the Franco-Prussian War, which soon developed in the way in which Bismarck hoped, has been partly told in another connection.¹ Suffice it here to review Bismarck's share in the manipulation of events. The excuse for war grew out of a Franco-Prussian conflict over the proper succession to the Spanish throne, made vacant by revolution in 1866. The provisional Spanish government, determined to have no more Bourbons, undertook a diligent search among the capitals of Europe for an appropriate sovereign, and three times extended the invitation to a member of the Prussian Hohenzollern House. It was refused on each occasion, but the knowledge that France would have regarded acceptance as a cause for war on the ground that France would then suffer humiliation by being surrounded by Hohenzollern states, persuaded Bismarck to connive secretly for a renewal of the invitation as well as for its acceptance if tendered. On July 2, 1870, news reached Paris by way of Madrid

¹ See Chapter XXIV.

that Leopold of Hohenzollern had accepted the Spanish Crown, and both popular and official feeling against Prussia rose to fever heat. A French embassy to King William I requested that the king, as head of the Hohenzollern House, withdraw Leopold's candidacy. William acquiesced both because he had no wish for war with France and because Leopold himself had no desire to go to Spain if there were a convenient way out. Bismarck was despondent at this turn of events for all cause of war seemed to have disappeared. But the blundering tactics of the French soon gave the Chancellor renewed hope. A demand upon William I that he renounce the throne of Spain for the Hohenzollern House for all time was given the prompt but courteous refusal which it deserved. The king who was vacationing at Ems when this latter demand was made of him telegraphed a review of his interview with the French ambassador to Bismarck, allowing the latter to publish it or not as he chose. Harmless as this Ems despatch was in its actual content, Bismarck saw in it "a red flag" to wave before "the Gallic bull." Without falsifications, but by abbreviations of such type as to completely alter its tone, Bismarck's summary of the despatch, which he gave the press, made the interview of the king and the French ambassador appear to be abrupt and discourteous on both sides. Public sentiment in both countries was immediately inflamed, and the war hawks of Paris lightheartedly prepared for war. On July 15, sufficient credits were voted by the Chamber, and four days later France declared war on Prussia. Bismarck had managed to make France appear the aggressor.

The Franco-Prussian War was of short duration. During its early stages the Second Empire collapsed, and while a provisional government of National Defense took its place and manfully fought on, the French armies were never a match for the Prussians in strategy and equipment. In January, 1871, France capitulated, and in May a definitive treaty was signed at Frankfort. Unlike Austria who had been Prussia's victim four years before, France was compelled to pay a heavy indemnity and to sacrifice two provinces, Alsace and Lorraine. Bismarck demanded the latter under pressure of the military men, and somewhat against his better judgment, for purely strategic purposes. It was a blunder of the first rank, for while France might have resigned herself to the loss of Alsace whose population was more akin to the German, the loss of Lorraine was regarded as an intolerable humiliation. A great deal of the subsequent hostility between France and Germany can be traced directly to this provision of the peace.

The most important immediate result of the war, as Bismarck had anticipated, was the creation of a united Germany. Co-operation on the field of battle and the joy of victories commonly shared solidified the national sentiment of north and south. Before the war had ended the southern states abandoned their independent status and joined the North German Confederation, which on January 18, in an elaborate ceremony at the Palace of Versailles, was declared to be the German Empire.

The constitution of the Empire, incorporating the treaties of union of the four southern states, and embodying the essential features of the constitution of the North German Confederation, was put into operation in April, 1871. Structurally, the new Empire was a federation of twenty-six states, each of which retained some local jurisdictions but bestowed upon the central government sovereign rights over all matters vitally important to the common welfare. These states were all allowed to continue their own forms of government, most of them being monarchies, but the executive powers of the federation were given to the king of Prussia, who also took the title of German Emperor. Head of the army, responsible for war and peace, the emperor was given virtually a free hand in the conduct of foreign policy. But in domestic affairs his domination had to be achieved through indirection. He had no power to veto laws of the legislature, but the ministry he appointed was responsible to him, and through the control which he could exercise over the Prussian representatives in the Upper House, he was usually able to get his wish or at least frustrate the plans of his opponents. The Upper House of the legislature, the *Bundesrat*, like that in the North German Confederation, represented the governments of the states in the federation. Of sixty-one members, Prussia had seventeen, directly under control of the emperor. Voting as a bloc, they were able to prevent any changes in the constitution, which required a two-thirds vote for passage. The Reichstag, or Lower House, representing the people, was elected by universal manhood suffrage. It had less initiative than the *Bundesrat* in legislation and was given no direct control over the ministries. Somewhat democratic in form, the government of the German Empire was never actually democratic in practice. Dominated by Prussia, it perpetuated the traditions of Prussian, Hohenzollern, authoritarian government. The growth of bourgeois and workingmen's parties which secured domination of the Reichstag in the twentieth century threatened the continuance of this system. The demands for political reforms became so loud that in 1912 the

government promised they should be made. The Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the World War, however, made any changes appear to be inexpedient even to those who demanded them and, in consequence, they were not made.

The political unification of Germany was followed by nearly a half century of remarkable economic progress. Because of the disappearance of the artificial barriers to trade, the abundance and wealth of natural resources, the encouragement of the government and partly as the result of the rapid payment of the French indemnity, business experienced a mushroom growth during the first decade of the Empire. Though the immediate results of this, wild speculation followed by depression, were unfortunate, the basis was laid for making Germany one of the great industrial nations of the world. Foreign trade multiplied several times over; Germany rose to third rank among the great coal producers of the world; outstripped England in the manufacture of iron; took second place with its merchant marine; and assumed the leadership in the electrical and chemical industries. Agriculture kept pace through the application of science to cultivation, but it ceased to be the most important economic resource of the nation. By 1914, German society was preponderantly urban, and Germany was one of the top-ranking manufacturing nations of the world.

Bismarck who had engineered the creation of this great Empire was given the title of prince and for nearly two decades continued to control its destiny. His foreign policy was brilliant¹ in the sense that he maneuvered Germany into the dominating position in Europe and easily succeeded in laying the basis for a German Empire overseas, but his domestic policy lacked the same skillful touch. The most serious of the early problems which he faced concerned the relations between the Empire and the Catholic Church. He resented the Church's influence in education and its aloofness from the state, but more than that he feared the Church, which was strongly entrenched in the south and among the minority peoples, might become the center for a separatist movement which would threaten imperial unity. The intrigues of the French clericals with disgruntled German Catholics gave the entire situation a critical aspect since it was feared that a clerical government in France might use the Church as an ally in fighting a war of revenge. To avoid these potential dangers, Bismarck persuaded the Reichstag in 1872 to expel the Jesuits. He followed this with legislation in Prussia (1873-1875), making civil mar-

¹ See Chapter XXX.

riages compulsory, depriving the Church of influence in education, placing the appointment and dismissal of clergy in the control of the State, and disbanding a variety of religious orders. The Catholics responded to this *Kulturkampf* (fight for civilization), as it was called, with obstinate resistance and created a Catholic political party in the Reichstag which made Bismarck's control of that body annually more precarious. Political expediency made some understanding with the Church necessary. Beginning in 1878 the offending measures were gradually abrogated until almost all of them disappeared in 1887. Bismarck's ruthless campaign had been ill advised and it was he rather than the Church which suffered final defeat.

The most important factor operating to produce this reversal of policy was the growth of a Socialist Party which threatened to be more dangerous than the Catholics. The great expansion of industry and the resulting increase of the urban proletariat laid the basis for the creation of the Social Democratic Party which incorporated the teachings of Marx and Engels. Founded prior to the establishment of the Empire, this organization stood for every form of liberalism which Bismarck detested, especially democracy and the control of the state by the workers. As their political influence increased, Bismarck, branding them as traitors, secured the passage of exceptional laws allowing for their expulsion from the state under certain circumstances, and rigidly restricting their rights to free speech and free assembly. These stern measures merely drove the socialist movement under ground without greatly weakening it. Therefore, after making his peace with the Church, Bismarck reversed his former policy in favor of one calculated to kill the socialist movement with kindness. He adopted the essential features of State Socialism, abandoned laissez-faire practice, and embarked upon a program of extensive social reforms. The Socialists remained skeptical of these measures, but the majority of workers were appeased, and the dangers of social and political transformations were temporarily overcome. The Social Democratic Party thereafter became more conservative, though it adhered to its policy of fighting for democracy in government.

The death of William I (1888), Bismarck's loyal friend and collaborator, loosened the "Iron Chancellor's" grip on the government. The brief reign of the old king's son was followed by that of his grandson, William II (1888-1918), a young man filled with enthusiasm, confident of his own greatness, and certain both of his right and his capacity to govern as his own chancellor. It was practically inevitable that he should clash with Bismarck, and that the latter should



"DROPPING THE PILOT": BISMARCK AND WILLIAM II, BY JOHN TENNIEL (1820-1914)

The artist who did this cartoon for *Punch* was for a half a century on the staff of that magazine. Tenniel's deserved reputation as one of the greatest of the European caricaturists rests in large measure upon the political cartoons which appeared in *Punch*. See also "Mosé in Egitto," p. 776.

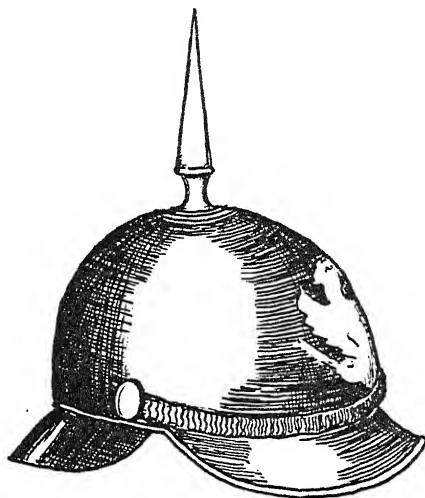
be displaced by the very instrument of royal power which he had devoted his life to strengthening. The break came over a somewhat trivial affair growing out of diplomatic negotiations with Russia, and Bismarck, pouting and disgruntled, was compelled to resign in 1890. William was careful thereafter to appoint to the office of chancellor men who would be his obedient servants.

The era of William II was one of continuing prosperity, intellectual advancement, and social reform in domestic affairs, but it was also a period of ambitious foreign policy and aggressive expansion. The Bismarckian system of insurance against France was allowed to lapse partly through negligence, and partly through diplomatic bungling.¹ But the colonial policy which Bismarck had successfully initiated through acquisitions in Africa and the Pacific was vigorously continued, especially in the Near and the Far East where William himself took the lead. The objections of rival powers to this ex-

pansion were oftentimes answered by threats of force, by regular increases in armaments and the army, and by the establishment of a strong navy. William took especial interest in the latter and with the aid of a capable but shortsighted sailor, Admiral von Tirpitz, built up an imperial navy of such strength and fighting power that it was capable of challenging Britain's domination of the seas. The British became alarmed at this and the naval rivalry which ensued between the two powers was one of the important factors helping to precipitate the First World War. Meantime, Germany established and retained formal relations of alliance with Austria and Italy, as protection against its continental and colonial rivals, Russia, France, and Great Britain.

¹ See Chapter XXX.

Deliberate efforts were made to prevent the latter three from combining, but the methods of forceful persuasion employed were scarcely calculated to ensure success. The Triple Entente gradually took shape in opposition to the German dominated Triple Alliance, and as it solidified, Italy was weaned from Berlin. By 1914, Germany had created powerful enemies but was left with few friends.



GERMAN HELMET. SKETCH.

Imperial dress helmet of the German Empire.

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The Political Foundations of Modern Europe (Continued)

A. THE SPREAD OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL

Political democracy may be briefly defined as a form of state organization in which the people govern themselves through agents of their own choice whom they elect to serve in representative institutions which are directly responsive to the public will. In applying this definition to existing governments, it is important to remember that *form* must not be confused with *substance*. A state may easily possess the democratic structure and yet not be democratic at all. Thus, for example, Communist Russia possesses representative institutions which on superficial examination appear to be responsive to the public will. Yet the people are not freely permitted to exercise their political choice. True democracy is possible only where the individual is free from any restrictions on the press, speech, or assembly. In this sense, democracy never has been fully and completely realized, though it has been closely approached. There are always powerful obstacles to frustrate majority rule: the control by an aggressive minority of the instruments through which public opinion is molded, such as the press; social and economic pressure; and always, of course, the high percentage of apathy and indifference on the part of the electorate. These have made many pessimistic of democracy's future, while they have led others to the opinion that political democracy can be realized only when the people themselves control all human activities, social and economic as well as political.

The growth of democracy prior to the nineteenth century was slow, halting, and sporadic. Neither Athens nor the Roman Republic was organized according to modern democratic concepts for they followed the practice of exclusive citizenship which deprived the

majority of a voice in the government. The limited democracies which they did establish gave way to authoritarian regimes, and it was the experience of the latter rather than the former which became the heritage of medieval Europe. During the feudal epoch, however, some of the foundations of modern democracy were laid, more or less by accident. To a very limited extent, the communal life of the early Christians, which was continued in modified form within the monasteries, and the development of the conciliar movement contributed to this end. More important were the results of the conflicts among ambitious kings and feudal aristocracy, and the influence exerted by the growing group of bourgeois toward eliminating class privilege. It will be remembered that the Magna Carta, a reactionary measure which eventually became the charter of British democratic liberties, was extorted from King John by the aristocracy. Both in England and elsewhere, political and financial expediency compelled medieval sovereigns to concede some form of representative institutions to their subjects. To this limited extent, and it was very limited indeed, it can be said that the way was opened during the middle ages for the evolution of modern democracy.

From the fifteenth to the nineteenth century the growth of the democratic ideal was more rapid, largely because of the influence of important intellectual and economic factors. The emphasis which the Humanists and the Protestant Revolutionaries placed upon individualism was an important contribution, though it was at the time more theoretical than practical, for neither was intentionally democratic. Religious conflicts, however, inspired the formulation among oppressed Protestant and Catholic minorities of democratic philosophies which defended popular sovereignty and representative government. Seventeenth-century science and eighteenth-century rationalism also facilitated the development of the democratic ideal by postulating the existence of a natural order for mankind and the rationality of men. But the most important factor of this period was the Commercial Revolution and the consequent rapid rise to prominence of the bourgeoisie. Merchants and traders labored to destroy the restraints of the feudal era and demanded a greater voice in government. In England, they gained control of Parliament during the Glorious Revolution, limited the powers of the Crown, and ensured the practice of representative government. This was not yet democracy, but the establishment of representative government was the starting point for subsequent democratization. Elsewhere the bourgeoisie were less successful, but the French Revolution inaugurated the series of victories

on the continent which they won by the middle of the nineteenth century. Representative government, however limited its scope, was an important beginning toward democratic government.

During the nineteenth century a variety of forces conspired to hasten the development of democracy. Among these were a number of important intellectual movements, stemming from eighteenth-century rationalism or from the industrial revolution, which asserted the equality of men and their right to individual emancipation. The most advanced were the Utilitarians of England. Proclaiming that the proper function of government was to ensure the greatest good to the greatest number, these insisted that government must be by the majority of all the people, and proposed that education, the law, and legislation be democratized. Less practical but seeking much the same objectives were the Utopian Socialists like Robert Owen, who were convinced that men could be made perfect under proper environmental conditions, and who attempted to establish social, economic, and political equality through ideally constituted communities. Among the Romanticists as well, though some of the earliest subscribed to political reaction, confidence in the individual personality tended steadily toward confidence in democratic government. The propaganda of these intellectuals contributed a great deal to the establishment of democratic procedures when economic and social pressure seemed to render them necessary.

The Industrial Revolution, by breaking the economic ties of the old order and establishing individual economic "freedom," by speeding up the exchange of goods and ideas, by concentrating populations in urban communities, and especially by creating a proletariat which became increasingly class conscious, provided the requisite economic and social foundations for democracy. The mass of the workers, seeking redress of grievances, continually demanded the control of government, to which they believed their numbers and their interests entitled them. Their pressure was strong enough to win representative institutions and to widen the suffrage.

The principle and practice of universal manhood suffrage was established nearly everywhere in Europe during the nineteenth century. In England, the vote was extended to most of the industrial workers by the borough franchise reform of 1867, and to most of the rural inhabitants by the reform of 1884; in France, universal manhood suffrage was one of the products of the revolution of 1848, though honored more in the breach than in the practice during the Second Empire; in Italy, the restricted franchise was relaxed during

the 1880's and in 1912 universal manhood suffrage was instituted; in Germany, Bismarck conceded universal manhood suffrage as early as 1867, Austria followed suit gradually, liberalizing the franchise in the 1890's and establishing universal manhood suffrage in 1907, even autocratic and imperial Russia felt the sweep of the democratic advance, establishing a Duma (1905) elected by restricted suffrage. To the extent to which the right to the ballot symbolizes the existence of democracy, it can be said that the whole of western Europe had been democratized before the First World War. But it is important to remember that universal suffrage was often more of a sham than a reality. This was especially true in Germany and to a lesser degree in Italy. Authoritarian practice continued under thin disguise.

Nevertheless, in all of these countries, either because of the continued pressure of the unenfranchised proletariat or because of the influence which their representatives exerted, notable advances were made in the direction of democratizing social and economic life. With a few important exceptions, educational facilities were opened to all classes; governments assumed responsibility for the care of the poor; civil equality was guaranteed; and the inauguration of social insurance provided a greater degree of economic equality.

In view of this progress toward democracy, it is not difficult to understand why so many were optimistic in the early twentieth century that the world would soon be completely democratized. It seemed inherent in the very nature of things, the inevitable counterpart of economic advancement and human progress. The First World War was regarded by many as a crusade to complete the process and, indeed, when it was over much of Europe supplemented universal manhood suffrage with woman suffrage and made representative institutions responsive to the public will. But democracy was not deeply rooted in the minds or the experience of most continental peoples and under the pressure of war or of economic misfortune it has been widely abandoned for dictatorship. Moreover, under the fateful tensions of 1939 and the war to which they led, authoritarianism replaced democracy, at least temporarily, even in those nations which claimed to champion the democratic ideal.

B. THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The establishment of democratic government in France was one of the consequences of the Franco-Prussian War. The Second Empire collapsed after the disastrous battle of Sedan (September, 1870)

and the defense of the nation fell into the hands of a Provisional Government, headed by Léon Gambetta, and established with the aid of his republican friends in Paris. Its heroic efforts to stem the Prussian advance proved futile and in February, 1871, the Provisional Government gave way to a National Assembly which had been elected by universal manhood suffrage to deliberate for the nation on the peace which should or should not be made with Germany. During the elections for this body, the exponents of the Republic lost heavily because of their insistence that the war be continued; the conservative exponents of monarchy gained because they espoused the more popular cause of peace. For this reason the National Assembly, which met first at Bordeaux and then at Versailles, had a sizeable majority of monarchists who threatened to destroy the infant Republic.

The pressure of immediate problems growing out of the war, however, prevented prompt deliberation upon the permanent form of government to be established. Without committing itself, the Assembly named a constitutional monarchist, the aging Adolphe Thiers, as "chief executive" and empowered him to assume the odious responsibility of negotiating peace with Germany. The fulfillment of this difficult task was delayed by bitter civil war which the radical elements of Paris precipitated. Peace and order at home were the necessary preliminaries to peace with the enemy, and it was useless to assume that either could be realized or that a permanent government could be created until the authority of the Assembly was respected.

Reduced to actual starvation by prolonged siege of the German troops, the traditionally radical mob of Paris had emerged from the war with its rebellious temper inflamed. It had assumed the initiative in declaring for the Republic when the Empire collapsed; it was in no mood to capitulate before the conservative country which had elected the monarchical Assembly. For its part, the Assembly adopted measures which aimed to bring the Parisian revolutionaries into line with the rest of the nation. The Assembly met at Versailles instead of Paris and cut off the pay of the popular militia which had been organized to defend the city during the siege and was now the main source of strength of the radicals. To make matters worse, the Assembly most unwisely terminated the moratorium on rents and debts, instituted during the siege, and thus exposed the citizenry to legal action for non-payment at a time when it was virtually impossible

to meet any obligations. The first of these measures injured the pride of the Parisians; the last two incited them to open rebellion.

As early as February, 1871, the local militia or National Guard of Paris had established a central committee to protect the interests of that body and to defend Paris and the Republic against the Assembly, if need be. It was now encouraged to act. An attempt by the Assembly further to weaken the National Guard by depriving it of some of its cannon resulted in a bloody encounter in the middle of March. Shortly thereafter the civil inhabitants joined with the rebellious Guard. A popularly elected general council of the city united with the central committee of the National Guard to form the Commune of Paris. Composed of radicals of all stamps, from Jacobin republicans to anarchists, and including some Marxian socialists, this Commune was pledged to the violent overthrow of the Assembly and to the establishment of decentralized, autonomous communes, loosely federalized on a national scale. Contrary to the interpretation carefully fostered by those groups, the Commune was neither socialist nor communist and its uprising was the product of despair and disgust at incompetent and unsympathetic government rather than an ideological movement.

To subdue the Communards, the Assembly was ultimately compelled to besiege Paris once more. For two months the stubborn revolutionaries held their ground until, threatened again with starvation, they were forced to surrender on May 28. The victorious Assembly wreaked frightful vengeance. Some fifteen thousand were killed after the surrender and as many more were deported to the penal colonies. The authority of the Assembly had been made good but at a terrific cost, and for the moment radicalism had been drowned in blood.

Meantime, the negotiations with Germany continued and were finally completed with the Peace of Frankfort. Alsace and part of Lorraine had to be ceded outright and a heavy indemnity had to be paid before the German army of occupation was to be withdrawn. Under the energetic leadership of Thiers, the Assembly proceeded to meet these harsh terms with unexpected alacrity. By 1873 the indemnity had been paid and the last German troops had departed from French soil.

Thus far the Assembly, which had shown no intention of dissolving, had left the constitutional question unsettled. On the face of it, it should have been an easy matter for the monarchists, who outnumbered the republicans two to one, to set up a monarchy. But the fact that they were divided into three groups and could not

agree upon a single candidate for the throne had influenced them to delay the final settlement. One of these factions, the Imperialists or Bonapartists who wished to restore the Napoleonic regime, had little numerical strength. The dispute was confined chiefly to the Legitimists, whose candidate was the Count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X, and the Orleanists who favored the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe. Intense personal rivalry between the two claimants and fundamental differences in principles among their followers had long dashed every hope of reaching an agreeable compromise. Many of the more liberal royalists, among them Thiers, had therefore reached the conclusion by 1873 that a monarchical settlement was impractical and had accepted the idea of the Republic as the only reasonable way out. This growth of defection in their ranks induced the monarchists momentarily to set aside their differences. Thiers was voted out of office and replaced by Marshal MacMahon, a confirmed and active royalist, who, it was hoped, might keep the throne warm until a royal occupant had been found for it. Scarcely had this adjustment been made by the Assembly, when an agreement for the succession was personally arranged between the Count of Paris and the Count of Chambord. The latter, being childless, was to occupy the throne during the remainder of his life, and thereafter the succession was to be fixed in the line of the Count of Paris. So reasonable an arrangement gave every promise of success, but it was quickly broken by the Count of Chambord, a shortsighted and unbending reactionary, who insisted upon the restoration of absolutism with all of its symbols. A monarchy under such conditions was impossible and all but the most reactionary royalists in the Assembly joined hands with the Republicans to draft a Republican constitution, hoping that it might be a temporary arrangement and that when the Count of Chambord had died the Crown might be restored.

Under the circumstances, it was no easy matter to come to terms on a constitution, since the royalists wished to do nothing which would jeopardize some future monarchical restoration, and the Republicans aimed at preventing such an eventuality. The settlement finally reached was a compromise, embodied in a series of "constitutional laws" completed in 1875. Purely practical, these provided for a system of government modeled partly upon British and partly upon American practice. Legislative power was vested in a bicameral legislature: a Senate of three hundred members, elected indirectly for a term of nine years; and a Chamber of Deputies, elected directly by universal manhood suffrage for a term of four years. Both houses

were endowed with equivalent rights of initiative in legislation, except that all financial measures were to originate in the Chamber, but the latter body, like the popularly elected House of Commons in Great Britain, was to exercise dominant influence over the Cabinet of Ministers. The Ministry, drawn from the legislature and completely responsible to it, was made the real executive, obligated to enforce the laws and determine national policies. Nominally, however, executive authority was vested in a President, elected jointly by both houses of the legislature for a term of seven years, and eligible to re-election. It was required that all of his acts receive the counter-signature of the ministry so that his position became chiefly that of a figurehead. The system of parliamentary government thus established by the constitutional laws has remained substantially unaltered.

With the constitution completed, the Assembly was dissolved and the Third Republic embarked upon a troubled career. The first elected legislature contained a republican majority in the Chamber and a royalist majority in the Senate so that the unhappy struggle between these two factions continued. The royalists, who had the advantage of controlling the presidential office through Marshal MacMahon whose term of office was not to expire until 1880, openly labored to hasten monarchical restoration. Officers of the army were encouraged to use their influence in this direction, and the president, through the ecclesiastical patronage which he controlled under the Concordat, enlisted the co-operation of the clergy. Clerical influence in education was strengthened; political activity of the Church was encouraged; and official hope was held out that intervention in Italy in behalf of the pope might materialize. The royalists intended to make the Church the chief bulwark of the monarchy.

The republicans bitterly assailed this policy, and for perfectly understandable reasons attacked the royalists by striking at the clergy and the Church. Their leader in the Chamber, Léon Gambetta, a skillful politician as well as a brilliant and popular orator, expressed the matter succinctly when he said, "Clericalism, there is the enemy." By 1877, the royalist-republican controversy reached an acute stage when MacMahon, hoping to be rid of his republican adversaries in the Chamber, arbitrarily appointed a clerical-royalist ministry and, with the aid of the Senate, dissolved the Chamber, ordering new elections. The campaign which followed was a test of strength between MacMahon and Gambetta and between the royalist and republican sympathies of the people. The result was a decisive republican victory. The clerical-royalist ministry was compelled to resign and Mac-

Mahon was forced to accommodate himself to a divided legislature. Two years later, in the Senatorial elections, the republicans also managed to gain control of that house. It was impossible for MacMahon to remain in office with the legislature completely republican, and he resigned in 1879. The republicans promptly elected one of their own number, Jules Grèvy, to the presidential office, and transferred the seat of the government from Versailles to Paris. The Third Republic was at last dominated by republicans, but its future was far from secure.

The royalist cause had suffered defeat but the group of royalist sympathizers, aided by the clerical reactionaries, was still sufficiently large and powerful to cause grave concern. Equally disconcerting was the revival of radicalism among the urban proletariat, who came to regard the republic, dominated by bourgeois politicians, as too conservative. Under the leadership of Jules Guesde, a Labor Party was formed in 1876, incorporating the doctrines of the Marxian Socialists. Though this organization failed to exert any material influence, largely because of disruptive influences within the labor movement, Guesde was finally able to create a working coalition of socialists during the 1890's which won substantial successes at the polls. The royalists and socialists had nothing in common except their opposition to the Republic, but their combined agitation was sufficient to threaten seriously the permanence of republican institutions.

It was not difficult for these enemies of the Republic to find weaknesses and corruption which seemed to justify their condemnations. Political factionalism in the Chamber was rampant, producing frequent ministerial changes, and consequently giving the Republic the false appearance of instability. More than that, a series of ugly financial scandals involved some of the most prominent figures in political life, including a member of President Grèvy's own family who was found to have been engaged in the sale of decorations of the Legion of Honor. This latter revelation was regarded with such seriousness that Grèvy, who had just been re-elected President in 1886, was forced to resign the following year.

Widespread public disapproval of the corruption in public life brought the accumulating discontent of the Republic's enemies to a head and precipitated a serious crisis. For a brief period, it appeared that a leader had arisen who was capable of uniting all of the malcontents for one final and decisive blow at the government. This was General Boulanger (1837-1891), a dashing officer of perfect poise who had endeared himself to the soldiers and who knew how to

flatter and captivate the crowd. Having denounced the monarchists and expressed his devotion to radicalism, he gained appointment as minister of war in 1886, and forthwith exploited his office for his own personal aggrandizement. By appearing frequently in parades, fraternizing with the soldiers, and hunting at a possible war of revenge upon Germany which was popular with all patriots, he raised his popularity to formidable proportions. Fearing that he might become another Napoleon, the Government, in 1887, compelled him to quit the ministry of war and resign his post in the army. Instead of relieving the crisis, this merely aggravated it. Boulanger was regarded as a martyr, and many of the malcontents of all factions, from monarchists to radicals, called upon him to take matters in hand and reform the government. Throughout the nation his name was proposed as a candidate for places in the Chamber of Deputies when they fell vacant, and the extent of his popularity was revealed by the majorities which he accumulated in department after department. The climax to this unofficial plebiscite in his favor came in 1889 when he carried radical and republican Paris by a huge majority. At that time the fate of the Republic hung in the balance. Had Boulanger possessed the courage, he could have destroyed the Republic and established a personal dictatorship. But at the last moment his resolution weakened, and, fearing that a threat of arrest for conspiracy might be carried out, he fled the country and two years later committed suicide.

The Republic had been saved less by its own strength than by the weakness of its enemies, but the fact that it had been preserved gave it added prestige for the future. After the storm had been successfully weathered, the government reorganized the army to exclude the active monarchists from it and embarked upon a program of social reform to appease the laboring classes. These policies were supplemented by the action of Pope Leo XIII who called upon the French clericals to cease their political activities against the Republic and devote themselves to the much more important task of social reform. Not all of the clergy heard the Pope's bidding but enough of them did to create a serious breach in the clerical alliance with the royalists. The latter were so seriously and permanently weakened by it as well as by their failure to make good the opportunity of 1889 that they ceased henceforth to be a serious menace.

The Republic rose steadily in the public esteem after the Boulanger crisis had been passed, but it was not long before it encountered a new challenge which its enemies hoped to exploit. A

wave of anti-Semitism swept over the country in the 1890's, largely directed by a Parisian journalist, Edouard Drumont, who accused the Jews of responsibility for prevalent evils in civil and political life, attributed the plight of the poor and the misfortunes of the religious suffering under anti-clerical legislation to their influence, and denounced them as traitors who were ready to sell state secrets to the enemy. By curious twist of fortune and by deliberate provocation, two events occurred in 1894 which gave credence to these preposterous claims. One was the exposure of the most unedifying corruption among the members of the government who had speculated on a Panama Canal venture, and the other was the reported discovery that an Alsatian Jew, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, had sold certain secrets of the French army to Germany. These revelations awakened the latent hostility of all the old enemies of the Republic, the royalists and many of the clericals in particular, and engendered the added opposition of a number of ardent patriots.

The Dreyfus affair once more put the Republic on trial. At a military court martial in 1894, Dreyfus had been tried, found guilty, and sentenced to penal servitude for life on Devil's Island. Subsequent investigation revealed, however, that Dreyfus had not sold the military secrets but that a Major Esterhazy, an anti-Semite and a royalist, who had made the sale, pinned the responsibility upon Dreyfus by means of forged documents. The fact that Esterhazy shortly fled the country and that one of the forgers committed suicide (1898) lent added weight to the findings of the investigation. With these discoveries, the most active republicans, anxious to see justice done and relieve the Republic of the odium attached to it by the whole affair, demanded that the army agree to a new court martial. The high officers were deeply offended by this, claiming that the "honor" of the army was at stake if a new trial were held, and enlisted the aid of the royalists, clericals, and extreme nationalists to prevent it. The Chamber of Deputies was badly divided over the question, but a coalition or *bloc* of all the parties supporting the Republic, was able to establish a ministry in 1899, and subsequently won the day. In that year the Supreme Court decreed that a new trial for Dreyfus should be held. The army men, still touchy on the point of "honor," once more declared Dreyfus guilty but recommended that he be pardoned because of extenuating circumstances. This shifted the responsibility to the President of the Republic who immediately granted the pardon. Dreyfus, however, remained unsatisfied until the verdicts of the

courts-martial were annulled by the Supreme Court (1906) and his place in the army restored to him.

Throughout this crisis, the clericals and the royalists had tried desperately to subvert the Republic, and it was natural that the victorious republicans should have dealt with them severely when it was over. The process of eliminating royalist sympathizers from important posts in the army and the administration was speeded up; but more important than that was the fact that the government hastened to destroy every important vestige of influence in public life which was still held by the Church.

Militant republicans had from the first regarded the Church as their worst enemy. Traditionally conservative and allied with the monarchists, the clergy were in an excellent position to influence the attitude of the people and thus undermine the state. The administration of much of the public charity had been placed in the charge of clerical Associations, and, during the Second Empire, the Church had attained preponderant influence in both primary and secondary schools. These functions, and especially that of educating the youth, it was argued, belonged properly to the state. Therefore, after the republicans had gained ascendancy in the government, they proceeded to circumscribe the activities of the Church. A series of educational laws (the Ferry laws) passed during the 1880's at the instigation of Jules Ferry, the great republican imperialist who was then minister of public instruction, terminated the clerical monopoly in primary education. A national system of free, publicly supported schools was established, in which laymen alone could teach and in which no religious instruction was to be offered. Primary education was made compulsory for all children, but it was not required that they attend the new free schools. If, however, parents chose to send them to private institutions such as were under the jurisdiction of the Church it was necessary for them to bear all the expense. Thus substantial material inducements were offered the people to abandon the Church schools. To further weaken these, the government also formally dissolved a number of the clerical teaching orders, including the Jesuit Society, which was expelled from France. This legislation of the 1880's, affecting national education, was supplemented by measures which legalized only civil marriages and empowered the courts to grant civil divorces.

Many devout Catholic laymen and the majority of the clergy deeply resented these interferences with the Church's customary privileges and redoubled their efforts to destroy the "unchristian"

and "atheistic" republican regime. They took a conspicuous part in the struggle against the government during the Boulanger and the Dreyfus crises, despite the admonitions of Leo XIII to refrain from political activity. It was for this reason that the republican *bloc* of the Chamber of Deputies, after having successfully weathered the Dreyfus storm, determined to deprive the Church of the means of effectively influencing public life.

An Associations Act (1901) required that all religious orders wishing to continue their activities in education, in missionary work, or in the administration of charity, must receive official authorization from the government and submit to its regulation. Under the rigorous enforcement of this measure, most of the religious orders were dissolved and their members were required to seek refuge abroad. In 1904, the influence of the Church in education was further restricted by a law which provided that at the end of a ten-year period no clergy, whether members of authorized orders or not, were to be permitted to teach in either public or private schools. This severely crippled the Church schools, for it was impossible satisfactorily to train lay teachers in so brief a period of time, but it benefited the national schools which by 1914 controlled the education of eighty percent of the children.

The climax to the anti-clerical legislation of this period was reached in 1905 with the passage of the Separations Act. Since 1801 the relations between the Church and State in France had been regulated by the Concordat which Napoleon had negotiated with Pope Pius VII. This permitted the State to nominate bishops who, upon investiture by the pope, were empowered to name the parish priests, thus giving the State substantial control over the ecclesiastical organization. It also required that the nation assume the responsibility for clerical salaries. Most of the republicans disliked this arrangement, holding that religion was a private matter and that it was neither sound nor just policy to tax the citizens for the support of churches in which they had little or no interest. They had long contemplated the complete separation of Church and State and at length found a convenient excuse to bring it about. A visit of the president of France to the king of Italy in 1904 led to an official protest from the pope, who since 1870 had not recognized the Italian sovereign and had requested the heads of Catholic States to refrain from visiting him at Rome. Construing this papal protest as an unwarranted interference in the affairs of the French nation, the government recalled its Ambassador from the Vatican and shortly thereafter passed the Separ-

tions Act. This measure discontinued the payment of salaries to the clergy of all denominations, renounced for the State the right to nominate bishops, and declared all Church property to belong to the nation, subject to its regulation and disposition. To secure the use of the churches for ordinary purposes of worship, it was required that associations of laymen be formed to make the proper arrangements with the government. The Jewish and Protestant churches acquiesced at once, but the Catholics, led by the pope, raised a storm of protest. The pope forbade Catholics to observe the law and prohibited the formation of associations of Catholic laymen to secure the use of the churches from the State. So great was this opposition that the government deemed it expedient to arrange a compromise, and in 1907 the Separations Act was amended in such fashion as to allow the clergy the use of church buildings even when associations of laymen had not been formed. The Church accepted this settlement, though it meant that the Church and State were henceforth to be effectually separated. The clergy gradually accommodated themselves to the new situation, devoting themselves primarily to social and religious concerns, so that by 1914 clericalism ceased to be a grave danger to the Republic.

Passionate controversy over royalism, clericalism, and republicanism had dominated the political life of the Third Republic from its inception, making it turbulent and seemingly unstable. Changes of ministry were frequent, sometimes almost kaleidoscopic, especially at those times when the sympathies of the nation were sharply divided. But this was not solely the result of social cleavage though that was the most important factor in producing the delicate shadings of the various political parties. In part, this grew out of local factors which determined the character of political parties as they evolved, and in part it was the result of constitutional procedure. Unlike Great Britain and the United States, France did not develop a two party system, nor even parties endowed with more or less permanent organizations and adhering to more or less fixed principles. The parties which took shape in the Chamber of Deputies were fluid, formed after the deputies had been elected rather than before. It was not essential that the candidate declare his political affiliation during the campaign, and he was free to join that party or group which seemed to express his views best, and equally free to abandon it for another if he chose. The consequence of this was a multiplicity of parties, representing the most minute shadings of opinion from the extreme radicals on the Left to the extreme conservatives on the Right. No

single party was ever able to form a ministry; only a combination or *bloc* of parties was able to do so. Depending upon the circumstances of the moment, the *bloc* might have been made up chiefly of the parties of the Center, representing views between the extremes, or the parties of the Right, or the parties of the Left, or possibly a combination of either of the last two with some groups of the Center. A ministry thus formed could have no assurance of permanence, for the defection of even one small group was oftentimes enough to tip the delicate balance against it. The multiplicity of the parties in the Chamber and their fluidity was one of the most important factors, therefore, in producing ministerial changes. Another, quite as important, was the fact that the constitution allowed that the ministry might be interpolated on any issue, great or small, and if it failed to carry the majority of the Deputies it was forced to resign. This always encouraged the enemies of the ministry to challenge it continuously and to make an issue of government out of relatively unimportant matters. Though these various factors operated to produce frequent ministerial changes, it is erroneous to assume that it made the government dangerously unstable. A highly efficient bureaucracy and civil service kept a continuity of policy, so that it was only the political superstructure which appeared to change radically.

There were no signs of weakness in the material progress which France enjoyed during these years. The government spared neither pains nor money in improving facilities of communication, deepening harbors, building railroads, and constructing highways. Industries multiplied at a rapid pace, supplying most of the needs of the domestic market and increasing foreign exports by approximately twenty-five percent. The bourgeoisie, who effectively dominated the various ministries, gave official encouragement to this expanding business enterprise by erecting tariffs to protect the native industries. With all of this growth of manufacturing and trade, agriculture still remained the basic resource of the people, as testified by the continued preponderance of rural over urban population. Naturally, therefore, the government could not afford to neglect the tillers of the soil. Subsidies were extended them for the improvement of their crops; cooperative societies, banks, and insurance societies were established to provide them with greater material security; agricultural schools were set up; and a ministry of agriculture was created. Great prosperity accompanied these measures, so that the value of agricultural produce was nearly doubled during the period preceding 1914. Little

wonder that the peasants became the staunchest defenders of the Republic.

The accumulation of capital, the result of business profits and peasant savings, representing an increase of more than thirty percent prior to 1914, enabled France to take its place once more among the great imperial powers of Europe. Foreign investments multiplied four times between 1870 and 1914. A good share of this went to Russia to bolster up the Franco-Russian alliance, but most of it was used in the Near East and in the unexploited areas of the world available for economic and political expansion. France, which was almost without an empire when the Third Republic began, emerged by 1914 as the second largest colonial power of the world. The majority of her acquisitions were concentrated in Africa and the Far East, where for long she was Britain's chief rival. The man most responsible for the revival of colonialism was Jules Ferry, a moderate republican, who believed that expansion would restore the past glories of France and enrich her more than would a war of revenge upon Germany which many of the republicans in the 1880's still felt should claim all of the energies of the nation.

Economic prosperity and imperial expansion quickly raised France from the position of a third- or fourth-rate power, to which she had receded after the Franco-Prussian War, to first rank with Germany, Britain, and the United States. The recovery of her prestige was accompanied by a significant development in foreign policy. So long as Bismarck remained at the helm in Berlin, France had been substantially isolated. But his resignation and Russia's simultaneous search for financial aid and political friendship opened the door to the conclusion of a Franco-Russian alliance (1894). This was subsequently supplemented by the Entente Cordiale with Great Britain (1904), and with that France stood at the center of a great constellation of powers which potentially was more than a match for the Triple Alliance.

C. BRITAIN'S GOLDEN AGE

The development of Great Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century followed along the general lines already marked out. The industrial revolution with its complex social and economic concomitants went on apace. New advances in science and invention continued to extend man's control of his environment and to bring the peoples of the world into closer contact. Politically, the British



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

QUEEN VICTORIA. PORTRAIT BY THOMAS SULLY (1783-1872).

This portrait by an American artist was painted in 1837 soon after the eighteen-year-old Alexandrina Victoria became Victoria Regina. Before her reign of almost sixty-four years was over Victoria had not only restored the prestige of the crown, which had fallen to a low ebb under her predecessors, but she had also won the affectionate respect and admiration of her people.

continued to move in the direction of democracy. Suffrage was broadened; education was expanded so that men might be trained to participate in their government; and the powers of the aristocracy were curtailed. Labor rose in strength as trade unions grew; a Labor Party was formed; and experiments were made in social legislation. Imperialism reached a climax with political and economic expansions in Asia and Africa; and British foreign policy slowly shifted from isolation to co-operation and alliances. Paradoxically, a new leniency appeared in the governance of the empire. Attempts were made to

solve the Irish problem and self-government was bestowed upon some of the colonies.

Throughout this story one of the factors of major importance was the economic development of Britain. British agriculture went through two phases: a "Golden Age" which lasted roughly from 1850 to 1870, and a still-continuing decay which followed. The unexpected era of prosperity was due to a combination of many things. Improvements in technique, the use of chemical fertilizers, the extensive reclamation of waste lands, and the development of farm machinery were in part responsible. So also was the growth of population, which increased the demand for food, and the Crimean War which stimulated the cultivation of grain by cutting off the Russian supply. The repeal of the Corn Laws and favorable weather conditions over a long period likewise contributed.

The prolonged depression which set in after 1875 was due chiefly to foreign competition, which, in turn, was largely an outgrowth of scientific and mechanical advances. Railroads and steamships not only expedited transportation, they also cut the costs of freightage. Improved agricultural methods and especially the wide adoption of farm machinery in the American and Canadian grain fields greatly increased production and at the same time lowered costs. The subsequent development of refrigeration resulted, among other things, in the flooding of England with Australian mutton, American beef, Danish eggs and butter. In addition to this vigorous competition, British farmers were further injured by a series of poor harvests in the late 1870's and by epidemics of disease among cattle and sheep. Labor suffered heavily from this depression, and Great Britain as a whole was rendered dependent upon foreign sources for her food. The threat of starvation should she lose control of the sea has been and remains an ever-present nightmare. Successive governments sought to relieve the situation by redistributing land, by education, by tariffs, and by the development of co-operatives. In the period under consideration (1865-1914) they were only slightly successful.

The story of British industry in this period, however, presents a different picture. By the middle of the nineteenth century Britain was the undisputed master in industry and manufacturing. Her head start and her insular position gave her an enormous advantage. By the century's end, competition had become vigorous but British losses were relative and not absolute. By and large, her industry enjoyed a steady and substantial growth up to 1914. The bases of her wealth continued to be textile manufacturing, coal, iron, and steel; the carry-

ing trade; and banking. In all of them steady gains were made. The value of her woolen exports, for example, rose from about £22,200,000 in 1882 to about £34,200,000 in 1907. The ten-year average of coal production jumped from about 160,780,000 tons in the decade of 1880-1889 to about 252,500,000 tons between 1900 and 1909. Merchant marine tonnage increased from 5,500,000 in 1870 to 11,500,000 in 1910, and ship-building approximately doubled in the same period. The value of her foreign trade in 1865 was about £418,000,000; in 1910, about £1,805,000,000. The estimated domestic wealth more than doubled in the same period and foreign investments grew rapidly. Endless statistics could be cited as evidence of this trend, but these will suffice to show the rate and measure of growth. Finally, it should be noted that both population and urbanization grew rapidly. One example will suffice to illustrate this fact. London in 1940 had a population of almost nine million—more than the population of all England in 1801.

However imposing the statistics on British prosperity may appear to be, it must be borne in mind that the people as a whole did not evenly share its benefits. The agricultural revival prior to 1875 benefited chiefly the land-holding classes; agricultural labor was poorly paid and often exploited. Naturally, though the proprietors suffered with the long depression which ultimately set in, it was mainly the laboring element which bore the brunt of the hardship. Many of the workers in the factories experienced the same difficulties, living in veritable poverty while the national wealth mounted. These social consequences of the great economic developments profoundly influenced the political life of the British nation. Labor played an increasingly important role, forming its own party eventually, but also compelling the established parties to take it into consideration.

This was first reflected in the political rivalry between Benjamin Disraeli (later Lord Beaconsfield) and William Ewart Gladstone who dominated English political life for almost a generation after the death in 1865 of Lord Palmerston. Alike in ambition, in vitality, and in love of power, they were unlike in character, training, and politics. Between the clever, calculating, and adroit Disraeli and the methodical, emotional, and more violent Gladstone were many of those sharp contrasts which delight a biographer.

Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) was the scion of a wealthy Jewish family of London, who chose to identify himself with the country aristocracy; Gladstone (1809-1898) was born into the commercial aristocracy and chose to identify himself with the bourgeoisie. Dis-

raeli was educated by tutors, Gladstone at Eton and Oxford, where his brilliance in studies and in debating won him early fame and a seat in Parliament when he was twenty-four. Disraeli began his public career and won his first fame as the author of bright and "daring" novels. As fiction, their value was slight but they were brilliant analyses of the British political scene. His theme and his proffered solution of the problems he posed were that the Tories should take the leadership in bringing social reforms and thus bind the masses to themselves and to the Crown. Despite this expressed preference for the Tories, Disraeli did not at first become associated with them. Only after a brief appearance as a Radical did he become a Tory M.P. in 1837. By then, young Gladstone had found favor with Peel and had come to be regarded as the probable future leader of the Tory (Conservative) Party. But the issue of the Corn Laws brought a change. Gladstone followed Peel when the latter broke with the tradition of his party and supported repeal, and from then (1846) until 1858 he remained a "Peelite Tory." Disraeli, who had been scorned and suppressed by Peel, made use of the issue to force the leader from the party and then took over the place himself, slowly rebuilding what he had helped to disrupt. Gladstone gradually shifted toward the left, and after serving as a liberal-Conservative chancellor of the exchequer (1852-1855), entered Palmerston's Liberal government in 1858, again as chancellor of the exchequer. Upon the death of Palmerston he succeeded to the party leadership and held it as long as he lived. Four times—1868-1874, 1880-1885, 1886, and 1892-1894—he served his country as prime minister. Disraeli, meanwhile, also held the exchequer in 1852, 1858, and 1866-1868, stepping from that post into the office of prime minister in 1868. His tenure then was very brief, but he again won the office in 1874 and held it for six years.

In policies and politics the two men were antithetical but, in a measure, complementary. Disraeli's strength and interest lay in foreign affairs and in imperialism, of which he was a herald. Yet it was Gladstone, a "Little Englander," an opponent of expansion, who was responsible for the British occupation of Egypt. Disraeli was clever and aggressive in his conduct of foreign affairs; Gladstone was pacific and bungling. The former balked Russia in Afghanistan and combined with Austria and Germany to check the Russian advance into the Near East in 1878. The latter sought peace, maintained neutrality during the Franco-Prussian War, and arbitrated the American *Alabama* claims, but came into serious conflict with Germany over

Africa (1884-1885). In short, force of circumstances often compelled the two rivals to pursue similar foreign policies. With the notable exception of the Irish problem, in which Gladstone followed a unique path of action, this was generally true in their domestic policies as well. Gladstone was a vigorous champion of domestic reform and was largely responsible for electoral, educational, and religious legislation, but he confused social reform with socialism which was anathema to him. Disraeli, in contrast, though not a reformer, was a consistent opponent of *laissez-faire*, which he regarded as a selfish middle class policy. Again, Gladstone was the most active exponent of political reform in 1866 but it was Disraeli who, adopting and enlarging his rival's program, carried it through the following year.

It will be remembered that the Reform of 1832 had made possible that alliance between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie which is known as the Victorian Compromise. A medley of motives led to its replacement by an equally loose and informal co-operation between labor and the bourgeoisie which may be differentiated as the New Compromise. In essence, this was an alliance of employer and labor against the old aristocracy; of city against country. The probable motives which led to this new alignment were the desire of labor for the ballot and of the middle class for the power which would accrue to it if it could gain control of the votes of the urban proletariat. Other factors, including both a sincere faith in democracy and a plutocratic jealousy of the aristocracy, were of course involved. It should be remembered also that labor sought political power primarily for the purpose of effecting social and economic reforms.

The first demonstration of the New Compromise was the movement for widening the franchise which was launched in 1866 by the bourgeois Liberals. This was Gladstone's bill which was defeated by a combination of the country (or Whig) Liberals and Disraeli's Conservatives. In 1867 the wily Disraeli stole Gladstone's thunder and secured the passage of a bill which virtually doubled the electorate by enfranchising the majority of urban workers. Some fifty percent of the male citizens remained politically disfranchised, but the Reform of 1867 was nevertheless a distinct step toward democracy. Further evidences of the co-operation of the bourgeoisie and labor are to be found in the introduction of the secret ballot (1872) to protect the workers' freedom of suffrage, and in the Reform Acts of 1884 and 1885. The former extended the suffrage to nearly all male householders so that about eighty percent of the male population had the right to vote; the latter redistributed seats in the Com-

mons on the basis of proportional representation and finally put an end to rotten boroughs. The final steps in achieving democracy may be hastily sketched. In 1911, payment was provided for members of Parliament, thus opening that body to labor's representatives.¹ After all classes of men had been forced to lay down their lives "for king and country" in the war of 1914-1918, it was deemed wise to establish universal suffrage. This was done by the Reform Act of 1918 which enfranchised all males over twenty-one years of age and all females over thirty. Finally, the so-called "Flapper Franchise Act" of 1928 reduced the minimum age limit for women to twenty-one years, and universal adult suffrage was fully established.

Long before universal suffrage had been attained, the problem of educating the masses to assume the responsibilities of democratic government demanded a solution. Logically, it was felt that an illiterate, ignorant people could not successfully govern themselves. The whole process of democratic government is predicated upon the existence of popular education, and Great Britain in 1867 lacked just that. Approximately 27 percent of the population was illiterate; virtually all schools were private; and education was the privilege of the few. The extension of suffrage by the Act of 1867 threw into sharp relief the problem of training the newly enfranchised classes. An additional complication was the necessity for somehow fitting the existing private schools, most of them run by various religious groups, into an expanded system. This involved not only the existent physical plants but also the delicate question of the proper relation of education to religion. Obviously, no public school system could be bound to any one religious denomination. On the other hand, any attempt to divorce religious from secular training was sure to arouse the fierce antagonism of the dominant Anglicans. The pioneer attempt to solve these problems was the Forster Education Act of 1870. State-supported schools, known as "board schools," since they were controlled by local "Boards of Education" created under the Act, were established, and additional state subsidies were extended to the existing private schools. The question of religious education in the public schools was compromised by providing that such instruction be given either at the beginning or end of the school day so that those who desired could withdraw their children without loss of secular training. The Forster Act was only a beginning, but it is impossible here to

¹ Property qualifications for M.P.'s had been abolished in 1858, but the lack of any salary made it virtually impossible for a man lacking private means to accept office.

trace the whole story. Suffice it to say that by 1880 elementary education had been made compulsory, and eleven years later, free.

As the influence of the masses increased, democracy was further strengthened through the curtailment of the political power of the aristocracy, who controlled the House of Lords. This was an hereditary not an elective body, and, therefore, was neither responsible nor responsive to the people. Yet the Lords still held an absolute veto on all legislation. Agitation for a reduction of that power had been growing steadily when the Budget Bill of 1909 brought the issue to a head. This Bill, the work of David Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, sought to shift the burden of government expenses onto the landed classes. Key provision, and focal center of the opposition was a proposed tax of twenty percent on the unearned increment of land and a special levy on undeveloped tracts in rural areas. The Budget was accepted by the House of Commons, but rejected by the House of Lords upon whose members the new taxes would have borne most heavily. At once, the financial issue was eclipsed by the demand that the House of Lords be stripped of its power. It is sufficient for our purpose to note that this bitter constitutional struggle was finally resolved by the Parliament Act of 1911, which took away from the upper house the right to veto any "money bill" and left it with a suspensory veto on other bills. The effect of the Act was to make the House of Commons virtually supreme in the government, although the House of Lords retained its judicial power as the court of final appeal.

Meanwhile, increased democratization of government was accompanied by social legislation and the growth of a strong labor movement. This has already been discussed in Chapter XXIII, and need only be referred to here. Unionization was legalized in 1871 but its growth was slow until the successful dock workers' strike in 1889 demonstrated labor's ability to organize peacefully and efficiently. The setback of the Taff Vale Decision (1901) led to an effective alliance between the trade unions and the newly formed Labor Party. The reversal of that decision by the Trades Disputes Act (1906) was an evidence of the growing political power of the Laborites. So also were the provision for the payment of M.P.'s (1911) and the reversal in 1913 of the Osborne Judgment (1909) which had forbidden the unions to pay the campaign expenses of their candidates for political office. Under the guidance of its three most important leaders, Keir Hardie, Philip Snowden, and Ramsay MacDonald, the Labor Party grew steadily in strength. The passage of regulatory legislation such



Courtesy of the New York Public Library

"MOSE IN EGITTO": BENJAMIN DISRAELI BY JOHN TENNIEL

This cartoon first appeared in the English humorous weekly, *Punch*, in December, 1875, just after Disraeli had purchased the Suez Canal shares from Ismail of Egypt. Although the canal had been built by the French, the British were its chief users. Disraeli's action gave the British representation on the Board of Directors and enabled Great Britain to dominate the canal company even though it did not hold the majority of the stock. See p. 750 for information about the caricaturist, John Tenniel.

as the Mines Code (1906) and of social insurance laws like the National Insurance Act of 1911 were evidences not only of the growing political power of labor but also of an awakening social conscience among the electorate. The trend, which became consistently more marked, was toward government interference with industry and trade to aid and to protect the workers.

The expenses involved in the acceptance by the government of such responsibility to render services to its people, plus the tremendous costs of "preparedness" for war, greatly increased the burden of taxation. Since the Liberals, who were in power from 1906 to 1916, were committed to a policy of free trade, the necessary funds had to be raised by new taxes. This was the *raison d'être* of Lloyd George's Budget of 1909 which sought to shift the burden of taxation to the shoulders of those best able to bear it. An appeal to the elec-

torate was necessary before so revolutionary a measure finally became a law in 1910. Later events proved the scheme less successful than its proponents hoped.

The period from 1865 until the World War was not only one of domestic prosperity, of social upheaval, and growing democracy, but it was also the period of marked revival of British colonialism and imperialism.¹ This was in part due to political motives, particularly to a desire to bid for the vote of the newly enfranchised classes who were taught to identify their personal welfare with the profits to be won from empire. Such appeals were popular both because of

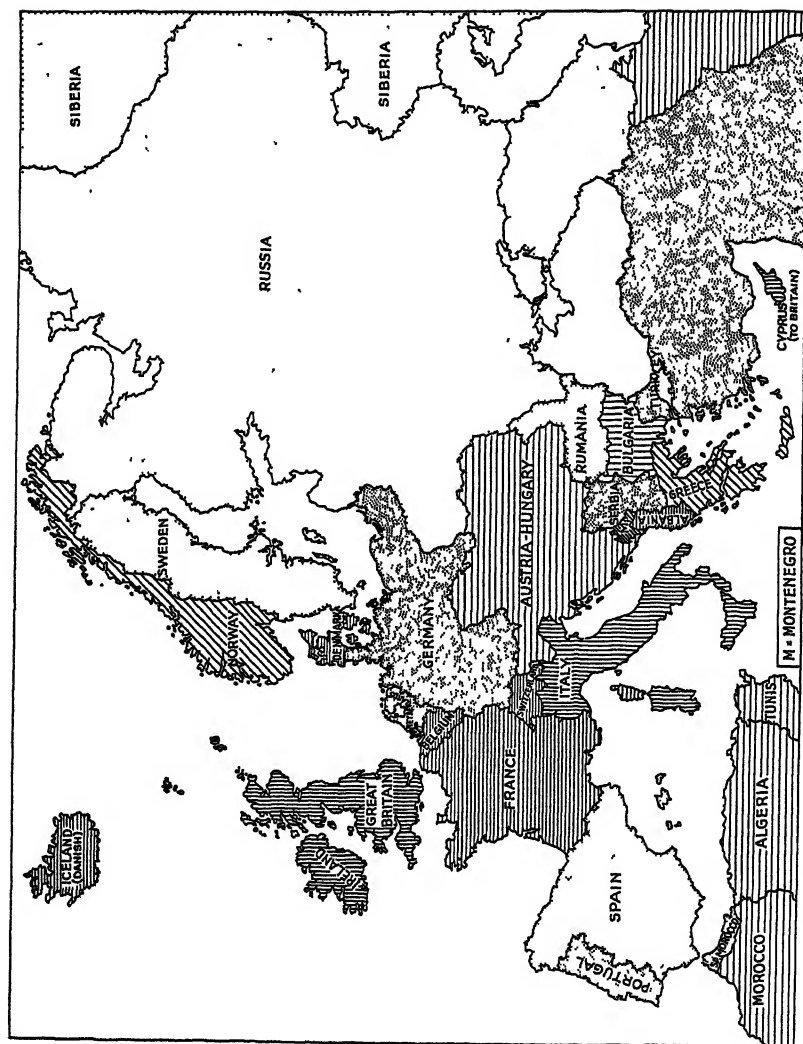
¹ See Chapter XXIX for a discussion of modern imperialism.

close personal ties with many of the colonists and because many of the workers were employed in industries which did profit from foreign trade. From the time of Disraeli also, imperialism served as a rallying point for the Conservatives, many of whom, disagreeing upon domestic policies, could be united only by stressing foreign affairs. It would seem that the other most likely motives were emotional, including both the appeal of the "yellow" press and of such literate enthusiasts as Kipling. Certainly the Jubilee of 1887 and, more especially, the Diamond Jubilee of 1897 were designed to cement the empire and to rouse popular enthusiasm for it. Many lands and many peoples were forcibly brought under the British flag before the imperialistic Boer War (1900-1902) brought a revulsion of feeling.

In the meantime, efforts had been made to strengthen the bonds of empire and at the same time to give recognition to the growing demands of the self-governing colonies for a part in imperial government. A series of Imperial Conferences, beginning in 1887, partially placated the colonials and paved the way for the much later transformation of the Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations. Various proposals for imperial tariffs which would make the empire an economic unit were wrecked upon the free trade policy of the mother country and the diverse needs of the various peoples. However, dominion status was conferred upon Australia in 1900, New Zealand in 1907, and the Union of South Africa in 1909.¹ The loyal support which these Dominions gave Britain in the World War were conclusive evidence of the success of this policy of leniency.

In contrast were the British relations with Ireland, the most troublesome portion of the Empire. Essentially, the "problem" of Ireland was that for centuries that country had been governed as a colonial dependency whose privileges were few, whose rights were fewer, and whose function was to serve the mother country. Ruled by the British Parliament in which its voice was all but inaudible, divided by religious friction between the Catholic south and the Protestant north (Ulster), the plight of the Irish was grave. The first British statesman to champion the Irish cause was Gladstone, who began by separating Church and State in Ireland and freeing the Irish from the compulsion of supporting the Anglican Church (1869). He also attacked the vicious agrarian system under which absentee landlords drained the land of all it could produce, leaving the hapless Irish

¹ Canada was made a Dominion in 1867; Newfoundland acquired self-government in 1855 but in the face of financial difficulties requested in 1933 that it be reduced to the status of a Crown colony.



MAP 32. EUROPE IN 1914

tenant farmers in miserable poverty, made worse by the frequency of evictions on flimsy or whimsical grounds. It was Gladstone's aim to establish fair rents, give the tenant a reasonable security of tenure, and permit him to dispose of his interest in the property. His pioneer Land Act (1870) was not successful, and it was not until the great landlords were virtually bought out by the government late in the century that the problem approached solution. By that time there had arisen another issue: Home Rule (self-government) for Ireland. From the defeat of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill (1886) to the acceptance in 1914 of a Home Rule Act which was promptly suspended because of the War, the issue complicated British politics with murders, scandals, and parliamentary paralysis. It is sufficient for our purpose, however, merely to note that despite some real progress the Irish "problem" had not been solved prior to 1914.

The British part in events which led up to that conflict will be treated in a later chapter (XXX), but mention should be made here of the fact that British foreign policy underwent a momentous change about the turn of the century. Under Gladstone and Disraeli, as under Palmerston, Great Britain had pursued a policy of avoiding all entangling commitments upon the continent. When the circumstances warranted, she intervened in the affairs of Europe as, for example, when Disraeli joined Austria in forcing Russia to submit the whole problem of the Near East and the Balkans to a general conference, but her policy was one of "splendid isolation." However, a series of imperialistic clashes in the late 1890's made her isolation seem less "splendid" and more dangerous. After several attempts (1898-1901) to form an alliance with Germany had failed, Britain allied herself with Japan in the Far East (1902), and more surprisingly, came to an understanding (*Entente Cordiale*) with France in 1904. Three years later, this led to an agreement with Russia, and Great Britain had become a full member of the party which faced the rising power of Germany.

It will be noted that this brief survey has made no mention of the Crown and little of the various ministers. This was done in the hope that the broader view might leave a more useful and lasting impression than the usual detailed story of British political life. For the sake of completeness, however, it should be added that upon Victoria's death in 1901 the Crown devolved upon her son, Edward VII, who ruled until his death in 1910. He, too, was succeeded by his son who as George V ruled from 1910 until 1936. Neither Edward nor George were nonentities, but law and custom so hedged them about

that such power as they exercised sprang almost wholly from personal influence upon men and ministers. Of the leaders, it need only be said that none possessed the dramatic appeal of Disraeli and Gladstone. After Gladstone's death, his party fell into a decline so marked that the years from 1895 to 1906 are sometimes called the "Conservative Era." Then the wheel turned and from 1906 until 1916, when the exigencies of the War forced the formation of a coalition government, the Liberals were in power.



LION AND UNICORN

Famous seal of the British monarchy. The use of animals, like the lion and unicorn, as "supporters" of the shield was an outgrowth of medieval heraldry. The unicorn, a fabulous animal, renowned for great strength and fierceness, was first employed on the Scottish royal seal and was not used along with the lion on the English seal until the reign of James I.

It seems that the rampant "lion" was originally intended to be a leopard. Since medieval armorists had no clear idea of the leopard, they showed it as a lion, but distinguished the two animals by having the lion's head in profile rather than turned to show the full face, which view meant the leopard.

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Autocratic Survivals

A. THE CONSERVATISM OF AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

Throughout the long story of the development of western civilization one of the most striking phenomena is the conservatism of agricultural groups.¹ Again and again that fact has appeared as one of the major truths of social growth. When agriculture has been the dominant mode of life, the least advance has been made in the arts of living. Similarly, agricultural peoples have been consistently the slowest to abandon the old and the last to embrace the new. During nearly the whole of the Middle Ages when Europe was almost exclusively agricultural, change was slow, and progress toward what we consider higher standards, slight. Only with the revival of trade and industry and the resumption and growth of urban life did change and progress speed up. Countries whose populations remained overwhelmingly agrarian lagged far behind those lands where trade and cities offered a ready escape from the soil. The great empires of the Austrian Hapsburgs and the Russian Romanovs offer the most important illustrations of this truth.

Like so many others, this phenomenon is easy to observe but very hard to explain, and any attempt to do so must be regarded as suggestive rather than definitive. The most likely cause is the security of life which is offered by the land. It is true that droughts destroy and insects devour the crops, and that famine may stalk the farmlands, but it is also true that even though trade fails, cities collapse, and governments change the land continues to reward its cultivators. The city man, more dependent upon his fellows, has no such security. Conditions far beyond his control may deprive him of work and wages and force him to become a parasite upon society. The farmer, by contrast, can be reasonably sure that honest hard work will pro-

¹ The American frontier groups were conservative in religion if not in politics.

vide him with food, shelter, and clothing. His life may be hard and barren, but it is comparatively secure. The result is that he is less likely to need or desire change. As long as his wants can be satisfied from the land, and, more importantly, as long as he has little hope of reaping material benefit from change, the farmer prefers the tried and true to the new and doubtful.

Besides this rather subtle mental cause there are other, physical causes arising from the exigencies of earning a living from the soil. The farmer's work is arduous and the hours of it, long. Sheer fatigue and lack of leisure make it hard for him to pursue any ends not immediately connected with personal needs. No agricultural society has ever led in science or in art for the very adequate reason that wresting a livelihood from the land requires all of a man's strength and time. Moreover, money is usually scarce in an agricultural group so that there is not the wherewithal to support artists and intellectuals. Without patronage, advance in those directions is impossible. One consequence is that an agricultural society suffers from the lack of stimulation and tends to sink into a rut of self-sufficient smugness. Intellectual radicals, whatever else they may or may not be worth, have at least the merit of irritating people into making changes.

Another physical factor which tends to deprive agrarian groups of this healthful irritant is isolation. The nature of farming requires a sparse population. The city man is constantly subjected to novelty through contact with his fellows. Carriers of commerce are also bearers of new manners, modes, and thoughts which continuously modify and replace the old. The farmer is removed from this leavening influence simply because he is removed from active contacts with alien peoples and ideas. Moreover, agricultural peoples are notoriously immobile. Commonly they are born, live, and die in the same place. The world neither comes to them nor do they go to it.¹

To all these forces which tend to produce a static society must be added the greatest enemy of change: habit. The human animal is essentially governed by habit; the more so, of course, when new influences are few and far between. An agricultural society offers the clearest example of this. Crops are planted when folklore, which in this case means tradition and custom, dictates, and the harvest is gathered at the usual time. The regularity of the seasons themselves contributes toward this end. It is plausible to assume that thoughts

¹ The development of the automobile, the telephone, the press, the movies, and the radio is rapidly altering this situation with consequences not yet predictable.

similarly follow the ancient pattern and that anything which might break the routine would therefore be shunned. Only a great need, or a particularly bright hope of improving itself can shake an agricultural group out of its furrow.

B. THE PATCH-WORK EMPIRE

The sprawling empire of the Austrian Hapsburgs offers the student an excellent case history in the conservatism of an agricultural society. With the exception of its northern fringe, the Hapsburg Empire remained predominantly agrarian throughout its entire existence. Indeed it was not until the revolutions of the mid-nineteenth century that feudalism was legally abolished and its traditions and habits lingered long after that. There was a small middle class and a smaller group of wealthy and privileged aristocracy but the majority remained in the status of peasantry. This dependent position effectively deprived them of any voice in the government and made them pawns in the dynastic and factional struggles for power. Potentially dominant, they remained inarticulate and bound to tradition.

This essential fact was partially eclipsed by the spectacular heterogeneity of the peoples within the Empire. The dominant group economically and politically were the Germans, numbering about ten million, who lived chiefly in and around Vienna and Graz. Next in importance were the twelve million Magyars, preponderantly peasants, whose home was in the Danube valley. To the north and northeast of the Germans, in Bohemia and Moravia, lived the Czechs and the Slovaks, both of Slavic origin. The Czechs, partly because of the rich mineral resources of Bohemia, became the industrial rivals of the Germanic Austrians; the Slovaks were chiefly peasants. Also of Slavic origin were the Poles and the Ruthenians who were most numerous in the northeast portion of the empire. Like the Slovaks they were mostly peasants. In the southwest lived the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, generically known as the South Slavs. They were also peasants and herdsmen. All told, the Slavic peoples constituted approximately half of the fifty million subjects of the Hapsburgs. Nor was that all; Italians and Rumanians, to the number of about four million, lived within the empire. The former were found mainly in the Trentino and on the eastern coast of the Adriatic; the latter, in Transylvania and the Banat. In addition to all these groups were the Jews who dwelt in the cities and the Gypsies who roamed the countryside. These many groups were not mutually exclusive. They were con-

fusingly intermixed so that few sections were not vexed by the problem of national minorities.

The student may well wonder why so varied a composite hung together at all. One cohesive force was the Roman Catholic Church to which many of these peoples belonged. Another was the economic unity of the area, a factor which developed in proportion to the industrialization of the Germans and Czechs. These needed the peasantry both as a market for manufactures and as a source of food-stuffs. The peasants, conversely, depended upon the cities as markets for food and sources of manufactured goods. The forces of habit and tradition and the weight of inertia also played a part. The Hapsburg Empire was venerable and hoary and the traditions of centuries had accustomed the peoples to Hapsburg rule. Many of them preferred the known and habitual to the unknown and unpredictable. Some credit must also be reserved for the skill of the imperial government in playing off one group against another. This policy was made possible by the mutual greeds, ambitions, jealousies, and suspicions of the various groups, many of whom hated Austrian rule less than they hated each other.

The unsuccessful revolutions of 1848¹ demonstrated both the unpopularity of the Hapsburgs among the subject peoples and their inability or unwillingness to unite. From that trial by fire the empire and its newly crowned emperor, Franz Josef (1848-1916), emerged apparently as strong as ever. Hungary was punished by loss of her historic rights of local self-government; Italy was again subjected to Austrian rule; and Prussia was humiliated at Olmütz. Within less than two years the revolts had been suppressed and the emperor had resumed the Metternichian practice of absolutism supported and guarded by repression. But while Franz Josef sought to make his world stand still, his neighbors in Sardinia and Prussia were moving toward expansion. In 1859 the unwary Austrian found himself entangled in a disastrous war engineered by the wily Cavour and fought largely by the troops of that philanthropist-unaware, Napoleon III. The defeat inflicted upon Austria encouraged the Magyars almost to the point of an open rebellion. To avert that crisis Franz Josef abandoned his open absolutism for a more subtle form of government. In 1861 he granted a constitution establishing a bicameral parliament which was given the power to grant or withhold taxes. This *Reichsrat* was by no means democratic but it represented a distinct concession to liberalism. The Magyars, however, refused either to recognize the

¹ See pp. 695-701.



FRANZ JOSEF

constitution or to participate in the *Reichsrat*. They argued that Hungary was a state in its own right, with its own customs, laws, boundaries, and constitution. They declared that this latter had been illegally suspended in 1848 and that Franz Josef had no authority to replace it by another arrangement without their consent. Behind the technicalities and legal phraseology of their attack lay the fear that they would be submerged by the new constitution which gave them only eighty-five out of the 343 members of the *Reichsrat*. Led by the able Francis Deák, the Magyars agreed

that the empire must be strengthened by some form of union but they stubbornly refused to accept the constitution. For four years the antagonists remained deadlocked but time fought for Deák and in 1865 the reluctant Franz Josef opened negotiations in an attempt to find a satisfactory compromise. Before a settlement was reached the Austrian position was further weakened by the Seven Weeks' War with Prussia (1866). By keeping Hungary loyal, Deák put Austria in his debt and thus gained an advantage in the bargaining. Moreover, the swiftness of the Prussian victory made the weakness of Austria embarrassingly evident. The negotiations thus facilitated, an understanding known as the *Ausgleich* or Compromise was accepted by both parties in 1867.

The *Ausgleich* transformed the old Hapsburg state into the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Franz Josef continued as emperor of Austria and was accepted by Hungary as her king. Each state had its own constitution, parliament, responsible ministry, and administration. Each was to manage its own domestic affairs. The union was symbolized by the emperor-king and by a common flag. It was given practical force by joint ministries of finance, foreign affairs, and war; by a common tariff; and by the "delegations," a body made up of representatives from both parliaments and empowered to enact such joint legislation as was necessary. Each state was to share the common expenses, the amount assumed by each to be determined every ten years by treaty. This cumbersome machinery creaked, groaned, and

often threatened to break down completely, but it lasted for over half a century. Its longevity is ascribable to the conservatism of the peoples and to the ever-present minority problem. Only two of the many minorities, the Germans and the Magyars, were completely satisfied and they were unwilling to change for anything else. By concessions to certain of the other groups they were able to divide the opposition.

Both Austria and Hungary adopted the forms of parliamentary government at the time of the *Ausgleich*, but their constitutions were so devised that political power was concentrated in the hands of the Germans and Magyars. The property restrictions on suffrage in Hungary were so severe that only about twenty-five percent of the male population had the right to vote. A reform in 1873 entrusted the election of the Austrian *Reichsrat* to four classes: the landowners, the cities, the chambers of commerce (representing the wealthy bourgeoisie), and the rural districts. Suffrage was so distributed that by 1890 the chambers of commerce had one deputy for every twenty-seven voters, the landowners one for every sixty-three, but the rural districts had only one for every 11,600. To the difficult minority problem was thus added the continuous demand for an extension of the suffrage.

Austria and Hungary chose to meet these problems in different ways. Austria pursued the policy of playing off one group against the others. Polish Galicia was granted self-government in 1869 and allowed to dominate the minority group of Ruthenians. Thenceforward, the Poles opposed any extension of national rights to other groups lest they lose their favored position. Attention then turned to the Czechs whose claims were almost identical with those put forward by the Magyars prior to the *Ausgleich*. Franz Josef attempted to give them equal rights, thus creating a Triple Monarchy, but was blocked by the Germans and Magyars. In lieu of this definite steps to placate the Czechs were taken by Count Taaffe, Prime Minister of Austria from 1879 to 1896. His task was made delicate because of the economic development of the Empire. Large-scale enterprises, controlled by the Germans, not only employed much Czech labor but also competed with the small business men among whom there were an increasing number of Czechs. Economic rivalry and class hostility thus aggravated nationalistic hatred. Some of the concessions were material and tangible, but more of them were designed to please the Czech nationalist spirit. Czech schools ranging even to a university were established, suffrage was extended, and Czechs were



MAP 33. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE BALKANS, 1878

admitted to the bureaucracy, hitherto a German monopoly. These gains encouraged a new group of Czechish agitators led by Thomas Masaryk and known as the Young Czechs to demand greater nationalistic privileges and radical social and political reforms.

In addition to attempting to conciliate the Czechs, Taaffe carried through several other noteworthy reforms. The financial affairs of the government were put in order and a surplus replaced the deficit. Currency was put on the gold standard in 1892, and a policy of state socialism, including such things as railway and canal construction and

public works, was instituted. These policies were continued by Taaffe's successors to the satisfaction of the German element. Meanwhile, alarmed by the concessions to the Czechs, the Germans had begun an active propaganda of their own for closer connections with Germany. Their influence was enhanced because Taaffe's state socialism made the government increasingly dependent for loans upon the German bankers and capitalists.

The problems of nationalism and liberalism continued to plague the Dual Monarchy. To gain their nationalistic ends, the "minorities" indulged in obstructionist tactics in the *Reichsrat*, often forcing the dissolution of that body. It became necessary to govern without it whenever possible or to indulge in political chicanery to win its approval when its consent was vital. A very limited extension of the franchise in 1897 increased rather than checked the agitation for wider suffrage particularly among the Marxian Socialists who had rapidly increased in number in the nineties. This reform gave them their first voice in the *Reichsrat* but because of the class system the representation was totally inadequate. As a counterweight to the Socialists there developed the Catholic party which offered a program entitled "Christian Socialism." Conservative, anti-Semitic and harshly critical of the wealthy, this party appealed especially to the petty bourgeoisie, and soon became the chief supporter of the government in German Austria.

The Russian Revolution of 1905 was reflected in Austria by a wave of violent demonstrations against the government. Repression having been vainly attempted, the government grudgingly consented to an extension of the suffrage (1907). The class system was abolished and all men over 24 were enfranchised. The immediate result was to make the Socialist Party the largest single group in the *Reichsrat*. The new law continued national inequalities, however, thus perpetuating past difficulties.

Hungary also was kept in constant turmoil by the problems of race and nationalism. In fact, she was bedeviled by nationalisms within nationalisms. On the one hand was the opposition of the Magyar extremists to the *Ausgleich*, and on the other the hostility of the subject peoples to the Magyars. Since the severe property restrictions on suffrage made Parliament a Magyar body, the contest there was mainly Magyar against Magyar: pro-*Ausgleich* against anti-*Ausgleich*. The latter demanded a more complete recognition of their nationality and frequently resorted to obstructionism. Several times they forced the dissolution of Parliament with the result that the

bureaucracy more and more came to be the real government. At the same time, the Magyars doggedly refused to extend to others the nationalistic freedom which they so heatedly demanded for themselves. Except for granting autonomy to Croatia in 1868, the Hungarian government consistently sought to Magyarize all its subject peoples. To that end it followed a policy of repression, suppression, and terrorism. Magyar was made the language of the courts, the army, the schools, and all branches of the public service. All non-Magyar activities, including even festivals and theatricals, were forbidden by law. What could not be legislated out of existence was crushed by brutality and force.

Most troublesome of the subject groups in Hungary were the Croats and the Serbs who, with the Slovenes of Austria, composed the group known as the Yugoslavs or South Slavs. This, too, was a case of wheels within wheels. Differing among themselves in virtually everything except folk origin, each of these peoples desired national autonomy. At the same time, there were leaders among them who wished the establishment of a Yugoslav state which would combine all groups. Thus there were demands for individual national freedom and for the freedom of a united Slav state as well. To make matters worse for the Dual Monarchy, behind these little Slavs loomed always the great Slav state of Russia. The government sought to meet this problem by playing off one group against the other. Austria, by making many concessions to the Slovenes, quieted their clamor, but Hungary was not so successful. The Croats' enjoyment of their autonomy was largely vitiated by a burning desire for independence to which was added an ambition to dominate the other South Slav groups. To minimize this, the Magyars tried to checkmate the Croats by favoring the Serbs. The policy was fraught with great danger. Every concession to the Serbs was reflected by an increase in Serbo-Slav agitation for the formation of a Yugoslav state which would be dominated by the Serbians. Yugoslav nationalism was further encouraged and fostered by the small but aggressive little state of Serbia and by the Pan-Slavists of Russia. The Dual Monarchy thus faced not only a domestic problem but an international one as well.

In 1905, the Dual Monarchy was confronted with a crisis. The Magyar nationalists combined to threaten the very existence of the *Ausgleich* and forced the liberal Hungarian premier, Count Stephen Tisza, from office. A Serbo-Croat Coalition promptly extended their sympathy to Tisza and sought to unite the Yugoslavs. It has already been noted above that the repercussions of the Russian Revolution

had brought to a head the agitation for a more liberal suffrage. The situation was further complicated by Franz Ferdinand, heir apparent to the throne. Virtually an outcast from the court because of his marriage to a woman not of royal blood, Franz Ferdinand had become the intimate and spokesman of the bankers and industrialists. Like them, he believed that some radical change would have to be made in the existing arrangements, but he never made up his mind as to exactly what the changes should be. His apparent indecision alternately encouraged and then discouraged one group after another as each thought for a moment that he was in favor of its particular project.

The crisis was settled by forceful action. The Magyar extremists were brought to terms by a threat to establish universal suffrage which would have submerged them in the sea of Slavs. The suffrage was extended in Austria proper with consequences discussed above, and two *quondam* friends of Franz Ferdinand were elevated to high office. Conrad von Hotzendorf, a vigorous and belligerent militarist, was appointed Chief of Staff and at once sought to divert attention from domestic troubles by restoring the military power of the Dual Monarchy. This was complemented by the appointment as Foreign Minister of Count Aehrenthal, whose aim also was the restoration of the prestige of Austria-Hungary. He immediately embarked upon a vigorous policy in the Balkans which culminated in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908.¹ This almost provoked a European war but the danger was averted and Austria emerged with new self-confidence and greater prestige than she had enjoyed for some time.

Such strenuous efforts proved to be only palliative, not curative. The Magyar nationalists, still pursuing national freedom, plunged the Monarchy into a new crisis in 1908. Meanwhile the situation in the Slavic provinces had grown steadily worse. Franz Ferdinand's known dislike of the Magyars, the attempts to Magyarize the newly annexed provinces, Pan-Slavism, and politico-economic difficulties with Serbia all combined to increase the unrest among the Jugoslavs. The authorities of the Dual Monarchy, dependent upon spies and informers for their knowledge of the situation, sought to provoke overt acts of treason which would justify the use of force. The policy proved to be a boomerang. One of their *agents provocateurs* supplied them with documents which purported to show that the leaders of the Serbo-Croatian Coalition had had treasonable relations with Serbia. On the

¹ See pp. 895-896.

basis of these documents, and acting through an intermediary, the government publicly accused these leaders of treason. The latter promptly sued for libel and at the trial it was conclusively proved that the documents were forgeries. The Coalition had been ruined but at the cost of placing Aehrenthal and his colleagues in a most odious light. He was soon charged with having been a party to the forgery. The accusation was false, but it was widely believed at the time, and caused most of the other Western Powers to treat Austria like a moral leper. Aehrenthal believed, mistakenly as it was later proved, that Serbia and Russia were in large measure responsible for his discomfiture, and relations with those countries became more strained than ever.

The annexations, the trials, and their aftermath accelerated the pace of the Pan-Slav movement, and this was echoed also by an increase in nationalism among the non-Slavic groups. The government aggravated the situation by encouraging these latter groups in the hope of offsetting the Slavs. The Ruthenians, encouraged to bait the Slavic Poles, soon turned to making demands upon Austria. The Czechs, maddened by German opposition, resumed their obstructionist ways in the *Reichsrat*; and even the Italians, who had been kept relatively quiet by numerous concessions, began to kick over the traces. The south continued to be a hornets' nest which was now considerably stirred up by a resurgence of Pan-Serbian agitation. This movement was carried on not only by propaganda but also by terroristic activities which specialized in assassinations. The government of the Dual Monarchy was rapidly coming to the desperate conclusion that force and force alone could hold the rambunctious Balkan peoples in check and save the empire.

The complex story of the Balkan peoples involves three major threads: their relations to the Turkish Empire; their connections with the other European Powers; and their associations with each other. The Ottoman Turks, last of the great waves of Asiatic invaders, appeared upon the European scene late in the middle ages. Masters of Asia Minor in the thirteenth century, they pushed with an irresistible force across the narrow straits into Europe. The hinterland was rapidly brought under their sway, and in 1453 Constantinople finally fell before them. Their empire in Europe reached its height in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, extending north of the Danube, including all of Hungary, and reaching almost to the gates of Vienna. The tide turned as the latter century closed and the Turks were driven from Hungary, but they continued to exercise suzerainty

over Balkania. That term conveniently designates the area lying south of the Danube and Save Rivers plus Rumania which is situated north of the Danube. The geographical features of the area are such that, although it is an integral part of Europe, Balkania faces toward Asia, and has therefore long been the battleground, politically, economically, and culturally, of East and West. That fact, plus the mountainous character of most of the region, has tended to retard the development of its inhabitants. Except for the Greeks, these peoples were mostly of Slavic origin but cultural differences built up during the centuries divided them into Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Montenegrins, and others. Also resident in the Ottoman Empire were Arabs, Armenians, Syrians, and Jews and even that does not exhaust the list.

Over these heterogeneous peoples the Turks were content to remain as a minority of conquerors, drawing their power from their monopolies of government and landownership. The basic antagonism of conqueror and conquered was sharpened in Balkania by religious and economic contrasts. The Turks were Moslems and aristocrats; most of their subjects were Orthodox Catholics and peasants. It will be clearly seen that the maintenance of Turkish authority depended upon an efficient army and administration. When these began to decline in the eighteenth century, Turkish power likewise decayed. Despite serious internal weaknesses, however, Turkey stubbornly refused to collapse. Its government in the nineteenth century was an absolute monarchy, headed in theory and sometimes in practice by the Sultan who was also the religious leader (caliph) of Islam. Associated with him and often exercising more power were various ministers. Imperial administration was by means of provincial governors, appointed by the central authority. There was no uniform system of law, of taxes, or of administration. Corruption and incompetence were rife, and the Sultan's nominal agents were rather more likely to ignore his orders than not. Such a condition was a standing invitation both to the subject peoples to revolt, and to the other Powers to encroach upon Turkish territory. The so-called Near Eastern problem was essentially an outgrowth of Turkish weakness and nationalistic ambitions and greeds.¹

The liberty-loving Serbians, still fired after five centuries by the legends of their once powerful state, were the first of the subject peoples to revolt. Partly because of the inaccessibility of their country and its distance from Constantinople, and partly because of their

¹ See pp. 795-796 for an account of Russian expansion at the expense of Turkey.

own strong resistance to foreign control, Turkish rule had rested rather lightly upon them. Just as the nineteenth century opened, however, the Sultan sent to Serbia a specially privileged army group who at once began a brutal exploitation of the people. The crisis (1804) called forth a leader, George Petrovich, commonly called Kara (Black) George. A dealer in hogs in times of peace, Kara George proved an excellent leader, and under his guidance the power of the oppressors was broken. He and his followers then demanded the right of local self-government and enlisted the aid of Russia against the Sultan. These ill-matched allies made successful war upon the Turks from 1806 until 1812 when the threat of the Napoleonic invasions caused Russia to make peace with Turkey. Free from her more powerful antagonist, the latter turned upon Serbia. Kara George, who had made himself the virtual dictator of the land, deemed the situation hopeless and fled. His place was taken by Milosh Obrenovich, who promptly submitted to Turkish rule (1813). The submission was a blind, and two years later Obrenovich raised the standard of revolt. The rebels soon cleared Serbia of the Turkish armies, and in 1817, the Sultan, fearful of Russian intervention again, granted the Serbians partial autonomy. Obrenovich, elected prince by the people, set up a dictatorship. Kara George, returned from his flight, was murdered, perhaps by the prince's order, and a blood feud which lasted until 1903 broke out between the Obrenovichs and Karageorgevichs. The Greek Revolt and the friendship of Russia enabled the prince to complete his work. Full autonomy was granted in 1829, and save for the continued payment of tribute and the presence of Turkish garrisons, Serbia was virtually independent.

The Greek Revolt, even more clearly than the successful insurrection in Serbia, exhibited all three threads of the intricate Balkan pattern. By and large the Greeks were the most favored of all the subject races. They were the merchants and traders of the Empire, and from them the Sultan frequently chose many of his officials. Nevertheless, the French Revolution and the Serbian Revolt roused a sense of nationalism which was furthered by the creation of a new Greek language in the early nineteenth century.¹ Russia, eager to weaken the Turks, fostered this nationalistic unrest and encouraged the Greeks to throw off the rule of the Sultan. Among the Greeks the movement was led by a secret society, the *Hetairia Philike*

¹ This was largely the work of the scholar, Adamantios Korais (1748-1833), who merged the vulgar tongue of his own day with classic Greek to produce a new national language.

(League of Friends), which pretended to be interested only in the preservation of Greek antiquities. When the standard of revolt was raised in 1821 the Greeks flocked to it and Turkey was confronted with a genuinely nationalistic revolt. The viciously brutal war lasted until 1829 and was marked by atrocities on both sides. The Greeks were so successful for the first several years that the Sultan felt constrained to bribe his nominal vassal, Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, to come to his aid. Ali did so with such vigor that the Greek cause must surely have been lost had not the Powers intervened.

The Greek Revolt had aroused an astonishing enthusiasm and sympathy among the peoples of Europe. The statesmen, however, under the sway of Metternich, had been unresponsive to popular demands for intervention. That situation abruptly changed in 1826 when Russia signified her intention of aiding the Greeks by attacking Turkey. This at once aroused England's latent fear of possible Russian expansion in the Near East. To forestall any such eventuality and to insure herself a share in any benefits which might flow from intervention, England invited Russia to substitute a joint declaration to the Sultan for the proposed war. Russia accepted and the two Powers jointly urged the Sultan to grant autonomy to the rebels (1826). This action brought no result and in the next year France, who was also eager to participate, signed an agreement with Russia and England to put pressure on the Sultan. Before the machinery thus assembled had begun to work, an "incident" between the joint Anglo-French fleet and the Turco-Egyptian fleet flared into a battle in which the latter was destroyed. England at once apologized and withdrew. France, though she kept some troops in Greece, virtually followed suit and Russia was left alone. She declared war on Turkey in 1828 and defeated her. The Treaty of Adrianople (1829) made Greece a republic under the protection of western Powers, and rewarded Russia with a protectorate over the former Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. Anglo-Russian jealousies delayed the final delimitation of the boundaries of Greece until 1832. The next year the Powers intervened again to put an end to a virtual state of anarchy by establishing Otto of Bavaria as king. The new kingdom had a difficult road ahead. Several Greek-inhabited territories still lay outside its boundaries so that there was a serious irredentist problem, and its dynasty was alien in both race and religion. However, it was free from its former master.

In the same year as the establishment of the Greek Kingdom, there arose another crisis in the affairs of Turkey. Mehemet Ali, dis-

satisfied with the reward bestowed upon him for his aid against the Greeks, had revolted against the Sultan in 1831. Hard-pressed, the latter reluctantly accepted Russia's proffered aid, knowing full well that the Czar would in his turn demand compensation. The other Powers, alarmed and jealous of Russia, tried to short-circuit the Russian design by forcing the Sultan to grant Ali's demands and thus render any aid superfluous. Russia refused to be balked. In 1833 she compelled Turkey to sign the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi which established Russian pre-eminence in the region of the Black Sea and the Straits. The other Powers were furious but temporarily impotent. Their chance came in 1839-1840 when Mehemet Ali again rose in revolt. Under the bold leadership of England, the Powers, save France, set a limit to the pasha's ambition and made him accept it. Also under England's guidance, the Powers then combined to force Russia to sign the Straits Convention (1841) which nullified the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.

The bitter rivalry between Russia and England flared up again in the next decade and finally burst into the flame of the Crimean War (1854-1856) of which it was the basic cause. The incident which precipitated the quarrel involved France, however, rather than England. Napoleon III, avid for glory, constituted himself champion of the Roman Catholic monks resident in the Holy Places, and lent them his support against their Orthodox Catholic rivals who were backed by Russia. The latter, coincidentally, had reawakened the always latent hostility of England by seeking to exact concessions from Turkey. Diplomatic maneuvers soon gave way to war, with Russia fighting a combination of Turkey, France, England, and Sardinia. The details of the struggle are no longer of great moment. Russia was defeated and compelled to sign the Treaty of Paris (1856). This guaranteed the independence and integrity of Turkey, deprived Russia of her control over Moldavia and Wallachia, and demilitarized the Black Sea. In effect, these arrangements gave Turkey a new lease on life and excluded Russia from the Balkans and the Near East for two decades.

These international complications inevitably had repercussions among the Balkan peoples. The Powers, who had replaced the Russian protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia with one of their own, were unable to agree on what to do with them. The leaders of the provinces took the matter into their own hands and combined the two into the new state of Rumania. The Powers were angered by this move, but accepted the *fait accompli* and Turkey recognized the

autonomy of the new state in 1861. After a period of relative quiescence the Balkan problem flared up once more in 1875 when the peasants of Bosnia and Herzegovina rose up in rebellion. Numerous factors, internal and international, entered into this revolt. In large measure it was an insurrection of the Catholic peasantry, whose economic position was little better than serfdom, against the Moslem landlords. Merciless exploitation had made the peasants willing subjects for Pan-Slav agitation. In addition high Austrian officials, eager to provoke a situation which would permit them to gain control of the provinces on the ground that their continued chaos menaced Austrian safety, further encouraged the peasant movement. The revolt, once begun, swiftly spread throughout Balkania, Turkey proving herself too weak to cope with the situation. As a result the Great Powers again prepared to intervene but their interests were so conflicting that joint action proved impossible. When the Turks in retaliation for the uprising massacred some thousands of Balkan Christians, the diplomacy of the Western Powers was complicated by humanitarian demands that the Turks be punished for the atrocities. Austria drafted a projected settlement; Great Britain mildly protested; while Russia, still seeking to dominate the Straits, went to war with Turkey in 1877. With the assistance of Rumanian troops the Russians overcame the heroic defense of the Turks and pushed on toward Constantinople. The frightened Sultan sued for peace.

The Treaty of San Stefano (1878) marked Russia's price for her assistance to her fellow Slavs. The treaty recognized as independent the states of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, and created a new country, Bulgaria, which included territories inhabited by Greeks and Serbs. It was Russia's expectation that this state which she called into being would help to further her interests in the Balkans. In addition Russia was granted territory in Armenia and Dobrudja, and an indemnity. This arrangement pleased none but the Russians. Serbia and Greece objected to the inclusion of their nationals in the new Bulgaria. More importantly Great Britain and Austria were deeply offended by the extension of Russian power, and refused to recognize the Treaty. The threat of war compelled the reluctant Czar to consent to the submission of the whole problem to a European congress.

At the invitation of Bismarck who claimed to be interested only in fair play the Congress met at Berlin in June of 1878. Before the delegates assembled a series of pre-Congress agreements had settled the more important questions. Great Britain had obtained the right to occupy the island of Cyprus to offset the Russian holdings in

Armenia. Austria had won permission to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bulgaria was reduced to an autonomous principality of the Sultan and more than half its territory was stripped from it. Macedonia was returned to Turkey; eastern Rumelia was separated from Bulgaria and also returned to Turkish rule; and Serbia was enlarged at the expense of her hapless neighbor. To Rumania was awarded the Dobrudja which gave her access to the Black Sea. Russia received Bessarabia and small portions of Armenia. The Congress and the Treaty, which was signed in July, gave formal approval to these arrangements. The nationalistic imperialism of its terms was glossed over by the insertion in the Treaty of clauses which theoretically bound Turkey to undertake reforms.

This Treaty of Berlin did not settle the Near Eastern problem, but it is a significant landmark in the international relations of Europe. Russia was deeply offended at Great Britain and Austria for depriving her of the fruits of her victory. She was angered also at Bismarck whom she suspected with reason of not always playing the part of the honest broker which he claimed for himself. Austrian control of Bosnia and Herzegovina aroused the apprehensions of Serbia with consequences which have been discussed above. The Balkan nations in general were dissatisfied with the treaty arrangements and dangerous irredentist movements appeared in Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. Finally, this attempt to cure Turkey by surgery failed, and the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire continued.

In 1881 Turkey was enjoined to give Thessaly and a part of Epirus to Greece. The following year Great Britain occupied Egypt and made it a virtual protectorate. Eastern Rumelia broke away in 1885 and joined Bulgaria. Meanwhile nationalistic agitation in other parts of the Empire, notably Armenia, weakened the Sultanate, and financial difficulties forced Turkey to mortgage its resources to European financiers.

The common denominator of the further development of the Balkan states was their essentially agrarian character. Although some economic advances were made, the mass of people remained dependent peasantry, having only slight voice in the government of their countries. The result was that the political history of these countries is largely the story of contending factions. In Rumania, which was declared a kingdom in 1881, the struggle was between those who favored Russian protection and those who leaned toward Austria. The same situation was observable in Serbia in the struggle

between the pro-Austrian Obrenovich family and the pro-Russian Karageorgeviches. Settlement of the feud by the extinction of the Obrenovich line in 1903 made Russian influence predominant and eventually produced collision with Austria. Bulgaria, also, was prey to dynastic rivalries and international ambitions.

C. THE ROMANOV ROAD TO RUIN

Basis and backbone, strength and weakness of the Russian Empire was the serf. Ignorant, illiterate, superstitious, and ultra-conservative, ground down by centuries of servility and debased by an Oriental fatalism, the serfs comprised ninety-four percent of the total population at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Largely indolent and inert, though capable of violent action when aroused, the serfs played a negative role for the most part, but, nevertheless, they conditioned the whole of Russian history. Their tolerance and submission alone made possible the autocracy; their hatred of change long reduced reform agitation to intellectual vaporings. Terribly poor, living always close to starvation, largely leaderless, their very inertia perpetuated the system which made them so. Yet their presence determined the character of Russian life and thought, and their emancipation from serfdom produced such a marked change that it became a pivotal date between the Pre-Reform and Post-Reform eras.

Nineteenth-century Russia, in short, was a land of base servility and equally debasing privilege. The Czar ruled his vast empire with powers legally absolute, but actually somewhat limited by dependency upon the powerful nobility. His decrees (*ukases*) were law, his decisions final. The Russian Church had become a department of the state and a very effective tool for the preservation of the status quo. The nobility, who counted their wealth by the number of "souls" (serfs) whom they owned, constituted the great body of privilege. Originally given land and serfs as a payment for service to the State, they had been exempted from service largely by the Czarinas, Elizabeth and Catherine II, and retained only the privileges. It has been estimated that early in the nineteenth century there were 140,000 noble families of whom about 120,000 were relatively poor. The nobility monopolized the offices in the army, the church, and the civil service; enjoyed exemption from many taxes; and ruled their serfs with a despotic hand. The middle class, so important elsewhere in Europe, was virtually non-existent, and the few free peasants were, for the most part, not much better off than the serfs. Serf



Culver Service

KREMLIN

The word *kremlin* means a citadel, but it is generally used to indicate the citadel at Moscow. This walled structure has a perimeter of about a mile and a half. Inside the high walls are buildings varying in age. Among the oldest are the cathedrals built by Italian architects employed by Ivan III (1462-1505). The style is fundamentally Byzantine, with various overlays and adaptations. Because the Soviet government is partially housed here, the word Kremlin is sometimes used to indicate the Russian government.

and peasant commonly lived in a village community called a *mir*, roughly comparable to the tiny villages of feudal Europe. Agricultural methods were primitive and inefficient with the result that there seemed to be a continual land shortage. The vast mineral resources of Russia were as yet untapped, and the lack of roads, the tremendous distances and the absence of east to west waterways virtually isolated sections of the country. The government was a blending of extreme centralization with extensive local powers. Landlords were the virtual rulers of their estates, but they were subject to the authority of the Czar. The real administration, as in all absolutist countries, was the large, usually corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy.

The immediate successor of Catherine the Great was her son, Paul I. An embittered and broken man when he became czar in 1796, he went insane under the burdens of office and was finally murdered (1801) when he resisted an attempt to remove him from power. His reign, marked by violence and confusion, did nothing to advance Russia along the lines marked out by Peter I and Catherine II.

Alexander I (1801-1825), who followed his father upon the throne, remains an enigma. A mystic and a dreamer, he began his rule with strong tendencies toward liberalism, proved himself a match for the great Napoleon, and finally became the apostle of reaction and oppression. Part of the explanation probably lies in his responsiveness to the influence of others. Imbued with liberal ideas by his French tutor, La Harpe, he surrounded himself by like-minded young men when he came to the throne. With them he discussed and even planned the granting of a constitution and the abolition of serfdom. The backwardness of his people, his own dependence upon the no-

bility, and the interruptions of the Napoleonic Wars rendered such plans nugatory and fleeting. One notable result of the Russian participation in the defeat of Napoleon was the introduction of the young nobles to western customs and ideals. This led, in time, to the appearance of a tiny group of nobles who desired political reform. By then, Alexander had come under the sway of Metternich and his earlier liberalism had vanished. The reformers perforce became conspirators who, with an impractical idealism long characteristic of Russian revolutionaries, sought to establish a constitutional monarchy when Alexander died. Known as the *Dekabristi* (Decembrists) because their comic opera revolt took place in December, this small and unorganized group was doomed to failure by the complete apathy and hostility of the Russian people. The chief result of their action was to confirm the new czar, Nicholas I (1825-1855), in his policy of stern, unbending reaction.

The reign of Nicholas is marked by such striking contrast that Russian historians have called it a period of "outward repression and inner liberation." His motto was "Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and Nationalism," and to carry it out he established a brutal, efficient system of espionage, censorship, and harsh punishment. Under the "Nicholas System" every effort was made to seal Russia against infection from the liberal west. Beyond his borders, Nicholas' active support of reaction earned for him the sobriquet of "the gendarme of Europe." He crushed the Polish Rebellion of 1830 and subjected the Poles to a policy of merciless Russification, suppressed the Hungarian Rebellion in 1849, and successfully interfered with liberalism in Germany. Progress, he is reported to have written, is "[a] word [which] must be deleted from official terminology."¹

Despite his thoroughly reactionary policies, however, he did much to advance the well-being of his state. Governing largely through "His Majesty's Own Chancery," which he expanded from a consultative council to an executive organ, he codified the law, stabilized the currency and backed it with a reserve of gold and silver, and forwarded the expansion of business. Despite rigid restrictions and censorship, education was encouraged by the establishment of new schools which were eagerly patronized by the slowly growing middle class. The problem of serfdom loomed large. Changing economic conditions rendered it less profitable, humanitarian agitation by the more advanced groups condemned it, and perpetual land shortage

¹ Quoted by W. H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*. Two volumes. N. Y., 1935. I. 13.

made the serfs so restless that there were 536 serious uprisings during his reign. The Czar was well aware of the necessity for action but he hesitated to incur the hostility of the landlords by liberating all serfs. The condition of Crown serfs was much improved by giving them local self-government, increasing their allotments of land, and teaching them better agricultural methods. A law issued by Alexander in 1803 which permitted landlords to free their serfs was expanded in 1842, but remained largely inoperative. The government also issued several laws designed to aid the serf by defining his duties, regulating the punishments which might be inflicted, and prohibiting the sale of serfs at public auction.

An even stranger contradiction was the cultural development which took place. The movement was small and almost exclusively confined to members of the privileged classes, but it marked the beginning of modern culture in Russia. Socialism, based upon the teachings of the Frenchmen, Saint-Simon and Fourier, was introduced. Idealistic and impractical, it was the root from which later Russian socialism grew. It was also at this time that the intellectual struggle between the Slavophiles and the Westerners first attained major proportions. The Slavophiles took the view that Russian civilization rested upon different bases than that of Europe, and had developed along different lines. Western Europe, they said, was moving toward ruin, and Russia, therefore, should eschew all things western and cling to her own unique heritage. Specifically, they urged the retention of the *mir* and of the benevolent autocracy. The Westerners, on the other hand, insisted that Russia differed from the rest of Europe only in degree, that she was more slowly pursuing the same course as her western neighbors. Hence, they argued, Russia must make every effort to catch up to the other nations. They particularly longed for the establishment of a constitutional government. Both groups wanted greater personal freedom, the abolition of serfdom, and public control of the bureaucracy. Both groups were also definitely nationalistic and from them there emerged the Pan-Slav movement. Briefly, the Pan-Slavists argued that the common race ancestry of the Slavic peoples bound them together, and urged that Russia, as the greatest Slav nation, should take the lead in uniting them. This view became very popular in government circles with momentous results. Since Austria-Hungary dominated many of the Balkan Slavs she became the *bête noir* of the Pan-Slavists, a fact which goes far toward explaining the hostility of the two Powers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pursuit of the Pan-Slav ideal was very im-



Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PEASANT BARGEMEN OF THE VOLGA. BY ILJA JEFIMOVICH REPIN
(1844-1918).

A romantic study by imperial Russia's best known painter.

portant in producing the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, the so-called Balkan Problem of the early twentieth century, and finally the Russian participation in the World War.

Further evidence of this cultural advance is found in the development of a graceful architecture adapted from the French "Empire" style, but the greatest achievements were in the field of literature. Russia's greatest poet, Pushkin, and Gogol, the father of the Russian novel, produced their finest works during the reign of Nicholas I; and the great Turgenev, Dostoevski, and Tolstoy made their first appearances then, though their triumphs came later. Russian national music also began in this reign with the works of Glinka, and modern Russian painting with Ivanov.

Nicholas' life ended during the Crimean War (1854-1856) which arose from the clash of Russian with British and French interests in the Near East. His policy of intervening in Europe to preserve the status quo had made Russia very unpopular, and in the eyes of the West, the war partook of the nature of a crusade against a backward, Oriental despotism. The Russian troops fought bravely enough, but they were made helpless by the inefficiency, incompetence, and corruption of their leaders. The result was a humiliating defeat which stung the upper-class Russians into demanding reforms. Nicholas died feeling that his reign had been a complete failure, and the throne passed to his son Alexander II (1855-1881).

Whether Alexander liked it or not, he was forced to become a reformer on a grand scale. The first problem attacked was serfdom. Growing discontent both among the intellectuals and among the serfs made some action necessary. So clearly did Alexander see this that he publicly remarked that "It is better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait until it begins to abolish itself from below." Moreover, serfdom was becoming increasingly unprofitable because of the nascent Russian capitalism, and many landlords had grown to prefer the money they would receive as compensation to the possession of serfs.¹ The emancipation decrees were steam-rollered through the government by the Czar, and serfdom, created by an autocrat, was abolished by an autocrat. The first and most important *ukase*, issued on March 17, 1861, freed the serfs on the landed estates; the second (1863) freed serfs in domestic service; and the third (1866) emancipated the serfs of the Crown. The serfs became citizens, subject no longer to the landlords but to the State. No compensation was given the former owners for the serfs, but the government paid them for the lands allotted to the newly created peasants. The latter, in their turn, had to pay the government an annual "redemption tax" for forty-nine years to pay for their farms. The land was not awarded to individuals but to the *mir* which assigned it as it saw fit. Each *mir*, in effect, was made into a corporation, responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, distribution of land, and control of the peasants who were forbidden to leave it without special permission.

The results of this great reform, profoundly good and equally bad, were highly significant. In general, the amount of land given to the peasants was much too small, its quality poor, and the price exacted from them for it too high. Moreover, the *mir* acted as a brake upon individual effort by perpetuating strip farming and other primitive methods which made the land shortage acute. The peasants themselves were violently dissatisfied with the arrangement as the 647 recorded riots, which took place between March and July of 1861, testified. The lot of the peasant remained hard especially since an increase in population aggravated existing evils. Famines remained common, and even in good times the average peasant literally did not get enough to eat. The peasant problem remained the most pressing of the many which plagued Czarist Russia.

The more beneficent effects of the emancipation, though much

¹ It had long been agreed that the serfs must be given land with their freedom, and that the government must somehow arrange to recompense the landlords for their loss.

slower to appear, were just as real. Millions were freed from slavery, and Russia ceased to be a servile state. The long-run effect of this upon Russian life and thought is hard to estimate, but it was great. Since the domestic serfs received no land and since many others legally or illegally abandoned it, labor was made available for the industrialization of Russia. Without it, the Industrial Revolution could not have come. The social and economic monopoly of the land-owning nobles was broken, though they long retained a dominant place, and the way was prepared for the rise of the bourgeoisie. New reforms were necessitated, breaking down the absolute power of the Czar and starting Russia along the road toward a constitutional monarchy. In short, modern Russia began with the emancipation of the serfs.

Removal of the governing power of the landlords necessitated the setting up of some administrative organ to fill the void. This was done by a decree of 1864 which provided for the establishment of local units, the District Zemstvo Assembly. Assembly members were elected by the *mirs* and by individuals possessed of a certain minimum of property. One meeting was held each year for the discussion of local economic affairs. Much more important were the District Zemstvo Boards which were established by the same law. Members were chosen from the Assembly, and constituted a sort of permanent committee of that body. The Zemstvo Board was given jurisdiction over schools, roads, public health, and insurance, and was empowered to levy taxes. The Zemstvos were supervised by the provincial governor and the minister of the interior. Some of their powers were later taken from them, and they were always dominated by the nobility, but the Zemstvo marked a clean break with the old order by giving representation to non-nobles for the first time. Six years later (1870) Municipal Councils with much the same powers gave local government to the cities. The Zemstvos and the Councils furthered the economic advance of Russia, and gave great impetus to liberalism. Until the calling of the Duma in 1905, they remained the only schools of self-government.

Alexander II also effected an important judicial reform which abolished the old system of one law for the peasant and another for the noble. Henceforth, all citizens were equal in the eyes of the law. This equality was further emphasized by the establishment of universal compulsory military service (1874). Prior to this, the rank and file of the army had been chiefly peasants, forced to serve for twenty-five years. The new law reduced the term of service and spread the

burden over all classes. The "Reform Czar" relaxed the stringent censorship, removed restrictions upon teaching, and greatly increased the number of and improved the quality of secondary schools. A beginning was made in the education of girls, and the Zemstvos greatly aided the work by opening many primary schools. To pay off old debts, and better to bear the burden of a modernized state, attempts were made to reform the fiscal system, but with only moderate success.

One very important result of these reforms was the growth of political opposition to the government and the spread of radicalism. This seems surprising in view of the advances made, but as the French political scientist, de Tocqueville, once remarked, "The most dangerous moment for a bad government is when it begins to reform." Liberals, encouraged by the reforms and emboldened by the removal of censorship, freely voiced their disappointment that more had not been done. Reaction from the extremes of absolutism and the characteristic, zealous idealism of the Russian intellectual, which made him eager to risk his all for a cause, were also partly responsible. Throughout this period Russian socialism grew apace. Its forms varied but until the end of the nineteenth century they all shared two distinguishing features. Unlike the socialism of western Europe, the Russian brand was agrarian and nationalistic.

The three outstanding figures of early Russian socialism were: Alexander Herzen (1812-1870), Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), and Nicholas G. Chernishevsky (1828-1889). Herzen's revolutionary activities forced him into exile when he was thirty-five and he lived out his life in alien lands. His influence was greatest just prior to the emancipation edict when his weekly magazine, *The Bell*, published in London and smuggled into Russia, was very widely read. His major theme was the introduction of socialism through the medium of the *mir*. Bakunin was also a professional revolutionary who, after being outlawed in 1840, appeared wherever there were uprisings. His creed was anarchy: complete destruction of all social groups in order to free the individual. Chernishevsky, perhaps because he more nearly approached the Marxian socialism, was more influential in the long run than either of the others. Like Herzen, he too edited a liberal magazine, *The Contemporary*, which exerted considerable influence upon the intelligentsia. He also advocated the retention of the *mir*, but only as a means of saving Russia from class war and the rise of the proletariat. Broken by his exile to Siberia in 1862, his powers waned, but he was long venerated by radical groups.

The first school of socialist thought to dominate the Russian intelligentsia was Nihilism. Rooted in the materialistic philosophy engendered by the new scientific discoveries, Nihilism scorned all but science and "reality." Partly a reaction from repression and from romanticism, it was also evidence that the educated classes were no longer drawn only from the nobility. Princes stood side by side with sons of serfs, and daughters of army officers followed the lead of petty bourgeoisie. The first most important expression of this new state of affairs was the populist movement which flourished from 1870 to 1875. Its inspiration was a phrase of Herzen's "V narod!" (To the people!), and its participants were known as the *Narodniki*. In pursuit of their dual purpose of educating the peasant and imbuing him with socialism, scores of young men and women flocked to the *mir*s as doctors, teachers, and even laborers. To their astonishment, the peasants were apathetic and even hostile, frequently denouncing the agitators to the police. The movement was broken by hundreds of arrests, and its results were negligible. The few who escaped turned now to terrorism as the only available weapon. The "Land and Liberty Party," the first formal Russian revolutionary organization, was organized in 1878. The increasing use of violence caused a split in its ranks, and the extremist group formed itself into a party called the "People's Liberty," whose primary aim was the assassination of the Czar, the symbol of autocracy. After several failures, this aim was finally attained in March of 1881. Alexander II was blown up by a bomb while riding in St. Petersburg. The arrest and execution of the terrorist leaders, a growing sense of the futility of terrorism, and the breaking down of the theories of peasant socialism under the impact of Marxist doctrines combined to bring a temporary period of quiescence.

The Polish Insurrection of 1863 and the increasing radicalism of the intelligentsia, including an attempt upon his life in 1866, swerved the Czar from his liberalism. A vicious cycle began which culminated in his death. The more radical the agitators became, the more vehement was the governmental reaction, and *vice versa*. It is not strange that Alexander, feeling that he had been betrayed by those whom he sought to help, ruthlessly crushed the Polish movement and relentlessly hunted down the liberals. It could hardly have been otherwise.

Besides his reforms, Alexander won fame by greatly expanding his empire. Temporarily thwarted in the Near East by the Crimean War, Russia turned her attention to the Middle and Far East. During the decade of the fifties, she consolidated her gains in the Caucasus

area, and acquired the Amur Region and part of Sakhalin Island in the Far East. In the sixties, she added to her possessions Turkestan, and Samarkand; and in the next decade, Khiva, the western part of the district of Ili, and the rest of Sakhalin. Anglo-Russian rivalry in Afghanistan resulted from the Russian advance, and the friction thus induced long kept the two Powers mutually hostile. Encouraged by these gains and by the growing weakness of Turkey, Russia in 1877 went to war with that Power, ostensibly to protect the Balkan Slavs, actually to get Constantinople. The war was a success, but Russia was balked by the Powers at the Congress of Berlin (1878) with consequences noted elsewhere.¹ The outburst of revolutionary activities which came at this period was due partly to this war which revealed defects in the government, and partly to the rage of the Russian intelligentsia when Bulgaria, freed by Russian arms, received a constitution which was denied her liberators.

Alexander III (1881-1894), who became Czar upon the death of his father, was devoted to reaction. In some measure this was because of horror at the assassination of the "Reform Czar," apparently an act of basest ingratitude, but even more it was due to the influence of the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Constantine Pobiedonostsev. The latter, for years the real power behind the throne, was not only a reactionary but a philosopher of reaction to whom liberalism was a positive anathema. Under his guidance the "Nicholas System" of rigid repression, vigilant censorship, and ruthless Russification was introduced in a vain effort to turn back the clock. Pobiedonostsev and his master were, however, tilting against time and change. It was during this reign that the full force of the Industrial Revolution reached Russia.

The beginnings of the industrialization were dimly apparent by 1800, but the number of workers employed was only about 95,000.² By the middle of the century the figure had risen to 460,000 and by the accession of Alexander III to 770,000. During his reign the number of workers more than doubled and the number of factories increased from 21,173 to 32,483. At the end of the century there were close to two million workers in about 39,000 factories. Much of this development was in such large-scale industries as textiles and metallurgy. An equally significant index was railway trackage which increased almost eight-fold between 1867 and 1897. The rapid growth of urban population is indicated by the fact that it increased approxi-

¹ See pp. 797-798.

² These figures are only approximate.

mately forty-five percent during the decade of the sixties. Much of this rapid development was due to the influx of foreign capital. France was the heaviest investor, especially in the years just preceding and after the Franco-Russian Alliance (1894). It is estimated that over thirty-two percent of the foreign capital invested in Russia in 1914 was French, with British capital second, and German, third.

The leader of this economic progress was Sergius Witte (1849-1915), minister of finance under Alexander III and Nicholas II. Witte stabilized Russian currency by putting it on a gold basis, founded government banks and credit establishments, greatly increased transport facilities, protected industry with tariffs, and offered special inducements to capital. He was, in short, a sort of one-man chamber of commerce who by his own efforts did much to transform Russia into an industrialized power. Despite his successes, however, Russia remained predominantly agricultural. She imported both raw materials and manufactured goods, and her only major export was foodstuff. This did not balance her liabilities for goods and capital import, and Russia remained a debtor nation.

The course and results of the Industrial Revolution in Russia followed the usual pattern. The growth of the bourgeoisie and of the proletariat gave Russia for the first time a sufficiently wide social basis for reform movements. Heretofore, Russian socialism and liberalism had been agrarian, theoretical, and wholly impractical because of the lack of these groups to whom they could appeal. Hereafter, these movements became industrial, more realistic, and practical. There could have been no Russian Revolution in 1905 and 1917 without this change. Combined with the perennial agrarian unrest, it produced the so-called "Liberation Movement" which led to revolutions, finally culminating in the overthrow and execution of Nicholas II, son of Alexander III, and Czar of Russia from 1894 to 1917.

An autocracy is dependent upon the character of its ruler. Much power both for good and for evil rests with the sovereign. Nicholas II, last of the Romanovs, was tragically miscast for his part. Weak and vacillating, stupid and stubborn, apparently incapable of deep reaction to any event, no matter how important, he was totally unfit for the place into which he was thrust by the accident of birth. Even his one likable trait, his devotion to his wife and family, led him finally to disaster. The Czarina, Alexandra, as strong in character as the Czar was weak, but equally incompetent, dominated him so completely that she became the real ruler of the empire in the perilous years of 1915 and 1916. A fervent convert to and a rabid protagonist

of the traditional absolutism, she continually urged the Czar to assert himself and play the despot. Nothing loath, the Czar tried to do so, and, until the Revolution of 1905, pursued and intensified his father's policy of repression. It was this failure to recognize or heed the changed conditions of Russia that finally drove him from his throne.

After a period of apathy in the eighties and early nineties, revolutionaries and their doctrines once more took on new life. The presence of a growing bourgeoisie and proletariat gave them recruits and the basis for a movement in the cities. A long-continued agrarian crisis arising from agrarian over-population and under-production made the peasants ripe for revolt. The ruthless exploitation of labor which outstripped that of the nations earlier industrialized prepared the way for the introduction of Marxian Socialism on a large scale. Active in its propagation were some former members of the Land and Liberty Party, notably Plekhanov, and younger revolutionaries among whom was the man of destiny, Vladimir Ulianov (Nicholas Lenin). Various "Unions" for the improvement of labor sprung up in the major cities and representatives of them met in a general congress at Minsk in 1898. The group named itself the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, and adopted a program derived from the teachings of Karl Marx. Checked by numerous arrests of its members, the party maintained a precarious existence and in 1902 founded a revolutionary newspaper, *The Spark*. The next year, the Social Democrats split into two groups known by their Russian names of Bolsheviks (majority) and Mensheviks (minority). Though obscured by personalities, the main issue between the two, as it finally developed, was on the nature of the coming revolution. The Mensheviks desired a liberal, bourgeois revolution; the Bolsheviks, led by Ulianov or Lenin, the pseudonym by which he is better known, wanted the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasant. It was to those groups, but especially to the former, that the Bolsheviks appealed. It was typical of Russian socialism that this party, for the proletariat but not yet of it, split upon the question of an as yet ephemeral revolution.

At almost the same time, another party of discontent appeared. This was the Social Revolutionary Party, an offshoot of the old populist movement, non-Marxian and devoted to the fomenting of agrarian revolt. Like its predecessor, it ran heavily to terrorism, even setting up a "Fighting Organization" for that purpose. Among its victims were the Grand Duke Sergius, an uncle of the Czar, and von Plehve, reactionary minister of the interior.

The bourgeois liberals did not organize until 1905 when they formed the Constitutional Democratic (Cadet) Party. Composed largely of bourgeoisie, professional men, and Zemstvo workers, this party stood for moderate social reform and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. As its aims were realized and as its socialist opponents grew more radical, the Cadet Party moved consistently to the right. By 1917 it was, to all intents and purposes, the conservative party of Russia.

Industrial expansion in the nineties gave way to a period of depression and hard times which greatly favored the growth of industrial socialism. After 1903 there were numerous and widespread strikes, and it is noteworthy that the strikers demanded political reform as well as economic and social change. At about the same time the always smoldering peasant discontent flared up in rioting and disorder. It was partly because of this tense situation that the government, grossly overconfident of its military prowess, welcomed a war with Japan which arose from imperialistic conflicts in Korea and Manchuria (1904). The story of the war does not need repetition. Russia went from one inglorious defeat to another, first on land and then on the sea. As in the Crimean War, the fault lay not with the soldiers but with the gross incompetence, corruption, and maladministration of the officers and the government. Instead of easing the tension, the successive defeats roused more discontent and finally provoked a revolution.

Beginning in September, 1904, the Zemstvo workers began to demand a representative assembly and the agitation was taken up by "Unions" of professional men. Agitation became real revolution after the infamous "Bloody Sunday," January 22, 1905. On that day, an unarmed crowd of workers, led by the police-supported priest, Father Gapon, streamed through the streets of St. Petersburg bearing a petition to the Czar. Nicholas fled, and his loyal subjects were greeted with volleys of rifle fire from the Cossacks. No longer could the people make themselves believe that their once-beloved "Little Father," the Czar, would help them if he knew of their plight. It had become painfully apparent that he knew but did not care.

The spring and summer of 1905 were filled with strikes and agrarian riots. One Russian historian¹ has calculated that the total number of strikers in 1905 was 2,865,145. Since there were only about two million workers at the time, it is obvious that many of them went on strike again and again. It is also estimated that sixty-

¹ Balabanov. See Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*. I:49.

four percent of the strikes were political in purpose. Naval mutinies and disaffection among the returning soldiers added to the government's worries. The climax was reached in a true General Strike which began on October 23. Factories closed, trains and street cars stopped, power plants shut down, lawyers refused to plead, jurors to listen, and even ballet dancers would not dance. Faced with this almost complete stoppage of life, the Czar and his advisers had to yield. Witte was made premier, and on October 30 a constitution was granted, guaranteeing civil liberties, and vesting the legislative power in an elective assembly, the Duma. As Witte had hoped, the constitution drove a wedge between the moderate liberals and the more radical socialists, among whom Trotsky and Lenin were prominent. A wave of violent anti-Semitism, inspired and arranged by the government, further deflected the people from revolt. Agrarian riots continued to flame up spasmodically in a true class war against the landlords, liberal and reactionary alike. The government, however, was slowly regaining its power largely because of division and lack of leadership among its opponents. After crushing a last outburst of revolt in Moscow in December, 1905, the government felt itself strong enough to renege on its earlier promises. An overwhelmingly conservative State Council was given powers equal to the Duma when that body first met in April of 1906. When that did not suffice, the Duma was dissolved (July) and Witte replaced by the less liberal Stolypin. He dissolved a second Duma (June, 1907) which had proved too liberal, and, by use of the *interim* power granted by the constitution, changed the election law. The third Duma was sufficiently tractable and was allowed to serve its term.

The Duma, as it finally took shape, was not at all representative of the Russian people. There was no principle of ministerial responsibility, and it could be short-circuited by decrees issued by the government between sessions. Nevertheless, the establishment of the Duma did mark the legal end of the autocracy. Its control of the budget and its right of interpellation of ministers gave it considerable influence. It was, in short, a start, but only a start, toward a constitutional, bourgeois monarchy.

For the next seven years Russia continued its social and economic progress. Industrial growth was at about the same rate as in the United States, but it must be remembered that it is easier for a slightly industrialized country to double its output than for a highly industrialized one to do so. Russia was, however, making noteworthy progress though she continued to lag far behind the nations of the

west. Largely because of the agrarian riots of 1905-1907, the government felt that it could no longer depend upon the *mir*. This, coupled with a realization of the backwardness of the *mir* system, led Stolypin to break down the compulsory features of the *mir* by decrees in 1907, 1910, and 1911. Thereafter, individuals were free to own land and to move about. The chief beneficiaries were the few well-to-do peasants who bought up the lands of the less fortunate. At least two-thirds of the peasants continued to live upon the margin of subsistence. The assassination of Stolypin in 1911 retarded further agrarian reforms and the constant land hunger of the peasants was not appeased.

Striking advances were made also in education. Between 1908 and 1913 the number of primary schools was increased from under 100,000 to 150,000. Secondary schools and colleges also increased in number, and, moreover, began to teach an ever greater group of students. Despite some clashes with the government, there was almost complete freedom of teaching. Much remained to be done, however. Education was still a privilege and not a right. The Russian intelligentsia were markedly brilliant, registering triumphs in science, literature, and music, but over sixty percent of the people remained illiterate. Gradually the wide rift between the masses and the minority was being closed, but the task was huge. What might have happened remains unknown.

The World War, which interrupted these developments, made another revolution probable but not inevitable. The upper classes were solidly behind the government in 1914, and even the revolutionaries and peasants were relatively quiescent. Had the Czar chosen to do so, he might have united his people by taking them into his confidence. Instead, aided and abetted by Alexandra, he chose the other course and alienated everyone by seeking to regain autocratic powers. Russia entered the war badly unprepared. She had, for example, only sixty batteries of artillery as compared with Germany's three hundred and eighty-one. This disparity was rapidly made worse by the truly incredible inefficiency, incompetence, and corruption of the Czar and his underlings. At the very crucial moment of 1915 the Czar, disregarding all advice, chose to take command of the armies, leaving the civil administration to the Czarina. The latter, by this time, had come under the malevolent influence of Gregory Rasputin. This remarkable man, an ignorant Siberian peasant, was apparently possessed of hypnotic powers. Admitted to the Imperial Court through the superstitious credulity of some of its members, he soon convinced Alexandra that he was a holy man who could cure her

only son of hæmophilia. By 1916 Rasputin was making and breaking ministers at will and really ruling the country. The situation had become intolerable, and Rasputin was finally assassinated by a small group of responsible men late in December. The damage, however, had been done. The Czar would heed no appeals, listen to no advice. He was soon to pay for his blind stubbornness with his throne and his life.

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The Religion of Science

A. A NEW AGE OF FAITH

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the debt which modern society owes to its scientists. Technological improvements of infinite variety, communications systems, popular amusements, in fact almost everything which we regard as unique in contemporary life can be traced in part to the laboratory. No department of western culture has escaped the ubiquitous influence of science. Art, music, literature, religion, government, and our very thoughts bear evidence of its impact. Most of us seldom realize the depth to which science has penetrated our lives, although in a superficial way some have come to feel that the progressive improvement of material welfare and the answer to the problem of ultimate reality can be solved only by science. It has made men humble and conceited, has encouraged limitless hopes and fateful forebodings, and has both strengthened and weakened an abiding faith in human progress.

Men placed greater faith in science in the nineteenth century than they do today, chiefly because they had little reason to doubt the validity of its conclusions, and every reason to defend it on the score of its accomplishments. Scarcely a decade passed which did not reveal some noteworthy success of the scientific method, or some new proof of scientific hypotheses. These seemed the more certain because they usually found application in the tangible world of material affairs, since science in the nineteenth century was allied with industry. This happy alignment was deliberate, and found its best expression in the development of scientific laboratories operating in conjunction with business enterprise. The union of business and science, one of the most unique features of the nineteenth century, was a boon to both. Science had ceased to be the purely theoretical handmaiden of theology or philosophy.

In the physical sciences, the star of Galileo and Newton was still in the ascendant as the nineteenth century opened, and their simple materialistic concept of reality as matter and force served as the basic hypothesis from which most physical researches began. The uncomfortable fact that many discoveries failed to fit easily into this Newtonian scheme aroused little doubt until the abundance of accumulated evidence seemed overwhelming. Indeed, although the most impressive achievements of this century controverted long-established generalizations, few were distressed at their metaphysical implications.

Among the most significant accomplishments of nineteenth-century physics was the discovery of the property of heat, and the establishment of thermodynamics as an important department of physical studies. Through a number of epoch-making discoveries in the thirties and forties, James Prescott Joule (1818-1889), a young, untrained English scientist, produced evidence that heat was a form of energy and a mode of motion. He demonstrated experimentally that "work and heat were equivalent," and reached the conclusion that the total amount of energy, the power to produce work, was constant. The quantity of energy apparently lost as work merely reappeared as heat. This gave force to a new physical concept, known as the conservation of energy, and best expressed by H. L. F. von Helmholtz (1821-1894). One of the most fruitful generalizations of modern times, this opened up new fields of investigation and provided a new springboard from which scientists were able to leap to important physical conclusions before the groundwork had been prepared by laborious experiments. It laid the basis also for a so-called second law of thermodynamics, the dissipation of energy, expounded by Lord Kelvin. While accepting the idea that energy is constant, this law asserts that useful energy is perpetually disintegrating into non-useful, and anticipates the time when all useful energy will have been expended.

The properties of light, like those of heat, remained largely a mystery before the nineteenth century, although various theories had already been advanced. A number of experiments conducted by Thomas Young (1773-1829) and Augustin Fresnel (1788-1827) established the idea that light was wave motion, traveling in straight lines. The formulation of this classic wave theory of light was paralleled by the development of spectrum analysis. From Newton's suggestion that the appearance of colors in glass prisms exposed to the rays of the sun was due to the decomposition of white light, there began

the fruitful investigations of the physical properties of colors. Two German scientists, G. R. Kirchhoff (1824-1887) and J. von Fraunhofer (1787-1826), distinguished the differences between the spectrums of solid, gaseous, and liquid bodies under varied conditions, and by demonstrating that certain chemical substances produce distinctive light, laid the foundation for modern spectroscopy. Determination of the chemical composition of a number of the planets has been made possible through these discoveries. Although not exactly an outgrowth of investigations into the physical properties of light, the beginnings of modern photography coincided with these studies. The magic lantern, in use since the sixteenth century, and knowledge of the sensitivity of silver compounds to light, revealed in the eighteenth century, constituted the background for epoch-making experiments in the first half of the nineteenth century. L. J. M. Daguerre (1789-1851), a French painter, was the first to make "picture taking" a commercially profitable venture, so much so that "daguerreotype" came to be practically synonymous with photography itself. W. H. Fox-Talbot, an Englishman, subsequently perfected a process of instantaneous photography, and at the end of the century, a kinoscope invented by Thomas Edison and a projector developed by Thomas Armat opened the way for the development of moving pictures.

No physical science has influenced human life more deeply than electromagnetism. From a mysterious "imponderable fluid," electricity was reduced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to corpuscular physical substance, made available for light and power, and finally used to explain the mysteries of life itself. The accidental discovery of the galvanic or voltaic cell, a primitive primary battery, by two Italian scientists, L. Galvani and A. Volta, inaugurated the intensive study of electricity and its properties. Shortly afterward, Michael Faraday (1791-1867), the self-educated son of an English blacksmith, provided the new science with its modern terminology, invented a dynamo, and demonstrated the commercial possibilities of electroplating. The discovery of countless practical uses for this new power followed swiftly. Samuel Morse and Alexander Graham Bell employed it for the telegraph and telephone respectively; Thomas Edison made it available for artificial light by the invention of an incandescent lamp; and from it Guglielmo Marconi developed the radio and radio telephone. Electricity has almost realized for man the occult powers of all the pagan gods of antiquity.

While electrical power was being utilized for human needs, theo-

retical scientists speculated upon its properties. In the middle of the nineteenth century Sir James Clerk-Maxwell suggested that electromagnetic waves would respond to the same laws as light, the two being aspects of the same phenomenon. Heinrich Hertz (1857-1894) subsequently produced experimental evidence to confirm Maxwell's hypothesis, thus establishing a definite link between optics and electromagnetism, and making possible the monumental work of Marconi with radio (Hertzian) waves some years later. The composition of electricity still remained a mystery, but much of this was soon dispelled. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, a Dutch scientist, Hendrik Lorentz (1853-1928), suggested that electrically charged particles were common to all things and "identical in all elements." These particles, known as electrons and protons, were demonstrated experimentally by Joseph Thomson in the 1890's. Another experimenter, Wilhelm von Röntgen (1845-1923) accidentally discovered a mysterious ray capable of penetrating opaque substances, and, for want of a better name, called it an X-Ray. The similarity between this and the penetrating rays which emanated from uranium and its compounds soon led to the discovery that all substances were composed of electrically charged atoms. The disintegration of these by centrifugal bombardment in a magnetic field, it was discovered, was what produced the X-Ray. The rays of uranium and its compounds, while differing from the X-Ray in length and penetrating qualities, were produced in similar fashion spontaneously. By this means, the way was prepared for fruitful investigations in the field of radioactivity so ably furthered by Pierre (1859-1906) and Marie Curie (1867-1935), who discovered the element of radium and made it commercially available.

The Electron Theory which Lorentz had formulated challenged the finality of the Atomic Theory, advanced by chemists early in the nineteenth century to explain the ultimate composition of matter. Suggested in ancient times by Democritus, the Atomic Theory received its classic definition at the hands of John Dalton (1766-1844), an obscure Quaker schoolmaster of Manchester. Every substance, he asserted, could be reduced to minute particles or atoms, incapable of observation and subdivision, which combined in certain definite weights and proportions to form all chemical compounds. There was some confusion for a time between these "atoms" and the "molecules" which Count Avogadro (1776-1856) almost simultaneously distinguished as the ultimate particles of gases, but this was clarified by designating "atoms" as the ultimate of simple elements, and "mole-

cules" as the ultimate of gases and compounds. By elaborate experimentation, the weights and distinctive properties of a number of elements were soon determined, and, in the 1870's, a Russian chemist, Dmitri Mendeléyev (1834-1907), demonstrated that every eighth element, when these are listed in the order of ascending weights, has certain similar properties. This Periodic Law enabled chemists to predict the existence of elements before they were actually discovered. The development of the Atomic Theory was one of the most fruitful hypotheses of the nineteenth century, and continues to be the point of departure for quantitative chemistry, despite the fact that electromagnetic studies have necessitated its modification.

Perhaps the most distinctive developments of chemical science were made in the fields of organic and synthetic chemistry. It had long been thought that an insurmountable barrier stood between organic and inorganic substances since it was believed that the former were created by a "vital" process, spiritual in origin and therefore incapable of scientific analysis. In 1828, however, this lingering superstition vanished when a German chemist demonstrated the possibility of making urea, an organic compound, from inorganic materials. The barrier between organic and inorganic studies had thus been finally surmounted, but the complexity of the former made advisable its continuance as a separate science. Production of synthetic substances swiftly developed into a major industry, especially in Germany and the United States, and before the end of the nineteenth century, chemistry took its place among the major engineering sciences. Apart from its contribution to modern industry, the study of chemistry has been an invaluable aid to agriculture, medicine, and biology, with which it is closely allied.

Despite their phenomenal growth, chemistry and physics were relatively old sciences when the nineteenth century opened, while geology and biology, destined to exert enormous influence upon contemporary life and thought, were still in their infancy. Like astronomy several centuries earlier, they challenged and uprooted traditional beliefs in which men's minds had been steeped for centuries. One denied the generally accepted Biblical account of the creation; the other applied to man the laws of natural causation, challenging the doctrines of dogmatic theology.

The first important criticism of the Biblical account of creation was made by an English gentleman farmer, James Hutton, in his *Theory of the Earth* (1785). In this he remarked upon processes of stratification and fossilization, still observable, which he believed

would account for the peculiar character of earth formations. These observations were not generally accepted until Sir Charles Lyell published his monumental *Principles of Geology* (1830-1833). A diligent and thorough Scotsman, Lyell produced a mass of evidence to support the view that the earth was much older than was assumed in the Bible, and established the fact that its structure and character were determined over a long period of time by purely natural circumstances. With this great work, it might be said that geology had its birth, and the doctrine of evolution its first scientifically supported statement. Anthropological studies, emanating from geology and biology alike, further substantiated Lyell's basic hypotheses. Discoveries of the remains of primitive men greatly strengthened belief in the growing doctrine of evolution by demonstrating the existence of a pre-literary period of human history.

The father of modern biology and the great exponent of the doctrine of evolution was Charles Robert Darwin (1809-1882), son of a remarkable country doctor and grandson of a scientist of considerable repute. Abandoning the study of medicine for that of theology, his keen interest in nature led him to give up the idea of entering the church, and he shipped as naturalist aboard the sailing vessel *Beagle* for a five-year voyage in South American waters. During the voyage he formed the habits of keeping careful record of his observations and of wide reading. After some twenty years of painstaking research and additional observation, he finally expounded his famous thesis of evolution in the *Origin of Species* (1859), supplementing and buttressing it in a variety of other publications prior to his death.

The Darwinian theory repudiated the prevalent concept of immutable, independently created separate species, and advanced the hypothesis that all living things sprang from an originally common source. The diverse characteristics apparent in the different types of animal and vegetable life, Darwin ascribed to the accumulation of small variations over a long period of time. These he believed sufficient to explain the shaping, or the "evolution," of each species. Among the factors operating to produce variations, Darwin suggested three in particular: "natural selection," "sexual selection," and the "inheritance" of characteristics acquired through environmental influence. Upon the first of these, he placed special emphasis. It was his observation that individual members of a species differ from each other in innate qualities, some of which have better "survival value" in the competition for existence. The individual with superior survival qualities has the surer chance of living and producing offspring.

Over a long time, the cumulative effects of this modify the race and even produce a new variety. Thomas Huxley called this concept of "natural selection" the "quintessence of Darwinism." The peculiar qualities of color and structure of members of each sex, Darwin explained as the consequence, over a long period, of "sexual selection," that is, the preference shown by members of one sex for certain peculiar qualities in the other. While Darwin regarded these "selective" factors, and especially that of "natural selection," as most important, he did not hesitate to adopt the view, advanced by Lamarck, that the evolution of the species may result from inheritance of characteristics acquired through environmental influence. Indeed, this latter idea did not find wide acceptance until Darwin advanced it.

The scientists, if not the laymen, accepted Darwin's conclusions almost without question, and for years allowed his methods of observation and experimentation to languish. At the turn of the century, however, slow accumulation of evidence made it clear that the Darwinian hypothesis was not tenable in every respect, least of all in so far as it assumed that characteristics acquired through environmental influence could be transmitted. August Weismann (1834-1914), through a careful study of body and germ cells, demonstrated that the latter, which alone give rise to new organisms, tend to descend in a pure line, uninfluenced by environment. The germ plasm, he explained, has an unbroken history, and that while body cells might respond to environmental changes these did not influence the germ plasm perceptibly, and hence environment could not account for the development of a new species. The publication of these views was at first regarded as heretical, but they were soon supported by a variety of evidence. After much careful research, the great English biologist, William Bateson (1861-1926), asserted that there were two major problems which the Darwinian hypothesis failed to explain when applied to the evidence: (1) the apparent magnitude of variations from which new forms arise; and (2) the way in which variations are perpetuated since those with superior survival qualities bred with those in whom they were absent. He expressed the belief that large, intermittent variations, rather than the slow accumulation of small variations, might better account for the rise of a new species. Experimental evidence which partly validated this assumption already had been discovered by Gregor Johann Mendel (1822-1884), an obscure Austrian monk. Mendel had not been satisfied with the Darwinian explanation by "natural selection" and put some of his own theories to experimental test in the breeding of varieties of peas.

He demonstrated that if dwarf and tall peas were mixed the succeeding generation of plants would bear all of the outward qualities of the taller variety. If these were then allowed to fertilize themselves, however, only approximately three-fourths of the following generation of plants would be tall, while the remaining quarter would bear the qualities of the original dwarf variety. As this process continued, he noted a more or less definite mathematical relationship between the qualities transmitted or lost in successive generations. From these experiments, Mendel concluded that changes or "mutations" of the species might be large and intermittent rather than small and cumulative as Darwin had suggested. These findings remained hidden in an unknown, local publication until 1900 when their discovery created a considerable stir in the academic world. The more recent researches of T. H. Morgan and his associates in the United States have modified Mendel's conclusions, but have made it more abundantly clear that the Darwinian hypothesis is far from being definitive. There is at present no uniformly accepted doctrine of variations. Some biologists adhere largely to the theory of natural selection, some to Mendelian mutations, some are frankly skeptical of either, and still others are convinced that variations occur as the result of elements lost rather than elements gained. Probably the truth is composite. At least Darwin's theory is not accurate in every detail, although it rests on a broad and solid foundation. Certainly no contribution of nineteenth-century science exerted greater influence upon thought. Darwin's place in the history of modern culture is as secure as that of either Newton or Einstein.

Less spectacular than the formulation of the theory of evolution, but no less important, were the contributions of a variety of lesser-known scientists working in physiology and bacteriology. F. J. Gall (1758-1828) and Johannes Müller (1801-1858) described the structure of the brain and the function of its various parts, and Claude Bernard (1813-1878) charted the way for extraordinary discoveries in biochemistry by revealing the influence of the nervous system upon nutrition and secretion. Two German scientists, Schleiden and Theodor Schwann, introduced the study of embryology, and Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) carried over the study of cell structures, thus begun, to the examination of diseased tissues. These studies showed a remarkable identity among all types of animal and plant life, and strengthened the belief in the unity of nature. Even the physical concept of the conservation of energy was made to apply to the living organism when it was established, before the end of the nineteenth

century, that the action of the human body could be traced to energy produced through the combustion of food. The discovery of the functions of various glands contributed to the mechanistic interpretation of life, and gave invaluable aid to the development of preventive and curative medicine. The now common uses of insulin, thyroxin, and adrenalin are the result of obscure and unheralded physiological discoveries.

Of even greater importance to preventive medicine was the discovery of microbes and bacteria, and their relation to disease. The result of the labors of a number of scientists, this achievement has been commonly associated with the name of Louis Pasteur (1822-1895), a Frenchman who succeeded in isolating the germs of various diseases through the use of primitive cultures. Appropriate means of treating a number of the most deadly maladies were thus made possible. Within the next half century the bacilli of diphtheria, malaria, bubonic plague, sleeping sickness, tuberculosis, tetanus, to mention only a few, were isolated and methods of prevention and cure found for many. The discovery of germs and their relation to disease proved a boon to surgery as well. Lack of proper precautions and ignorance of septicemia had made the outcome of surgical operations exceedingly problematical. Some of the danger from infected wounds was eliminated by Lord Lister (1827-1912), professor of surgery at the University of Glasgow, who demonstrated the antiseptic properties of carbolic acid and carbolized catgut. The publication of his findings in 1867 marked the real beginning of modern scientific aseptic surgery. Somewhat earlier, the discovery of surgical anæsthesia and its successful application by W. T. G. Morton of Boston (1846) had already helped to make surgery painless. So great has been the saving of human life resulting from preventive and curative medicine, that one might designate bacteriology, its fountain source, as the most important science of the nineteenth century.

The notable advance of physiology, bacteriology, and medicine was paralleled by psychology which now confidently claimed a place among the sciences. Prior to the nineteenth century it was chiefly a branch of metaphysics developed rationally through the process of deduction, and, indeed, so it continued to remain for some time in Germany. But with the naturalistic and mechanistic interpretations of life everywhere taking shape, and the knowledge of the human organism constantly growing, it was hardly possible for psychology to remain immune from the scientific impulse. Alexander Bain (1818-1903) of England, a member of the Benthamite school, and a fol-

lower of John Locke, introduced introspective methods for the study of the mind and, tracing mental phenomena to sensations, inaugurated "association psychology." This maintained that our complex ideas are derived from simple ones through the process of association. The beginnings of modern experimental psychology can be traced most clearly to E. H. Weber (1795-1878) of Leipzig who made a number of penetrating observations on the intensity and limits of sensations. Wundt (1832-1920), also of Leipzig, supplied additional evidence on measured sensations and, for the first time, collected the scattered threads of the new science into a coherent pattern. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the relation between physical and mental phenomena was for the first time closely observed, a study which continues to have great possibilities. Probably the most scientific of the numerous psychological "schools" which has developed during the past century, although it treats with only a small segment of the subject, is Behaviorism, introduced by J. B. Watson in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The Behaviorists, aiming to be as objective as the chemists and physicists, have confined themselves to the observation of measurable animal and human behaviors. They regard man as merely a bundle of stimuli and responses, and have attempted to reduce all mental phenomena to mechanical processes. Behaviorism has produced highly significant results but its concentration upon animal studies has set definite limits upon its usefulness. More recently psychologists have manifested a growing interest in the interaction of human personalities, in the hope of explaining social behavior, and have sought to penetrate the deep mysteries of the mind, in neither of which is exact scientific measurement possible. Like most of the "sciences" devoted to social phenomena, psychology has for the time being thrown off the pretense of being purely scientific.

During the nineteenth century such doubts of the validity of science and the scientific method were rarely expressed in the academic world, while among an increasingly large body of laymen the wonders and accomplishments of science inspired a boundless hope and unreasoning faith in human ingenuity. The darkest secrets of nature had been revealed and the basic hypotheses which served to unlock them gave promise of solving such mysteries as still remained. The boundaries of science appeared to be fixed, and within the area which they defined, all that seemed to remain was to complete the exploration. The fact that some questions remained unanswered or obstinately refused to be answered by prevailing scientific

theories perturbed only the few. It would be an unpardonable error to assert that the mass of men in the nineteenth century believed unquestioningly in the infallibility of science, but it is certainly clear that society had become science-conscious, and that scientific achievements contributed enormously to a pervading optimism which lasted well through the first decade of the twentieth century.

It could hardly have been otherwise. Through science technological advancement had leaped beyond the bounds of imagination; disease and suffering had been brought within human control; and the drudgeries and hardships of life were rapidly disappearing. It did not require an understanding of the sciences themselves to appreciate these material benefits. If one were inclined to forget them he was always reminded by the profusion of popular articles appearing in the public press or by instruction in public and private schools. Small wonder that traditional religion was loosed from its moorings. Science had itself become a religion, the laboratory its shrine, and the scientist its high priest.

Sensational developments in physics, mathematics, and astronomy within the past quarter century have undermined the whole foundation upon which "scientific truths" of the nineteenth century were based, and have made them far less certain and definitive than they once seemed. A new set of basic hypotheses has displaced or modified the old, and the boundaries of science, once thought to have been fixed, have vanished away. Life, the universe, man, have become again unfathomable mysteries, and the final definitive statement of reality, it is now clear, has not yet been made. Dogmatic science of the nineteenth-century variety has disappeared.

The application of higher mathematics to astronomy produced the first serious breach in the older edifice of science. Albert Einstein, a German scientist, suggested in a series of epoch-making monographs between 1905 and 1915 that the Newtonian concept of gravitation and the prevailing ideas concerning the motion of light and heavenly bodies were probably unsatisfactory. He reduced physical reality to energy, of which matter and its property of gravitation were merely manifestations, and he dissolved the distinction between time and space by defining time as merely the fourth dimension of space. These modifications of prevailing hypotheses were embodied into what was called the Theory of Relativity which startled and confounded the scientific world. Close and careful observation has demonstrated the accuracy of a number of deductions from this theory, particularly that light, like all matter, is subject to the laws

of gravitation, and that motion is not absolute but purely relative to the observer. The accuracy of Einstein's observations has not changed our habits of life, but it necessitated a revamping of beliefs which had prevailed since the days of Newton. Time and space are no longer absolute, the universe is finite though boundless, rays of light do not travel in straight lines but are curved by gravitational pull, and the dimensions of moving and stationary bodies, as well as their weight, vary according to their state of motion. The only constant factor of the universe recognized by the Theory of Relativity is the velocity of light, and recently even that has been challenged.

Equally disconcerting have been the results of recent astronomical observations, made with the aid of greatly improved technical instruments. The universe has been extended beyond the ken of the most fertile imagination, and the earth and man, already reduced by Copernicus to secondary importance, have become wholly insignificant specks in an appallingly large cosmic ocean. Even the sun has lost its privileged place among the heavenly planets. It is only one of the smaller bodies in the galaxy which constitutes our universe, and this galaxy, it is now known, is only one of perhaps an incalculable number. It is impossible for anyone to comprehend the magnitude of our own galactic universe with its estimated three hundred trillion stars, much less to visualize the modern astronomer's universe, measured in thousands of light years, each one of which represents approximately six trillion miles.

Recently physical investigations into the structure and activity of atoms have produced equally startling and sensational results. The application of electromechanics to these studies had already revealed the fact that the atom was not indivisible but a complicated structure almost as complicated as the universe itself. Indeed, by some (Bohr theory) it has been described as a solar system in miniature with a nucleus and a variety of electrons revolving as planets around it. More recently a new Theory of Wave Mechanics (de Broglie and Schroedinger) has described the atom as merely "a vague pulsating sphere of electricity, something like an expanding and contracting balloon." These intensive studies of atomic structure and motion exposed an even more startling fact, that it was impossible to predict scientifically the actions of electrons and protons and that, therefore, the principle of causality, considered so firmly established that it was said God himself might have subscribed to it, could no longer apply. Professor Max Planck of Berlin, observing this, sought to offer an explanation by his Quantum Theory, by which he suggested that

energy, instead of being released continuously by electrical particles, was released in bundles or quanta. Neither the amount nor the time of release could, however, be predicted. As a corollary to Planck's law, Professor Heisenberg in 1927 advanced his Theory of Uncertainty, in which he explained that it is not only impossible to predict the behavior of single electrons, but that it was impossible ever to do so. If true, this is indeed disquieting, for it would indicate that definite limits have been fixed to physical studies in this direction.

None of the cherished hypotheses of the nineteenth century can any longer pretend to reveal reality and truth in entirety. Newtonian concepts have had to be radically modified, Darwin has been corrected, and the almost sacred law of cause and effect has proved to be a doubtful theory. The deeper science penetrates, the more elusive does reality appear, and the mystery of life remains. It has been aptly said that the "only certainty of science today is the certainty of uncertainty."

B. SCIENCE AND THOUGHT

It has already been observed that sixteenth and seventeenth century science reoriented and revolutionized habits of thought, but, extraordinary as its influence was, it was hardly comparable to that of the nineteenth century. Discoveries came slowly enough to be absorbed by intellectuals, if not by common men whose daily lives and habits went on much as they had for centuries. Moreover, with all its emphasis upon the order and simplicity of nature, Newtonian science had left the spiritual side of man unchallenged, and still found reason for God, if only as the First Cause. The swift advances of nineteenth-century science, permeating and transforming every phase of life, and subjecting man himself to material law, changed all this. Few intellectuals were able to keep pace with discoveries as science grew more highly specialized and departmentalized, and it became increasingly difficult to arrive at broad generalizations. Science and philosophy, which had developed harmoniously until the time of Kant, perforce parted company, with resulting misfortunes for both. One despised experimentalism and the other scoffed at visionary speculations, while only the most profound and penetrating students saw that neither revealed the whole truth. The man who tilled the fields or labored in the factory knew little of this academic combat, though he felt the sweep of the victorious advance of science. He saw theology retreat before its impact, sent his children to public schools to

learn its rudiments, gave up many of his petty superstitions and fears, and came to feel in a vague, uncertain sort of way that perhaps everything was material. He often spoke glibly of evolution although he knew nothing about it, and he frequently scoffed at religion though he scarcely knew why. Science had penetrated the deepest recesses of human life and challenged much of the foundation of established belief.

Perhaps the greatest manifestation of this was the widespread popularity and influence of materialistic, mechanistic philosophy. A compound of the most significant scientific revelations of the century, this held the universe and man to be godless and irrational, the objects of demonstrable mechanical law. From Newtonian physics, re-enforced by chemical studies of the atom, it drew its basic hypothesis that reality was nothing more than simple matter and force. From thermodynamics, it derived the idea of the conservation of energy, which denied biological vitalism and provided the basis for its fatal determinism. From Darwin, it drew its concept of orderly evolution, and from all the sciences together it received confirmation of the law of cause and effect which it believed universally applicable. Materialist philosophy was the child of nineteenth-century science. It scorned mystical speculation, and showed little concern for spiritual questions or for the age-old philosophical problem of knowledge. Mind and nature, men and the universe, were merely varied expressions of reality which, divested of its mysterious trappings, was nothing more than matter, force, and energy.

The greatest exponents of this thought were to be found among the most uncompromising protagonists of the theory of evolution, Thomas Huxley (1825-1895) and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) of England, and Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919) of Germany. Despite differences of approach and opinion, the thought of all three showed remarkable uniformity. They were convinced that man and his institutions, as well as all animate and inanimate life, followed the course of blind, albeit orderly, evolutionary growth. The process was from the simple to the complex, from disorder to order. These materialists were optimists who believed evolution worked inexorably to produce a better and more perfect state for man. Their arguments deeply influenced the growing belief in human progress.

Thomas Huxley was the most combative and the most prolific writer of the optimistic materialists. A distinguished scientist in his own right, with uncommon power of expression, he devoted his life to dispelling what he considered the prevailing obscurantism of his

age. He vigorously attacked theological dogma and scoffed at the miraculous and supernatural. Although not prepared to deny completely the existence of the "spiritual," he nevertheless believed that all could be reduced to matter, which in turn responded to the ubiquitous force of evolution. Haeckel was even more uncompromising. The greatest champion of Darwinism in Germany, he summarized his views in a monumental work, *The Riddle of the Universe*, published in 1899. Everything, Haeckel contended, developed from the protoplasm, which was spontaneously generated from nitrogenous substance. All of life had evolved from this simple common beginning. The organic and inorganic, the mental and the material, thus had a common ancestry. Haeckel conceived all reality to be a simple unity, evolved but not created.

The most prominent and most influential materialist was Herbert Spencer, a self-educated railroad engineer of London. From independent study he had reached important conclusions on the process of evolution, before Darwin revealed the results of his painstaking researches. *The Origin of Species* exerted an enormous influence upon Spencer's thought and confirmed his growing faith. He immediately entered the lists in defense of Darwin, coining the famous phrase, "survival of the fittest," which has ever since been attached to the Darwinian doctrine. In 1860, he drew up the sketch of a complete evolutionary philosophy, and spent more than the next thirty years filling its details into a ponderous work (*Synthetic Philosophy*) of ten volumes. His fundamental thesis was that all things, through differentiation, adaptation, and selection, developed from the simple and homogeneous to the complex and heterogeneous. His chief preoccupation was to apply this to the study of all social phenomena, emphasizing the evolutionary development of human institutions and mental life. Believing that these grew best by trial and error, he regarded attempts to impose reforms as both unnatural and dangerous. Such ideas met with the hearty approval of economic individualists and gained an enormous vogue. Spencer did not reject the idea of a Supreme Being responsible for the evolutionary process, but he insisted it must remain Unknowable, since it cannot be observed. Although he rested too much confidence in the Darwinian hypothesis, his application of it to the study of society proved of inestimable value to the developing study of sociology. Like Haeckel and Huxley, Spencer believed that the unseen, uncontrollable force of evolution was progressively working in orderly fashion to a perfect end.

Other materialists were inclined to be less optimistic. Influenced

also by science, these were inspired by the lowly origins and animal characteristics of the human organism to visualize the darkest future. They regarded man as imprisoned by matter and forever victimized by his base appetites and passions. For these pessimists, appeal to the individual will, arbitrarily and selfishly evoked, offered the only escape from bondage, and provided the only avenue to a utopia of supermen. Common social amenities, which others extolled as the beneficent working out of evolutionary law, they condemned as parasitical forces operating to eliminate the strong and perpetuate the weak. They were literal exponents of the doctrine of survival of the fittest.

The most prominent pessimistic materialists were both Germans, Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). Schopenhauer, after an early life of the most depressing domestic misfortunes, studied philosophy at the University of Berlin. He was soon carried away from the prevailing "idealism" at Berlin by an overpowering interest in Hindu philosophy. Compounding this with his own unhappy personal experiences, he evolved a philosophy of dejection and despair which was given its first expression in *The World as Will and Idea*, published originally in 1818. Reality, he maintained, could be ascertained not by science, which is concerned purely with external phenomena, but only by intuition. This reveals will as reality, and will is wholly irrational, activated by animal impulses and passions. These latter forces are what govern and enchain man, and forever deprive him of happiness. This being true, the greatest misfortune to befall man is to be born.

Schopenhauer's philosophy of "will" received greater elaboration at the hands of Nietzsche. Born into a pious parsonage, Nietzsche in his early years was inspired to prepare himself for the church but, after a brief interest in music and art, he finally completed his doctorate in philosophy, which he taught for a number of years at the University of Basle in Switzerland. At first a mild critic of social institutions, he became steadily more outspoken, particularly in his attacks upon Christianity. His masterpiece, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, published in 1885, embodies the fundamental tenets of his mature thought. In this book, Nietzsche condemned society for protecting the weak because of adherence to the false Christian virtues of kindness, gentleness, and generosity. The only instinct which he recognized as true was the "will to power" which commanded man to trample the weak and raise up the strong. Solely by obeying the commands of this imperious "will" is it possible to realize progress

and rear a race of supermen. Doctrines like these ran counter to the main stream of nineteenth-century philosophic thought, but they were as much the products of science as the more optimistic views. Nietzsche and Schopenhauer had less vogue than Spencer and Haeckel, but they offered a ready excuse for Machiavellian imperialism, and they served as an antidote for students of social phenomena.

A variety of influences combined to emphasize the importance and extend the scope of social studies during the nineteenth century. The steady secularization of life since the era of the Renaissance, which made present happiness vastly more important than future bliss, had already directed thought in the eighteenth century to problems of social betterment. Rapid industrialization, the spread of the factory system, the tendency toward the development of a world society produced by the newer systems of communication, together with a growing interest in government manifested by common men everywhere, helped to focus attention upon the relationships between individuals and their social environment. Perhaps the most powerful stimulant to social studies was the development of such sciences as biology, anthropology, and psychology, which provided a key to human progress and the tools with which to measure man's reactions. With these, there was inspired the hope that social studies might become as objective as the physical sciences, and many enthusiasts envisioned the growth of a "social science."

The first of the social studies to assume the trappings of pure science, with its objective detachment and its emphasis upon measurement, was sociology. Largely an offshoot of political philosophy, this new "science" aimed to discover the "laws" of human development and to determine the forces which govern the relationships between individuals within the social milieu. Two approaches were made to this problem. One, growing out of the humanitarian rationalism of the eighteenth century, took the whole scope of human history for its province, and sought to deduce from it the basic laws of social progress. The other, conforming more nearly to the atomizing tendencies of the physical and chemical sciences, tried to conduct detached and exhaustive investigations of small groups of individuals. Both methods added greatly to the understanding of contemporary society: the former emphasizing the variety of influences in the larger sphere which determine society's unique structure; the latter contributing a knowledge of individual reactions to the varied stimuli within the social grouping.

A beginning in the synthetic approach to sociology was made

by the brilliant but erratic French Utopian socialist, Count Henri de Saint-Simon, but its systematic development and exposition was the work of his able student, Auguste Comte (1798-1857), who is oft-times called the father of sociology. Of middle class origins, Comte received his formal education in the sciences at the Paris Polytechnic, before contact with the Saint-Simonians stimulated his interest in social problems. Comte aimed to make the study of society as scientific as the study of physics, and, by analyzing the moral, religious, and political institutions of men, make possible a sane, reasonable, and scientific reorganization of the entire social structure. His efforts in this direction culminated in a ponderous, erudite, and somewhat fanciful work entitled *Positive Philosophy*, published during the years 1851-1854. This gave birth to a movement of thought, known as Positivism, which enjoyed a popularity and exerted an influence comparable to philosophic materialism. It was Comte's contention that a survey of human history revealed three distinct stages of evolutionary development, from the theological and fictitious through the metaphysical and abstract to the scientific and positive. The nineteenth century had reached the last stage when men no longer sought for supernatural causes but remained content with a knowledge of facts. From his generalizations upon the evolution of modern society and the evolutionary processes which he perceived continued, he drew a number of fertile suggestions for social and political reform. Perhaps the most unique was his proposal that there be established a new religious cult in which humanity should be the object of worship. There was much of value in Comte's thought which inspired a number of nineteenth-century humanitarians and intellectuals, notably John Stuart Mill of England, to give serious consideration to problems of social reform.

The other great advance in sociological studies followed from the development of the statistical method in the later half of the nineteenth century. Inaugurated by Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882). of France, this soon outstripped Comte's synthetic method both in popularity and importance. The accumulation of evidence which this method of research produced very soon demonstrated that the "science" of society was much less simple than supposed, if, indeed, it were a science at all. Many of the springs of human conduct obstinately refused analysis and explanation. The fact remains, however, that sociological studies, even though they were compelled to throw off their scientific disguise, made enormous contributions to human happiness.

The parent of sociology, political science, likewise responded to the scientific stimuli of the nineteenth century. Beginning first with a Linnean approach, students of politics and government sought to list, define, and classify the various forms and manifestations of political life. Later, they employed the scientific method of observation and measurement. The pioneer in the latter and more fruitful field was the great French student, Alexis de Tocqueville, whose *Democracy in America* became the model for comparative studies in government. The doctrine of biological evolution provided a key to the evolution of political institutions, and the science of statistics made possible "atomic" studies of the body politic. The allied fields of economics, sociology, and history helped also to broaden the approach of political scientists who are now deeply conscious of the influences upon political life of the manifold economic and social forces of the contemporary era. As in sociology, it has been impossible for political science to claim complete objectivity, but it has made fruitful advances under the scientific impulse.

Economics remained largely a branch of metaphysics until the nineteenth century was well advanced, as the Classical School of economists clearly indicates. Made up basically of "laws" deduced from broad observations, it represented an attempt to fit the facts of economic life into a preconceived system of thought. An evolutionary approach to economic investigations, inaugurated by the German Historical School, and the introduction of statistical methods, greatly modified and enriched the field. With the application of these scientific tools, students of economics claimed their study as one of the more accurate social sciences. As with the rest of these so-called social sciences, the claim was premature. After the great depression began, the "laws" of economics were found to be in such a state of confusion that an attempt in the United States to summarize their major truths was abandoned as hopeless.

History, the foster parent of all the social studies, responded as fully to the ubiquitous touch of science. An early attempt to attain complete objectivity and reduce history to an unembellished accounting of facts, was made in Germany, under the influence of Barthold Georg Niebuhr and Leopold von Ranke. Claiming that truth was possible only after the most scrupulous and painstaking examination of evidence, this school of historians was content only with documentary investigations. This set definite limits upon their field of studies, since an abundance of precise documents was usually available for only political and military events of more remote periods.

Most historians of the nineteenth century fell under the spell of this school, and in their desire to be objective, ignored the importance of social and economic factors which were less easy to measure but no less important. The more recent trend has been away from this older conventional approach and has been marked by attempts to include every tributary of the stream of life in the story of history. This newer development has been maturing only within the last quarter of a century. Historians no longer make any pretense at complete objectivity which, in fact, is quite beyond possibility. Any study which treats of the human emotions can never wholly escape the subjective element. A complete treatment of all the other social sciences, such as the study of laws and human geography, would show that these, too, while aiming at ideal objectivity, have likewise failed to reach that goal. Far from condemning them, this merely indicates that limits have been found to the usefulness of the scientific approach.

It is perhaps well to observe, in passing, that the most important leavening agent among all social studies was the evolutionary hypothesis. No concept of nineteenth-century science exerted greater influence upon man's understanding of his origins, growth, and development. It completely revised his time concepts by carrying his life span back to obscure beginnings. It snatched him from his place among the angels and set him in the category of the beasts. Perhaps even more important, it enabled man to postulate a continuous human progress. All of the social sciences were permeated with these ideas, at least until into the twentieth century when there seemed less certainty of the processes of evolution and the finality of any of the sciences. So long as the Darwinian evolutionary hypothesis remained substantially unchallenged, it could serve to explain the most perplexing human problems and actions. Its common expression, "survival of the fittest," was translated in imperialistic sentimentalism as the "white man's burden"; it excused immoral diplomacy; it gave force to national patriotism; and it was made to defend rampant militarism. No published work, except the Bible, ever served as the authoritative excuse for so many things.

Nineteenth-century interest in humanity, reflected in the phenomenal growth of social studies, was likewise manifested in the development of education. Here, too, the most unique and important influence was science, ably supported by growing industrialization and noteworthy developments in the direction of democracy. Curricula were broadened to include more instruction in the vernacular,

the new social studies, technical and industrial subjects, and finally the natural sciences. Meanwhile, educational theory and practice kept step with the new evolutionary theories, made possible by the development of genetic psychology which emphasized the evolutionary development of the mind. This greatly furthered the work of Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852), who early in the nineteenth century introduced the kindergarten and established the first experimental school. The great advances in psychology, particularly child psychology, the establishment of psychological and educational laboratories, all reflected the growing interest of educators in the use of scientific methods for the improvement of education. As was to be expected in an age of industrial prosperity, the chief emphasis in education was placed upon its utility. Preoccupation with social and political problems in the contemporary period, however, has been shifting this to the creation of good citizens—good fascists in Italy, good nazis in Germany, good communists in Russia, and good democrats in democratic countries.

Without question, the influence of science which most distressed men was in the field of religious ideas. There had been a considerable growth of skepticism and atheism among the intellectuals of the eighteenth century, but this had hardly caused more than a ripple upon the surface. Indeed, deism and atheism were more than matched in 1800 by the spread of evangelical pietism, with Methodism well in the lead. During the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a noticeable quickening of religious fervor almost everywhere in western Europe, induced no doubt by disillusionment following the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, as well as by the searching of the common masses for some release from the drudgeries of industrial labor. Gradually, however, this was undermined by the achievements and growing popularity of science. The Darwinian hypothesis and materialistic philosophy which followed largely from it definitely turned the tide in the direction of agnosticism and paganism.

The first serious shock to established religious beliefs was produced by archeologists and anthropologists. The former produced evidence from the study of earth formations which revealed the inadequacy of the Biblical story of creation; the anthropologists by demonstrating the evolutionary growth of religious ideas, and especially the emergence of Judaistic and Christian doctrine from primitive folklore, made adherence to the doctrine of divine revelation difficult. These developments challenged the fundamental bases of

Christian doctrine and Biblical authority, and provoked a new scientific approach to Christian religious study. The most celebrated early examples of this were the critical, dispassionate examinations of the life and times of Jesus by David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874) of Germany and Ernest Emert Renan (1823-1892) of France. The former, an exponent of Darwinism, denied the inspiration of the New Testament, denounced miracles, and assailed the belief in a supernatural Christ. At the University of Tübingen, Strauss applied the newer sciences to all phases of Biblical study, creating thereby the Tübingen School of Higher Criticism which soon gained renown throughout the Christian world. Renan established no school but helped immensely in the popularization of the newer forms of criticism. After training for the priesthood, he developed an interest in science which he proceeded to use for a careful study of early Christianity. Extensive researches in Palestine convinced him that the Holy Scriptures and the body of Christian doctrine were evolutionary outgrowths of primitive mythology, and that Christ was an unhappy deluded man. These ideas were forcefully and subtly presented in his *Life of Jesus* (1863). The charm and lucidity of his style, together with the notoriety he gained as the result of his dismissal from a professorship by Napoleon III, gave his study of Jesus a wide reception. Strauss and Renan laid the foundations upon which subsequent Biblical criticism was built. The prestige of the Bible as an authoritative holy book thereafter steadily declined, until at present, by an ever increasing number, it is cherished chiefly for its literary merit and its moral teachings.

The most devastating effect of these critical studies of Christianity was upon the prevailing code of morals and ethics, representing the practical side of religion. Christian morality rested upon two commandments—"Love thy creator" and "Love thy brother," both of which derived their sanction and obligatory character from Biblical authority. When this was assailed and the concept of creation destroyed, the long established sanctions of morality disappeared as well. The problem of ethics became the difficult one of seeking new sanctions which would possess the force of command equal to those which had been displaced. In various forms, these have been sought chiefly in either one of two ways: (1) by appeal to Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative which bases morality upon innate conscience, or (2) by appeal to a naturalistic explanation, based upon practical necessity or the discoveries and teachings of science. The Utilitarians, for example, explained moral action as that which produces the great-

est good for the greatest number, while the protagonists of biological evolution believed moral instincts to be only accidental variations which, however, had been preserved by reason of their utility. None of these could lay claim to the same degree of authority possessed by existing Christian ethics, and it is significant to note that among a growing number of individuals a premium was placed upon success rather than upon adherence to moral law. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest, emphasizing survival qualities, had seriously undermined the moral code.

All institutional religions were challenged by these influences, were compelled to take an accounting of their doctrines, and finally forced to adapt themselves to the new ideas and conditions of life. Protestantism, in particular, was severely shaken. Divided into a variety of warring sects, the number of which continued actually to increase, it lacked the strength of centralized control which helped Catholicism to weather the storm. It was further weakened by the fact that it had derived its authority, since the days of the Reformers, from the word of God as revealed in the Bible. The new Higher Criticism loosened Protestantism from this comfortable mooring. Perhaps even more damaging was the fact that its appeal to independent judgment and individual conscience deprived it of an effective means of retaining its membership. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century there was a noticeable diminution in church attendance and a disconcerting growth of godlessness, especially in urban communities.

In an effort to meet this situation, particularly the challenge of the evolutionary doctrine, the Protestant churches divided into two opposing camps. One group, known as the fundamentalists, sought to save religion by denying completely the validity of science and asserting the literal truth of the Biblical explanation. The other, the modernists, sought to achieve the same end by assimilating the discoveries and teachings of science. The fury of the early conflict between these two Protestant schools has vanished although the division persists in many places, but the tendency seems to be steadily in the direction of moderation and compromise.

The Catholic Church was not immune from the same disruptive forces, but it was better able to meet them. As the greatest bulwark of conservatism and authority in Europe, it was inevitably met with opposition from liberals of all stamps: political, social, and intellectual. It was regarded, even in many Catholic countries, as the enemy of nationalism, freedom, and progress, and it was the bugaboo of most

champions of liberty. This is the reason Catholicism was compelled to fight its hardest battle, paradoxically enough, in its own fortress, the Latin countries of southern Europe. In an effort to destroy its enemies, it made futile attempts to stem the tide of democracy and stifle freedom of speech and the press. Its most serious problem, however, came not from political and social liberalism, but from its clash with the theories and claims of science.

Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) chose to meet this threat by closing the ranks of Catholicism, by reasserting and reinvigorating established dogma, and by discouraging the study of the sciences. This was the same procedure the Church had used at the Council of Trent to gird itself for defense against advancing Protestantism. In 1864, the Pope issued a famous encyclical, *Quanta Cura*, in which he pled for a return to the earlier ideal of the Christian Church, and scored the modern tendencies toward liberalism and secularization. This vigorous and sweeping attack upon "abuses" was supplemented by the even more famous *Syllabus of Errors*, in which were reproduced all the doctrines and ideas which he condemned. So expansive in scope was this denunciation that it left nothing and no one out, from free thinking and Free Thinkers to rationalists, Freemasons, and indifferent persons. The *Syllabus* aroused indignation among Catholics and non-Catholics and probably helped to arouse popular interest in intellectual liberalism, rather than to stifle it. Shortly after the *Syllabus* had been issued, the first church council in three hundred years assembled at the Vatican to discuss important Church problems, particularly modernism. By far its most sensational act was the definition of papal infallibility. Like the *Syllabus*, this was widely regarded as a reversion to medievalism and was made the excuse for further attacks upon the Church.

Pius IX fought a valiant but losing battle which his gifted, erudite successor, Leo XIII (1878-1903), saw no object in continuing. While adhering strictly to established doctrine, Leo showed an unexpected tolerance toward science and modern scholarship. He granted greater privileges in the Vatican Library to students, erected a personal observatory, and employed a personal staff of scientists. The conflict between science and the Catholic Church consequently became less violent. Meanwhile, Leo turned his attention and that of the Catholic world to the fruitful field of social reform. In a famous encyclical, *Rerum Novarum* (1891), he placed the Church definitely on the side of labor, which he hoped to protect both against the "economic royalists" and the Marxian Socialists. He defended property and the

family, but insisted that the workingman must be given a living wage. Frequently called the charter of Catholic Socialism, this encyclical earned for its author the title of "the workingman's Pope." By bringing the Church into line with the major problems of life, Leo did much to restore its power and influence. Under his successor, Pius X (1903-1914), the Church was strong enough to crush the few attempts made to introduce modernism.

The Jewish religion followed a course roughly comparable with the Protestant, dividing into fundamentalist (orthodox) and modernist (reformed) factions. Before the end of the nineteenth century, the latter group had greatly outstripped the former among the educated Jews. Jews suffered severely from a revival of anti-Semitism which drew its strength from rampant nationalism and excused itself by reference to science. National pseudo-scientists sought to establish the fact that Jews were aliens, characterized by internationalism, selfishness, and cowardice. Preposterous as these arguments may appear, they nevertheless served as the defense of many widespread discriminations against the Jews, especially in Russia and Rumania. After 1933 they were given the authoritative support of the Nazi regime in Germany. It was as the result of this anti-Semitism that a nationalistic movement, Zionism, took root among the Jewish people. Founded in 1897 by a Hungarian Jew, Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), Zionism gained enthusiastic support and eventually made possible the restoration of Palestine to the Jews under British protection at the end of the World War.

In all churches there has been a deliberate movement toward socialization during the last quarter of a century. Greater emphasis has been placed upon social obligation than upon conversion. One of the most striking signs of this trend is the church's attempt through secular entertainments to attract and keep its membership. This has been particularly noticeable in Protestant and Jewish Churches, but has not been absent in the Catholic Church. Perhaps the necessity for socializing the church has been due less to a universal skepticism than to the fact that it has had to compete with other agencies which have appealed more to the human appetite for pleasure. The church can no longer claim to be the center of community social life.

Among the very recent developments which challenge institutional religion has been the growth of the totalitarian state. Even more than pre-war nationalism, this newer manifestation has taken on many of the attributes of religion, with myths, dogma, and claims

upon the whole life of man. Fascism in Italy, nazism in Germany, and communism in Russia, despite their differences, are all alike in this respect. In the case of communism, in particular, deliberate attempts have been made to discourage all institutionalized religion.

Despite these many anti-religious tendencies, church membership has not diminished, nor has the general interest in religion passed. Indeed, since science has become less certain of its "truths," an increasingly large number of intellectuals have returned to religion in their proverbial quest for reality. The conflict between science and religion, much less bitter now than half a century ago, gives promise of disappearing. This is due partly to the fact that religion has stripped itself of many useless excrescences, and partly to the general realization that there is much which science has not explained and perhaps never can. Within the last decade, a number of distinguished scientists, such as Sir James Jeans and A. S. Eddington, have entered the lists in defense of religion. It is likely that some of the revived interest has been a natural reaction against the widespread unrest and despair which prevailed in the post-war years. This would help to explain its appearance among the masses who have had no occasion or no opportunity to learn of the doubts of science.

C. IN QUEST OF BEAUTY AND REALITY

The process by which thought and ideas are mosaically fashioned from the total experiences of an age is admirably exemplified in the history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature and art. Each of the momentous changes of life which flowed from the acceleration of industry, the phenomenal conquests of science, and political revolutions, stamped its impression upon the forms of human expression, which had already been molded and continued to be deeply influenced by the accumulated experience of the past. No era could boast a greater variety of tributaries to the stream of culture, and by the same token, no age could lay claim to greater confusion and less uniformity. While it is possible to trace out the contributions of any one influence to a limited extent, it is really impossible to follow closely the irregular course of the main stream of thought. Therefore, any attempt to catalogue the cultural manifestations of modern times must be more arbitrary than accurate. Broadly speaking, it may be said that there have appeared three fairly distinct movements, usually designated as Romanticism, Realism, and Naturalism. These cannot be neatly separated, although in a general way they seem to represent

a steady progression from metaphysical abstraction to scientific realism, and from profound self-confidence to equally profound disillusionment.

The Romantic movement which dominated literature and art during the first half of the nineteenth century was, in its beginning, primarily a reaction against eighteenth-century rationalism. Intellectuals of the Enlightenment had assumed that man was primarily a rational being, anxious to establish a perfect order by effacing his past and building anew from reason. Ignoring the vagaries of the human mind and the powerful force of human emotions, they erroneously believed that society, like nature, might be made to respond to mathematical law. To a considerable extent these ideas became embodied in the ideology of the French Revolution, whose failings, in consequence, came to be identified with the weaknesses of the Enlightenment. All that many saw in the Revolution was indiscriminate blood-letting which disturbed peace and security by embroiling the whole of Europe in war for a quarter of a century. It was out of this sense of defeat and disillusionment that Romanticism drew its strength.

The metaphysical groundwork of Romanticism was prepared by Jean Jacques Rousseau and the structure was completed by the German "idealists" Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831). Protesting against the rationalism of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, Rousseau asserted the freedom of the individual will and extolled the "natural man," who, breaking from confining conventions, allows his passions and emotions to assert themselves. His famous novel, *Emile* (1762), written in this vein, exerted a powerful influence and marked the beginning of the Romantic attempt to emphasize emotion and sentiment rather than reason. Kant incorporated much of Rousseau's thought, and made it the basis for his moral philosophy, which in turn, constituted the spring from which most romanticists drew their metaphysical inspiration. While agreeing that science reveals everything, including the individual, as objective reality, Kant emphasized the independent reality of "self." This "self," responsible for its own actions, possesses also a creative faculty by which it constructs the world of objective reality around ends and purposes. The world thus was to Kant, still somewhat uncertainly, the creation of the individual.

In the hands of Fichte, Kant's concept of the individual took on a richer and fuller meaning. Fichte regarded the world of movement and sensation as real only to the extent to which the individual self

constructs and organizes it for his own actions. In the broadest sense, Fichte conceived the physical world as the construction of *Absolute Self*, of which each individual was simply a part, a finite manifestation. The only real world, then, is the one created by the activity of the individual. Hegel subscribed generally to the thought of Fichte, whom he succeeded at the University of Berlin, but devoted his attention to resolving the apparent conflict between material reality and the reality manifested in self. He perceived the world of experience as one of contradictions and conflicts, out of which self reconstructs a new synthesis, through a process of dialectics. In one sense, this was merely a way of describing the evolutionary growth of human ideas. What Hegel, as well as Fichte and Kant, sought to do, was to raise up the individual as independent reality, not only beyond the scope of natural laws, but actually the creator of them. This was a complete reversal of the emphasis of the rationalists and fitted in with the general searching for an escape from the Revolutionary period.

Despite the seeming paradox, Romanticist philosophy was the philosophy of political reaction rather than of personal freedom. This was especially true of the German "idealist" school, which tended to identify the absolute state with the absolute self. Hegel, particularly, extolled tradition and espoused Prussian absolutism. In a measure, this was true of all romanticists who were drawn, by their aversion to revolutionary rationalism, to the past which they endowed with unmerited perfection. However, Romanticism was never consistent, and sometimes championed liberty and democracy. Everywhere it was the exponent of nationalism, and of national independence.

The literary aspect of Romanticism, despite national and local variations, was characterized chiefly by love of fields and country, revolt against conventional ethics, emotional sentimentality, deep interest in history, and widespread opposition to classicism, both in theme and style. Every student can call to mind evidence of this from his studies of the great English romantic poets, particularly Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Browning, and Tennyson. In the field of the novel, Sir Walter Scott emphasized in romantic vein the virtue and glamor of medieval life, while his perhaps more famous successors, Thackeray and Dickens, wrote sentimentally, or critically, of contemporary social problems. Though generally less well known to American students, poetry, drama, and the novel in continental Europe took on much the same appearance. Probably the greatest

masterpiece of romantic literature as well as the greatest drama in the German language, was *Faust*, completed by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) shortly before his death. In like manner Johann Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) compiled a variety of romantic historical dramas, of which his *Wilhelm Tell* is probably the best known, while Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) stirred the patriotic fervor of his countrymen, and Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) and Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862) composed charming, witty, and satirical studies of their folkways.

After England and Germany, Russia produced the richest romantic literature of the era. Introduced by the dominating figure of her literary history, Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837), whose poetry and drama (especially *Boris Godunov*) sang the glories of Russia, Romanticism flourished in the works of Nikolai Gogol (1809-1852), Ivan Turgenev (1818-1883), and Fedor Dostoevski (1821-1881) whose keen interest in the Russian masses was reflected in their masterpieces, *Dead Souls*, *Fathers and Children*, and *Crime and Punishment*. In the Latin Countries, eighteenth-century classical influences long persisted, and not until the nineteenth century was well advanced did romantic tendencies predominate. The French school, by far the most important, ranged the whole field of romantic interests. Victor Hugo (1802-1885) was, in a sense, the Walter Scott of France, whose fame derived more from his historical romances than from the drama, in which he aimed to excel. *Les Misérables* is perhaps his best-known work. Alexandre Dumas, *fils* (1802-1870), even more prolific than Hugo, is renowned chiefly for *The Three Musketeers*. The Charles Dickens of France was Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) who devoted his extraordinary genius to exposing and satirizing the vices and weaknesses of the bourgeoisie in his extensive *Human Comedy*.

Spanish literature was largely barren during this period, but in Italy romanticism developed into a strong literature, heavily tinged with popular aspirations for national unity. The leading figures were Giacomo Leopardi (1798-1837) in poetry, and Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873) in prose. The latter's *I Promessi Sposi* (*The Betrothed*) is, indeed, one of the best romantic novels of the era.

Among the fine arts, painting was the most completely romantic. In many quarters the vogue of classicism continued, but the major tendencies were revolutionary. Greater emphasis was placed upon landscapes and nature painting, in which two Englishmen, John Constable (1776-1837) and Joseph Turner (1775-1851), set the pace.

After these, probably the most important landscape artist was Jean Baptiste Corot (1796-1875) who inspired a school of landscape painting, known as the Barbizon School.¹ Besides the sentimental return to nature which these reflected, there was likewise a notable increase in historical paintings, inspired by the revived interest in the past, and by the rapid development of nationalism. Scarcely a public building in western Europe can claim to have escaped at least one canvas vaunting the "national spirit." The best-known painter to devote his energies to such subjects was the Frenchman, Meissonier (1815-1891). One of the most interesting manifestations of revolutionary tendencies in romantic painting was the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood of England. Composed of four artists (Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Burne-Jones, William Holman Hunt, and William Morris), who protested against the ugliness of their age, this group endeavored to escape stilted classical forms by turning to the early Italian renaissance artists for guidance. Their inspiration, like their technique, was largely medieval.

The Pre-Raphaelites reflected in painting the direction of most of the newer developments of architecture. Before 1830, the predominant influence was classical, but this gradually gave way before a revived interest in the Gothic. The "Gothic revival" in architecture was due in part to the work of Augustus Pugin (1812-1852) of England, but even more to the impassioned defense of the Gothic by John Ruskin (1819-1900), the dominating and domineering English critic of art. Most popular in England, where it is well exemplified in the national courts of London, it had its ardent exponents also in the remainder of Europe. The Sainte Clothilde of Paris and the Votivkirche of Vienna are splendid examples. For the most part, however, extreme Gothic was avoided but adaptations of it were used to modify the classical. This produced a form roughly comparable to that of the very early Italian renaissance, which has been given the name of eclectic classical.

Sculpture, more romanticist than architecture, was very popular, due to a combination of circumstances, among which the most important were nationalism, which inspired the creation of a vast number of memorials in stone, and industrial prosperity, which enabled the *nouveaux riches* to patronize this as well as the other fine arts. Geniuses, however, were few among the sculptors.

Music was the most thoroughly romantic of all the arts, and for the first half of the nineteenth century attained a richness and gran-

¹ So called from the town of Barbizon on the edge of the Fontainebleau wood.

deur it had never before enjoyed. A variety of new instruments and the perfection of many others contributed greatly to this end, as did also the increasing number of music's patrons. In the field of symphonic music, the quantity of genius which appeared is almost staggering.¹ For piano music alone, Franz Liszt (1811-1886) and Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849) were the dominating figures. The newest and most characteristic musical development of the era was the opera, in which the two leading personalities were Richard Wagner (1813-1883) of Germany and Giuseppe Verdi (1818-1901) of Italy. The opera in particular became the medium for the expression of nationalism and emotion, as manifested in Wagner's *Ring*² and Verdi's *Rigoletto* and *Trovatore*, although symphonic music reflected the same tendencies.

Romanticism dominated literature and the arts for more than the first half of the nineteenth century and, in many quarters, continued to flourish well beyond that time. Gradually, however, it was overshadowed by a newer movement, known as Realism, which derived its inspiration chiefly from the popularization of science, materialist philosophy, and the growing social consciousness of the industrial age. Like Romanticism, Realism ranged the whole field of human interests and manifested itself in an infinite variety of ways. In general, however, all Realists sought escape from sentimentalism. They analyzed the passions and psychoanalyzed man; they showed a deep concern for problems of the family and the factory; and, like the scientists, they were painstakingly careful of detail, both in form and expression.

Realist literature flowered first in France among a group of distinguished novelists, beginning with Gustav Flaubert's (1821-1880) *Madame Bovary*, a candid study of marital infidelity which shocked the smug bourgeoisie of the sixties. In much the same manner Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893) wrote his penetrating, analytical short stories which won him wide renown. Émile Zola (1840-1902), a prolific if less talented realist, devoted himself chiefly to the cause of social reform which he furthered considerably. The greatest of all realists was Jacques Thibault (1844-1924), better known as Anatole

¹ The following were the leading composers of orchestral music: Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827), Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809-1847), Robert Schumann (1810-1856), Franz Schubert (1797-1828), Johannes Brahms (1833-1897), Charles Saint-Saëns (1835-1921), Jules Massenet (1842-1912), Alexander Borodin (1834-1887), M. P. Moussorgsky (1839-1881), Peter Ilitch Tchaikovsky (1840-1893), and Nicolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908).

² The *Ring* cycle, drawn from the legend of the Nibelungen, is composed of four operas: *Rheingold*, the *Valkyrie*, *Siegfried*, and the *Twilight of the Gods*.

France. Witty, satiric, skeptic, Anatole France took pleasure in pitilessly exposing the fundamental weaknesses of human nature. Since Voltaire, whom he much resembled, no one so completely dominated the world of literature.

Much like Anatole France, with the same iconoclasm but with less subtlety, was Samuel Butler (1835-1902) of England. His opposition to Christian doctrine, his pessimism, and his revolt against what he construed to be the emptiness of his age, found best expression in his autobiographical *The Way of All Flesh*. Among the English novelists contemporary with Butler, two of the most famous Realists were George Meredith (1829-1909) and Thomas Hardy (1840-1928). The former was chiefly renowned for his psychological analyses of character, as in *Diana of the Crossways*; while the latter pursued the fatal working out of the struggle for existence, as in his *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. Even more "scientific" were the early romances of Herbert George (H. G.) Wells (1866-), scientist turned novelist. George Bernard Shaw (1856-) in the field of the drama was the British social realist who, in many of his early plays, dealt with all types of social problems in entertaining, ironical fashion.

In northern Europe, the most distinguished realist was Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), Norwegian by birth but German by choice. His world-famous dramas, such as *An Enemy of the People*, were merciless denunciations of social evils. German literature was deeply influenced by Ibsen's example but, except for Gerhart Hauptmann (1862-), few writers attained international distinction. Among the Russians, Count Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) was the towering genius, although in later life his work merged with developing tendencies toward anarchism and mysticism. Anton Chekhov (1860-1904) and Maxim Gorky (1868-1936) were more definitely Realist, the former manifesting a keen interest in psychological analysis, and the latter depicting peasant life and espousing revolutionary social reforms. The greatest Italian Realist was the playwright, Luigi Pirandello (1867-1936), a profound pessimist who had faith in nothing except individual personality.

Coexisting with scientific and social Realism were a variety of other literary "schools" compounded of Romanticism and Realism, and demonstrating the many diverse tendencies of modern thought. Especially noteworthy among these were the mystics who, in style or in theme, sought to give expression to the mysterious and unusual. Sometimes philosophical, in search of ultimate realities, as in Tolstoy's

Resurrection; sometimes fantastic, with excursions into the dream world of spirit, as in the plays of Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-); Mysticism also was purely stylistic, seeking emotional effect by word painting and by the use of the esoteric. In its latter form this movement has been known as Impressionism and Symbolism, and is best exemplified by Oscar Wilde (1856-1900), Walter Pater (1839-1894), and Algernon Swinburne (1837-1909) of England; and by Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898) and Paul Verlaine (1844-1896) of France. This Mysticism was occasioned by growing doubts of science and by the introduction of oriental culture.

Along with Mysticism there developed also a strong nationalistic literature, deeply permeated with the romanticist penchant for folklore and "national spirit," and, at the same time, characterized by the use of science or pseudo-science in the defense and emulation of patriotism. By far the best-known member of this school in the English-speaking world was Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936), the poet of imperialism. In France, Maurice Barrès (1862-1923), in the spirit of Nietzsche, extolled the national "will" and defended the doctrine of national self-sufficiency in his famous trilogy, *The Romance of National Energy*. Giosuè Carducci (1836-1907) and Gabriele D'Annunzio (1864-1938) were the poets of modern Italian nationalism. Both championed expansion and the annexation of the "irredentist" provinces. D'Annunzio, in particular, was devoted to the philosophy of Nietzsche, whose doctrine of the "will to power" became the theme of his many poems and plays. All literature in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was, in fact, deeply imbued with the spirit of nationalism.

Among the fine arts, music continued to follow the romantic tradition and made the least response to the major realist tendencies of the era. This is hardly to be wondered at since most of the great composers of the earlier period spanned the realist age as well, and since the impetus which they gave to musical development had not spent its force. Music continued, therefore, to be chiefly patriotic and sentimental. In some quarters, however, there were evidences of reaction against accepted forms and efforts were made to introduce the realistic or impressionistic ideals of literature. Rimsky-Korsakov experimented with newer forms of expression in his *Coq d'Or*, and Richard Strauss (1864-) of Vienna, a close student of Nietzsche, sought to portray the latter's ideas in some of his compositions. The most important innovator, however, was Claude Debussy (1862-1918), who determined to break with convention both in theme and tech-

nique. His *Pelléas et Mélisande*, based upon Maeterlinck's play of the same name, attained originality through a novel use of scales and dissonances.

As music was the least, so painting was the most, realistic of the fine arts. In its beginnings, realistic painting was essentially a technical revolt against the lingering traditions and conventionalities of both classicism and romanticism. Deeply influenced by oriental art, with its emphasis upon detail, and by the technique of Velasquez and the Dutch Renaissance artists whom they studied, the new school of painters aimed at more accurate representation of light and atmosphere. They scorned religious and allegorical subjects and turned from the studio to the world about them, aiming to depict it with photographic accuracy. Impressionism, as this is commonly called, therefore bore a close resemblance to the atomizing tendencies of both the natural and social sciences.

The foremost innovator of impressionism was Edouard Manet (1832-1883) of France. Well-educated, well-bred, and as meticulous in the routine of life as he was in painting, Manet developed a technique of conveying sharp and accurate impressions of nature. He substituted flat for sculpturally modeled forms, used few shadows, and built up his object in a mosaic pattern of tones which the spectator blended for himself. These principles became the guide for a school of Impressionists which included, among its distinguished members, Claude Monet (1840-1926) and Auguste Renoir (1841-1919) of France, and James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), an American-born artist who spent his life in England. These successors of Manet were chiefly concerned with an accurate representation of bright light, local color, and shadows, in which they perceived coloring. Using first bright pigments, and then introducing complementary colors into shadows, they eventually treated the whole subject by patches of pigment. Although meeting at first with abuse and ridicule, this technique made possible a more colorful recording of nature. It likewise offered an excuse for the primitive distortions of color and form so characteristic of the two least stable impressionists, Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) and Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890).

Building from impressionism but avoiding its extremes, Paul Cézanne (1839-1906), considered by many as the most talented artist of the nineteenth century, aimed "to make out of Impressionism something . . . solid and durable. . . ." Instead of portraying nature by patches of pure pigment which tended to destroy local color and



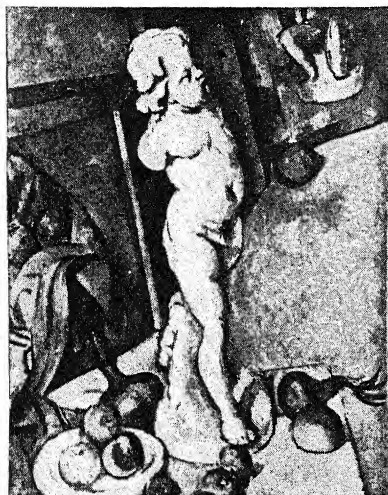
Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago
(Mr. and Mrs. M. A. Ryerson Collection)

WESTMINSTER. BY CLAUDE MONET (1840-1842).

This is an example of the impressionist painting of atmosphere. Monet is known for his pastel tones, with the broken colors giving a shimmering light to his pictures.

the structure of the object, Cézanne sought to unite form and color by meticulous blending of tones to conform with the planes of light and color into which he perceived the object was broken. Although not appreciated in his own day, it was this technique which began the vogue of "geometric" art.

One of the most unique and interesting arts of this age of realism was that of caricature, made popular by the widespread development of the public press. The first, and certainly one of the greatest caricaturists, was Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), an unhappy French artist who was not held in high regard by his contemporaries. His characterizations of royalty, the bourgeoisie, and the government were extraordinarily incisive. Among those who followed in the course he had so ably begun, the most famous were Jean Louis Forain (1852-1931) of France, and John Tenniel (1820-1914) who was affiliated with *Punch* for more than a half century.



Courtesy of the Syracuse University Library

STILL LIFE WITH PLASTER
CUPID. BY PAUL CÉZANNE
(1839-1906).

With his original genius, Cézanne strove to make each painting a living entity, whether landscape, figure, or still life. In this work the planes of light in the background screen foreground the cubist mode.

Sculpture continued to be largely patriotic and romantic, although in the late nineteenth century there was a noticeable attempt to break from tradition by returning to "primitive" form or by introducing the newer biological and psychological concepts. Probably the most influential sculptor, chiefly influenced by this latter tendency, was the Frenchman, Auguste Rodin (1840-1917). His *Thinker* and *The Man with the Broken Nose* are among the most notable examples of his romantic "realism."

Architecture was being prepared for a significant transformation. The enormous growth of industry and the increasing urbanization of life introduced architectural problems which classical and even eclectic classical techniques could not solve.

At the same time, there was made available to architects a great variety of new structural materials such as steel and concrete, which permitted and even required revolutionary treatment. It was from this combination of modern needs and new materials that "functionalism" was born. Aiming at the adaptation of the structure to its environment and use, architects experimented with materials and forms most appropriate for an industrial, urban civilization. The development of reinforced concrete was perhaps the most notable result. The classical and eclectic classical traditions, however, were too strong in Europe to allow the new mode to become immediately popular. It was in the United States that "functionalism" was first widely adopted.

It is always difficult to evaluate contemporary developments since ideal detachment is more than usually difficult to attain. Least of all, can one hope to speak with certainty of modern cultural trends, even though in certain respects these seem reasonably clear. Everywhere it is apparent that classical, romantic, and realistic influences continue, but the pervading optimism which formerly characterized most of these seems to have passed. At the same time there appears to be

under way a marked return to the mystical and the spiritual, perhaps as a reaction against pessimism. These tendencies, diverse and seemingly contradictory, are doubtless the inevitable result of the disillusioning developments of the last quarter of a century. Science, to which dogmatic realists could always appeal, became quite uncertain of itself as Einstein, Planck, and Heisenberg revealed the inadequacy of its one-time "authoritative" laws and hypotheses. The nightmare of the World War engendered universal doubt as to the rationality of men and the "progress" of mankind, and hastened a general moral decline. Even more, the nineteenth-century faith in industry's ability to relieve humanity of drudgery and poverty vanished almost completely under the pressure of universal post-war distress. If there is a common thread running through the fabric of contemporary culture, that thread is disillusionment; and close by it is a universal searching for security.

Literature and art, despite their many "isms," seem to manifest clearly these general characteristics. One school of writers, represented by D. H. Lawrence (1885-1930), James Joyce (1882-1941), and Aldous Huxley (1894-) of Great Britain, and by Marcel Proust (1871-1922), and Romain Rolland (1866-) of France, by means of Freudian psychoanalysis, has sought to emphasize the influences of sex and animal passions. Outside the novel this method became popular with such literary biographers as Emil Ludwig and André Maurois. Whether purely analytical or designed to appeal to sublimated desires, this type of literature has been dominated by a fatalistic and altogether pessimistic tone. Scarcely less so are the works of those whose interests lie chiefly in the study of social phenomena. The more recent contributions of George Bernard Shaw (1856-) have manifested a feeling of helplessness in the face of seemingly insurmountable social obstacles, and even H. G. Wells, at least in his *Outline of History*, has turned pessimistic. John Galsworthy (1867-1933) in his *Forsyte Saga*, and Thomas Mann (1875-) in his *Buddenbrooks* depicted the decline of the bourgeoisie and, not without foreboding, envisioned the rise of the mediocre masses. Mysticism in literature has also continued to grow, accompanied by a variety of "fads" of which the most notorious is the attempt to achieve rhythmical and emotional effect by meaningless combinations of words and sounds. More significant has been the revival of literature with a deep religious tinge, mostly, but not wholly, Catholic. Chief among its exponents have been Hilaire Belloc



Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art

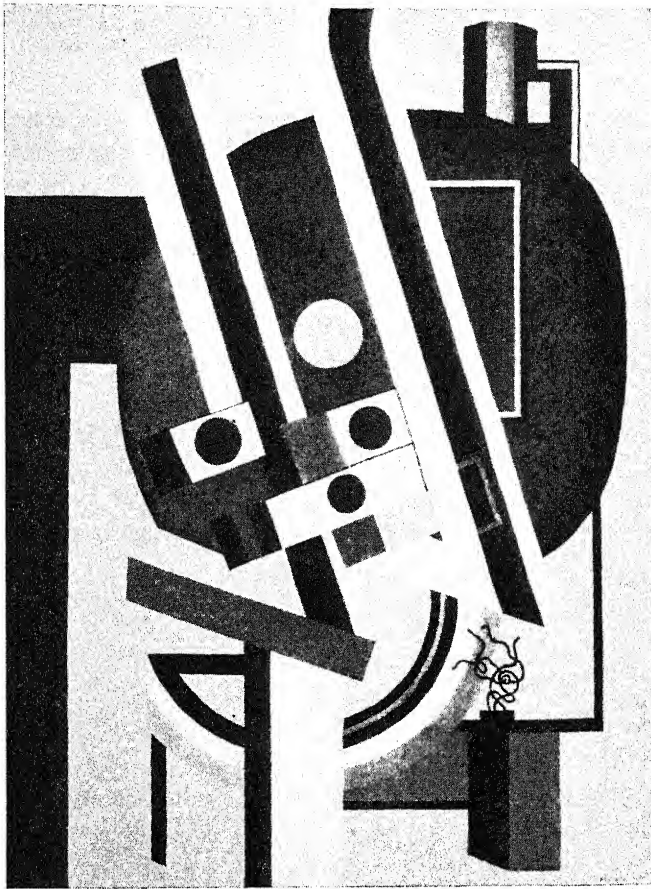
KNEELING FIGURE. BY WILHELM LEHMBRUCK (1881-1919).

The dignity and grace of this attenuated figure make it one of the finest pieces of sculpture of our times.

two categories: classical and modern. The former, appealing to more conservative tastes, continues to be inspired by the romanticism of a century ago; the latter, impetuous and oftentimes primitive, is attuned to the speed of mechanized contemporary life. Among the most famous modern composers of symphonic music is the Russian, Igor Stravinsky (1882-). Painting has been characterized by even more revolutionary tendencies. Henri Matisse (1869-) and Pablo Picasso (1881-) of France, proceeding with techniques introduced by the Impressionists and especially by Cézanne, have inspired a number of artistic "isms," of which the best known are Cubism, Futurism, and Surrealism. The first emphasizes geometric structure and form and is largely a study in method; Futurism seeks escape from all convention and emphasizes motion; Surrealism, equally unconventional, attempts to depict the dreams of the subconscious mind. All of them represent singular efforts to portray both the concrete and the abstract. So also with contemporary sculpture, in which the

(1870-) and Gilbert Chesterton (1874-1936) of England, Giovanni Papini (1881-) of Italy and Sigrid Undset (1882-) of Norway. Along with these varied literary movements, there has developed also a literature designed simply to please and to entertain. Sir James M. Barrie's plays, Hugh Walpole's and Joseph Conrad's novels, and Edmond Rostand's dramatic fantasies in verse, might properly be included within this category. John Masefield, the contemporary poet laureate of England, and a number of other litterateurs have for the most part continued the traditions of earlier realism.

In the fine arts there has appeared the same diversity. Music is now commonly divided into



Courtesy of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Collection

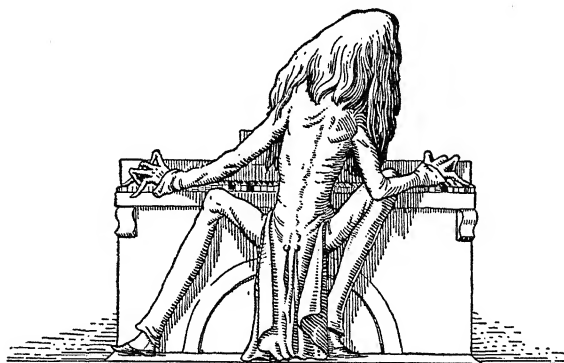
COMPOSITION BY FERNAND LÉGER (1881-)

In this oil painting the French Expressionist-Cubist uses his abstract conception of a mechanical element to interpret the force and speed of the modern world.

most distinctive achievements have been the development of new techniques to attain greater abstraction. Among the greatest, and certainly the most prolific of the contemporary sculptors, is Jacob Epstein, an English artist of American-Jewish extraction. His unique treatment of bronze and his distinct creative faculties have won him wide distinction. Following the World War, functionalism in architecture attained an extensive popularity, particularly in Germany, Austria, and Russia, where socialist governments tried to solve difficult housing problems by constructing numerous community apartments in the new mode. The German, Erich Mendelssohn (1887-

), is the best-known contemporary exponent of functional architecture in Europe.

The preoccupation with the mystical and the abstract which characterizes much of contemporary literature and art would appear to represent one of the distinguishing features of modern culture. Idealist philosophy stemming from the German romantics has acquired popularity once more, while materialism has suffered a marked decline. Benedetto Croce (1866-), the distinguished Italian idealist, has forcefully reasserted the influence of "spiritual" forces in life and, since the beginning of the twentieth century, has affected thought profoundly. While springing from evolutionary biology, the philosophy of Henri Bergson (1859-1941) has become equally abstract through its emphasis upon instinct and intuition. A number of distinguished scientists, as has already been remarked, have turned to spiritual explanations of the vital, yet scientifically inexplicable forces of life. Prominent thinkers give evidence of increasing mysticism and acceptance of psychic phenomena.



From "Europe Since Napoleon" by Palm and Graham,
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FRANZ LISZT

Franz Liszt (1811-1886), Hungarian piano-virtuoso, conductor, composer, and critic, was an exponent of romanticism in music. One of the first to champion program music and to use the *leitmotif*, or recurrent musical theme, in symphonies, Liszt's compositions were melodious if rather showy and their appeal was emotional and direct. This caricature is from a contemporary print.

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"The Lesser Breeds Without the Law"

A. "THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN"

No other phase of European development has been as vital to the world as the expansions of European power and culture. The world we know is largely a product of those expansions. Our own culture is rooted and grounded in the European. So also, in varying degrees, are the cultures of Central and South America, Africa, Australasia, and Asia. New needs and circumstances have of course led us to diverge materially from the ways of Europe, but the fact remains that the history of Europe is the story of our ancestors, near or remote as the case may be. The statement is true also for the Canadian, the Brazilian, the South African, and the Australian among others.

The expansion of European peoples and the spread of their political power, their customs, their culture, and their ideals is an oft-repeated movement. Much of our story thus far has dealt with this phase of human growth and change. There have been, of course, climactic periods when the movement was unusually intense and vigorous. The Crusades which carried Christian culture into the regions of the Baltic, the Iberian Peninsula, and the eastern Mediterranean are cases in point. In modern times there have been three such periods of unusual activity, not of course separate and existing in a sort of vacuum but bound together by times of less vigorous expansion. The first overseas expansion began in the late fifteenth century. This was the period of the first great colonial empires when Portugal and Spain, then the Netherlands, France, and England won and lost immense transoceanic holdings.¹ Only the Dutch and the English still retain any large part of those first empires. The revolutions, political, economic, and intellectual, checked this stage and though some acqui-

¹ See Chapter XVIII, part C.

tions were made¹ there was no further intense activity until about 1870. At that time there began a very strong movement which is known as imperialism with which this chapter will largely deal. Temporary satiation, the World War and its subsequent problems caused a short lull in expansion, but the last decade has seen a revival. Contemporary imperialism has included both overseas expansion such as that of Japan into China and Italy into Ethiopia and Albania, and expansion into contiguous territories like that of Germany into Austria and Czechoslovakia, or Russia into Outer Mongolia.

The term "imperialism," unknown before 1870 and little used until 1900, is today of ill-repute. Scholars dislike it because it has been too carelessly used; liberals are offended by its implications and by its association with war and totalitarianism. But it is a useful word, when properly understood, and it covers the fact that roughly half the world is subordinated to the other half. As used in this text, it means the attempts, successful or not, of materially progressive nations to attain political or economic supremacy, or both, over less advanced regions and peoples for the purposes of exploitation. That definition alone, however, needs to be clarified by the suggestion of some of the concrete meanings of imperialism.

To the conquered peoples, imperialism has meant many losses and some gains. Political freedom has been wholly or partly taken from them, and they have been subordinated to alien rule. Their economic independence has been lost also, and they have been forced to produce goods needed by an industrialized world. Their natural resources have been depleted and their labor has almost always been exploited, sometimes literally enslaved. Indigenous customs and culture have been submerged by European substitutes. Native religions have been forced to bow to Christianity and native codes of ethics have been supplanted by those of the white conquerors. Sometimes this has been beneficial but more often it has left the conquered peoples with no real code, native or alien, and it must be remembered that the natives have also learned such things as the hypocrisy of white diplomacy. Native arts and handicrafts have given way to machine-made goods imported from the conquering whites. White vices and diseases have also been imposed upon the conquered peoples to their permanent injury. But undoubtedly, the conquerors have raised the material standards of the peoples; taught them something of sanitation and hygiene; given them a trifle of education, which

¹ For example, Britain acquired South Africa and greatly expanded her possessions in India, and France annexed Algeria.

must often have rendered them unfit to live in native society; and brought them new goods and new services.

To the conquering peoples, imperialism has meant an increased prestige of empire and stirring but empty national glory. It has provided a larger quantity and a wider range of raw materials and an almost infinitesimal increase in markets for goods and capital to the notable benefit of a very few and to the cost of the rest. It has resulted in international ill-will; in an increase of militarism, navalism, and armaments; in accelerated nationalisms and jealous fears. It has been one of the causes of war. Navalism and militarism, wars of conquest, and protective occupations have been exceedingly expensive so that imperialism has meant huge increases in taxation and government borrowing. This, in turn, has limited the amounts to be spent on domestic social improvements such as public health and education. The growth of empires has vastly increased vulnerability and added to the far-flung responsibilities of the expanding nation. Imperialism, in short, has profited the few at the expense of the many.

Why, then, has it happened? What have been its motives? It is difficult to give a definitive answer. Imperialistic groups have customarily shrouded their real motives in veils of plausible excuses, and more confusing still, imperialism and emotionalism are twins. No force which operates mainly upon the emotions is wholly susceptible of rational explanation. One thing alone is sure: no one cause can explain a movement so complex. Motives have shifted with passing time, changing circumstances, and varying personalities.

The most frequently assigned motives are those dealing with the economic needs and aspirations of nations and groups. The popularity of this explanation is due partly to the influence of communist thinkers, who call imperialism the dying stage of finance capitalism, and partly to the fact that some economic motive or excuse is always discoverable. The vastly increased production brought by the Industrial Revolution resulted in an increasing demand first for raw materials with which to make goods, and then for a market in which to dispose of those goods. Coal, oil, rubber, iron, copper, manganese, tin, and many other minerals were constantly needed to supply the huge new factories. Mutual greeds and suspicions made many people feel that the only way to be sure of an adequate supply of these necessities was to own or control their sources. As nation after nation became industrialized, the competition for markets became feverish. The populations of Africa, and more especially of Asia, seemed the best possible answer to this need. Here again, many men accepted

the belief that trade follows the flag, and hastened to raise their national flag over as many "backward" peoples as possible. To a very limited extent their hopes were fulfilled, but the gains to the few were hardly worth what it cost the majority.

The population of Europe continued to grow rapidly, and the rising standard of living plus faulty distribution of purchasing power made it appear that Europe was overcrowded. New colonial possessions seemed to be the solution to this also, and many nations claimed that they were seeking an outlet for the pressure of the greater numbers. The new holdings did appeal to some among their citizenry, but, unhappily for the proponents of this means of relief, much of the land opened up was unfit for white habitation. Moreover, the older settled lands in North and South America proved more attractive to migrants than did even the best of colonies. Sometimes a sincere motive, the argument that new colonies were for the relief of overcrowding, was more often a cloak for some other aim.¹

The Industrial Revolution also increased surplus capital in the various states, and, like trade goods, this wealth sought a market. The less advanced regions of the world offered an inviting opportunity for speculation. The building of railways and the exploitation of natural resources called for large sums of money which industrialized nations were eager to provide at a profit. Besides, many native potentates rapidly developed a lust for costly European luxuries. Since their incomes usually were too small to support such extravagances, they often mortgaged parts of their possessions to provide the wherewithal. Law and order, including the recognition and fulfillment of contractual obligations, were rarely a virtue of these "backward" regions so the governments of the creditors early developed the technique of armed intervention to protect the interests of their nationals. Because it has proved much easier to invade a debtor nation than to retreat from it, this practice has frequently led to permanent occupation and annexation.

The tremendous force of nationalism has often been one of the most powerful motives of imperialism. Because it can and has assumed so many and so various forms, this is a difficult motive to describe. It has masqueraded as love of country, jingoism, the "will-to-power," a superiority complex, and so on. Careful analysis, however, shows these to be merely different aspects of the one great force.

Patriotism, or love of country, may assume various forms, and

¹ Its most recent exponent is Hitler who demands more "room to live" (*Lebensraum*) for his people.

one of its manifestations is a greed for size. To extend the boundaries of one's native land, to bring thousands of acres and many peoples beneath one's national flag, has been the end and aim of some men. In a sense, this is a prestige motive, i.e., these men are moved by a belief that the biggest nation is perforce the best, and so, of course, they want theirs to be biggest. Sometimes the desire to rule over more peoples has had a very practical application. France has more than once expanded in order to increase her actual or potential man power.

Patriotism and national pride when carried to an extreme become "jingoism," a boastful aggressiveness. A people under the spell of this malevolent force have sometimes seized lands for which they had no use, simply to forestall their neighbors. Or, again, they have seized lands simply because their neighbors have done so and they feel under the necessity of keeping pace. The close relation between the jingoism motive and the prestige drive is obvious.

Some philosophers, notably the Germans, Nietzsche and von Treitschke, have sought to explain imperialism on the ground that nations and men are driven by a greed for power. This will-to-power, which they hold to be inherent in human nature, is expressed by dominating other peoples. A mechanistic, even fatalistic explanation, this tries to make of imperialism an inevitable expression of a basic human appetite. Other apologists for imperialism have also adhered to the theory of inevitability by speaking of the "expansionist urge of a mature state." This theory would likewise seek to make imperialism the work of an impersonal force.

One of the major motives which has carried white men to conquest has been their belief in their marked superiority. Perhaps a superiority complex is necessary for the continued existence of a nation; certainly it is found among all peoples. Sometimes it has given rise to the bald claim to supremacy as a fitting tribute to the superiority of the whites. More often, a sense of responsibility has been added, namely, that it was the duty of the superior whites to spread the blessings of their civilization. In one sense, it is really an expression of a belief in a biological superiority, and is, therefore, an offshoot of the theory of natural evolution. No one nation has had a monopoly upon this complex. Germany developed the Nordic and later the Aryan myths to support her claim that these "races" were destined by natural talents to be the rulers of the world. Public men in the United States have from time to time spoken grandiloquently of the "manifest destiny" which led us to conquer Indians and Spaniards, and appropriate their lands. Other imperialistic nations have also

known the feeling well, none more so than the British who had Rudyard Kipling, poet-herald of empire, to hymn it for them. It is a phrase from his famous "Recessional" (1897) which has given this chapter its title.

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose wild tongues that have not
Thee in awe,
Such boastings as the Gentiles use, or lesser breeds without the Law—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

To Kipling, also, imperialists owe another much-used expression which has well accorded both with the feeling of superiority and with its concomitant, the missionary urge.

Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need,
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.¹

The cynical disillusionment of the post-war years has made this phrase seem an empty boast and a supercilious mockery, but it was not that to those hundreds of men and women who fearlessly, devotedly, and selflessly gave of themselves to share what they held to be the truth. The sincere and honest desire to proselyte and to spread the Christian religion and western culture has been one of the consistently powerful driving forces in the expansion of Europe.

These various motives and excuses explain the actions of the empire-builders, those men who for personal or national profit and glory led their peoples along the pathways of conquest. But what of the average man? Why did he acquiesce in and frequently encourage a movement which cost him dear and returned him little? Why did he pay gladly with his sweat and blood for an empire in which his share was infinitesimal? Propaganda by interested groups is part of the answer. The man in the street was misled sometimes by deliberate intent, more often by the ignorant sincerity of his leaders who actually knew little more of the costs of imperialism than he did himself. Honor, glory, profit, and prestige were the dust thrown to blind his eyes. He reveled vicariously in the pomp and circumstance of empire,

¹ "The White Man's Burden," written in 1899.

and it gave him a badly needed chance to expand his little ego by feeling that he was a part of a great and powerful nation. True, some classes of labor shared slightly in the economic gains, but the most compelling reasons were those of emotion and sentiment.

B. EUROPE CREATES A YELLOW PERIL ¹

There existed in the Far East two nations, China and Japan, who were almost unaware of European power and pretensions until well into the nineteenth century. Although both had some slight trade relations with the West, both remained secluded, mysterious, and closed to all foreigners. Content as they were, they knew nothing of European civilization and cared less. It was European greed and ambitions which brought them into the orbit of western Powers, and if they eventually surpass their despoilers, as some expect them to, the West will have only itself to blame.

China was a vast empire claiming control of an area some three thousand miles long and three thousand miles wide. Her people were numbered in the hundreds of millions, and her potential resources were huge. So ancient was her culture, that, despite her ancestor worship, its very origins were forgotten. Head of the state was the emperor, the "Son of Heaven," and assisting him were numerous civil servants who won their places by passing examinations in the ancient classics of China. Self-sufficient, smugly complacent, China's contact with Europe was confined to supercilious, but profitable, relations with a few traders at the Portuguese factory of Macao, established in 1557, and at the port of Canton. Only one western power, Russia, had treaty relations with China. In their ignorance of the changing world, the Chinese regarded all foreigners as barbarians bearing tribute to the "Son of Heaven." They had not the slightest comprehension of either the culture or the might of the West.

Early Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch traders and missionaries had timorously approached the islands of Japan in the sixteenth century, and had found the Japanese people friendly and courteous. Cut-throat competition, both in trade and in religion, so disgusted the Japanese that they expelled all foreigners in 1638, and hermetically sealed themselves against western peoples and influences. Only the Dutch were allowed to trade there, and they were permitted to send only one ship each year. Shipwrecked whalers and other unfortunate

¹ The epithet, "The Yellow Peril," was popularized by Kaiser Wilhelm II.

mariners who landed upon Japanese shores were either coldly repulsed or promptly imprisoned.

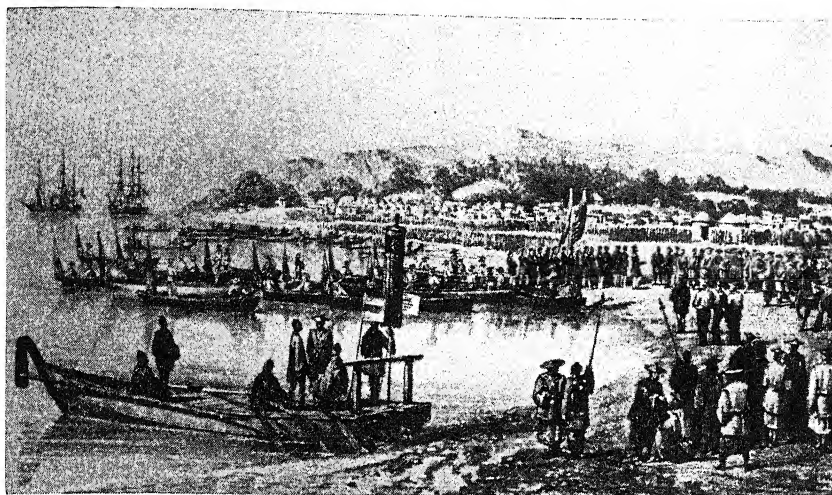
The Japanese emperor, the *Mikado*, regarded as too sacred to profane himself with secular affairs, was hardly more than a worshipfully tended symbol. The actual ruler was the prime minister, or *shogun*. He was supported by the powerful and dominant warrior class (the *samurai*) who headed a rigid feudal caste system. The bulk of the population eked out a meager existence by intensive cultivation of the land. Japan was small and her resources scanty, but her population was eagerly and fanatically patriotic.

China's introduction to the dynamic civilization of the Occident came when she tried to shut off the trade in opium. British traders regarded this humanitarian action as an unwarranted violation of their rights, and the final, intolerable straw of Chinese interference with their business. The British government backed them up, and high-handed action by both parties led to the Opium War (1840-1842). The ancient classical culture of China was no match for the new industrial civilization of Britain. The Treaty of Nanking, which ended the war, gave Britain the island of Hong Kong, extracted an indemnity from China, and opened four new ports to European traders. China was made to promise that all European nations would be given equal trading rights, a principle later known as the "Open Door," and she further agreed to the establishment of a uniform tariff rate. This treaty was supplemented in the following year by a very important agreement which has become known as the "most favored nation clause." By it, China promised to extend to Great Britain any and all further trading concessions which might in the future be granted to other nations. This provision was later incorporated in most of the treaties signed by the western powers with both Japan and China. The United States and France quickly took advantage of these violations of Chinese sovereignty and exacted trade treaties. The American treaty, negotiated in 1843 by Caleb Cushing, contained the stipulation, known as the right of extraterritoriality, that American offenders in China should be tried not by Chinese officials and Chinese law but by American consuls and American law. This principle, which had long been practiced in the Levant, was necessitated by the vast difference between eastern and western legal concepts. Other nations soon extracted similar concessions from China.

China was not yet convinced by the superior military prowess of the "barbarians" and refused to abide by her treaties. It is only fair

to add that even if she had scrupulously executed her promises, it is highly probable that the western nations, by making new and more extensive demands, would have forced her to resist. The inevitable result of the Chinese action was a second war (1857-1860) in which France joined Great Britain against China. When China failed to observe the Treaty of Tientsin (1858), which opened the interior of the country to traders and missionaries, the allies invaded her and captured the imperial city of Peking. Beaten, but not humbled or even aware of her weakness, China signed the Treaty of Peking (1860) which ratified the previous treaty, reduced the tariff, guaranteed the toleration of Christianity, and permitted foreign ambassadors to reside in Peking. Great Britain, France, and the United States were the beneficiaries of these grants. Russia, meanwhile, had been pursuing her separate aim of acquiring an ice-free port on the Pacific. Under the skillful and aggressive guidance of Count Muraviev-Amurski, she forced China in 1858 and 1860 to cede to her the territory north and east of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers. On the shores of a magnificent bay, Amurski founded a city, destined to become Russia's stronghold in the Far East. Significantly enough, the name he gave it was Vladivostok, meaning "Rule of the East."

The introduction of Japan to the ways of the West was effected by the United States. Increasing American commerce on the Pacific, plus the growing use of steam vessels, made it imperative for the United States to acquire coaling stations and supply ports in Far Eastern waters. Conscious of her increasing strength, the United States determined to force the opening of Japanese ports to American vessels. In 1853, Commodore Matthew C. Perry was sent with a small fleet to make a treaty with Japan. His instructions directed him to be courteous but firm, and authorized him to threaten the use of force if necessary. With four ships, he sailed into the inshore waters of Japan in July of 1853, and by combining skillful diplomacy with a judicious display of force succeeded in making preliminary arrangements. Six months later, he returned with an augmented force, and crowded the reluctant Japanese into signing a treaty. This treaty was only an unsatisfactory beginning, however. A much more significant one was negotiated in 1858 by the first American consul-general to Japan, Townsend Harris. The Harris treaty opened additional ports to trade, granted religious toleration to Americans, permitted the residence of an American diplomatic agent at the capital, and included both the most favored nation and the extraterritoriality



PERRY'S FIRST LANDING AT GORAHAMA, JAPAN

Commodore Perry's name is closely associated with the opening up of Japan to the western world. The illustration above, from an old print, depicts the landing at Gorahama on the first (1853) of his two visits. American ships may be seen anchored in the background, while in the middleground Americans are going ashore.

clauses. The European nations followed the lead of Perry and Harris almost immediately.

The entrance of the Occidental Powers coincided with a period of crisis in the internal affairs of Japan, which was made more bitter by the new problem of whether or not Japan should be reformed on the western model. After a struggle, the reform party won, and a veritable revolution ensued. The *shōgun* abdicated his power, and the *Mikado* reassumed imperial authority. The warrior class (*samurai*), some voluntarily and some under pressure, surrendered their privileges, and Japan, divesting herself of feudalism, embarked upon an astonishing process of westernization. Only the devotion of the Japanese people to their ruler made possible the almost miraculously rapid adoption of western, industrial civilization. The telegraph, the telephone, and the radio replaced older ways of communication. Railroads, steamships, automobiles, and airplanes speeded up transportation. Compulsory elementary education was introduced, and secondary schools and universities were soon developed. The army and navy were modernized with the aid of western teachers, and a constitution, modeled upon that of Prussia, was established. In the space of two generations, Japan transformed herself from a tiny hermit nation into an industrialized world power. Unhappily, she

adopted and adapted the Occidental vices as rapidly as the virtues, and has become one of the most vigorously aggressive, imperialistic nations of the world.

The two score of years following the opening of China and Japan witnessed further lessons administered to these two peoples by an aggressive West. In China, the slow disintegration of the authority of the Manchu emperors was hastened by numerous insurrections, and the Occidental powers took advantage of this inherent weakness to rearrange China more to their liking. The impotent Chinese, whose only really strong ruler was the able but ignorant Dowager Empress, were forced to establish a board of foreign affairs (the *Tsungli-Yamen*) and to receive foreign diplomats on terms of equality. Christian missionaries, both religious and medical, hastened to spread their own peculiar ideas and customs among the not overly eager Chinese. New trade concessions were demanded and granted, and contacts between the East and West increased although the Chinese people as a whole remained either hostile or indifferent to the newer civilization. In the north, Russia annexed a large portion of the Kuldja region, and in the south, France seized Cochin China, Annam, and Tongking. Great Britain, moved largely by a desire to forestall France and protect India, deprived China of Burma. Nevertheless, the great majority of the Chinese pursued their obscurantist ways with passive serenity.

Japan, a much more ready pupil, vigorously embraced the forces of nationalism and imperialism. As early as 1871, she intimated to the foreign nations that the time had come to abolish extraterritoriality and foreign control of her tariffs. Twenty years of agitation, plus her need for an ally against Russia, convinced Great Britain of the truth of this contention and arrangements were made which led to the granting of the Japanese demands by 1900. The other western Powers promptly accorded Japan the same recognition. Japanese imperialism, rooted in her need for natural resources and more land, was driven on both by her desire to be recognized as a great power and by her well-founded fear of Russia. Chinese weakness invited her no less than it did the western Powers, and war between the two eastern empires grew more likely with each passing year. Crux of the situation was the little kingdom of Korea, over which China claimed suzerainty. The covetous glances which Russia cast at Korea made Japan feel it a necessity of self-preservation that she control it. A rebellion there in 1894 led to a clash when both China and Japan sent troops to restore order. The western powers watched

with intent interests and some alarm as little Japan proceeded thoroughly to defeat the Chinese giant. The Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) which made Korea independent of China and gave Formosa, the Pescadores Islands and the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan, startled three western nations into action. Russia, Germany, and France joined to force Japan to give the peninsula back to China. The Sino-Japanese War and this tripartite intervention were pregnant with meaning. The rising sun of Japan cast long shadows over Asia and Europe. China had been proved defenseless; Japan a nation to be considered. Henceforth there was to be a new orientation of policies affecting the Far East: powerless China was to be prepared for dismemberment; Japan was to be admitted to the family of dominant Powers by an alliance with Great Britain in 1902.

China had become a battleground of European antagonists even before her defeat by Japan. Their mutual conquests of Chinese territory had brought France and Britain face to face on the southwestern borders of China in 1885. France sought to increase her power by building a political empire in the Far East; Britain strove to maintain her dominant commercial position in China. Neither considered China as anything but a pawn in their struggle. By a series of treaties in the late 1880's, France extorted numerous concessions from the Chinese. On the basis of the most-favored-nation clauses of her treaties, Britain tried to force China to extend the same concessions to her. This failed, and in 1894 she began the policy of wresting compensatory concessions from the luckless Chinese. Supported by her new ally, Russia, and emboldened by the Sino-Japanese War, France answered this "Battle of Concessions" in kind. The other European Powers hastened to grab whatever they could. Germany forced China to lease to her the region of Kiaochau in 1897. Russia promptly demanded and secured a long lease on the Liaotung Peninsula which they had helped take from Japan. Not to be outdone, France forcibly leased the area surrounding the Bay of Kwangchau, and Britain took over the port of Weihaiwei (1898). In addition to these land grabs, each of these nations staked off a "sphere of influence" in which she sought to gain a dominant or at least a preferential economic interest. These "spheres" really indicated the portions of China the powers intended to seize when the long anticipated dismemberment occurred. Only their mutual jealousies kept them from openly precipitating such an event.

The United States, whose interests in China were exclusively commercial and financial, looked askance at the efforts of the Euro-

pean powers to establish economic monopolies. With the blessing of Britain, the Secretary of State of the United States, John Hay, in 1899, asked the various Powers to promise to observe the "Open Door" in China. The Powers, who already accorded each other mutual recognition of their respective spheres, responded favorably, but their pledges remained of doubtful value. From then until 1913, the United States was an active participant in the affairs of China, less to protect the Chinese, however, than to further American commercial and financial interests. The armed forces of the United States joined in the suppression of the Boxer Rising (1900), American missionaries and individuals went to China in increasing numbers, and American bankers participated in various loans to China.

Western aggression had produced numerous anti-foreign outbreaks among the Chinese, but the climactic one was the Boxer Rising of 1900. The encroachments of the West had produced two schools of thought in China. One, headed by the emperor, believed in reforming China on the Occidental model so that she might become mistress of her own house. The other, led by the aged dowager empress, felt that China must strengthen her military forces to the same end. Accordingly, the empress was instrumental in developing local militia groups who became known as the Boxers. An abortive effort by the reform party to remodel China was cut short by the violent attacks of the Boxers upon all foreigners, culminating in the siege of the foreign legations at Peking. An international army relieved the legations, and looted the city. The humbled Chinese again were forced to punish the leaders of the Rising, pay a heavy indemnity, and give guarantees of future good behavior.

Both Japan and Russia took part in the action against China, although their own relations were rapidly approaching a crisis. Strengthened by her alliance with Britain, Japan was able to take a strong stand against Russian attempts to penetrate Korea, which she had earmarked for herself. Diplomatic protests having failed, the Japanese resorted suddenly to force, and attacked the Russian Far Eastern squadron off Port Arthur (February, 1904). The world watched with intense interest as the immense Russian war machine creaked into action against the cocksure midget. To the world's astonishment, the Japanese self-confidence was justified; she defeated Russia on land and sea. Then, almost exhausted by her effort and urged on by British bankers who feared the loss of money they had loaned her, Japan asked the United States to mediate for peace.

Russia, torn by the Revolution which the war had engendered, had little choice. The plenipotentiaries of the two Powers met in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to arrange terms. The treaty returned the Liaotung Peninsula and the southern half of Sakhalin Island to Japan, and recognized her supremacy in Korea. Verily the sun of Japan was rising.

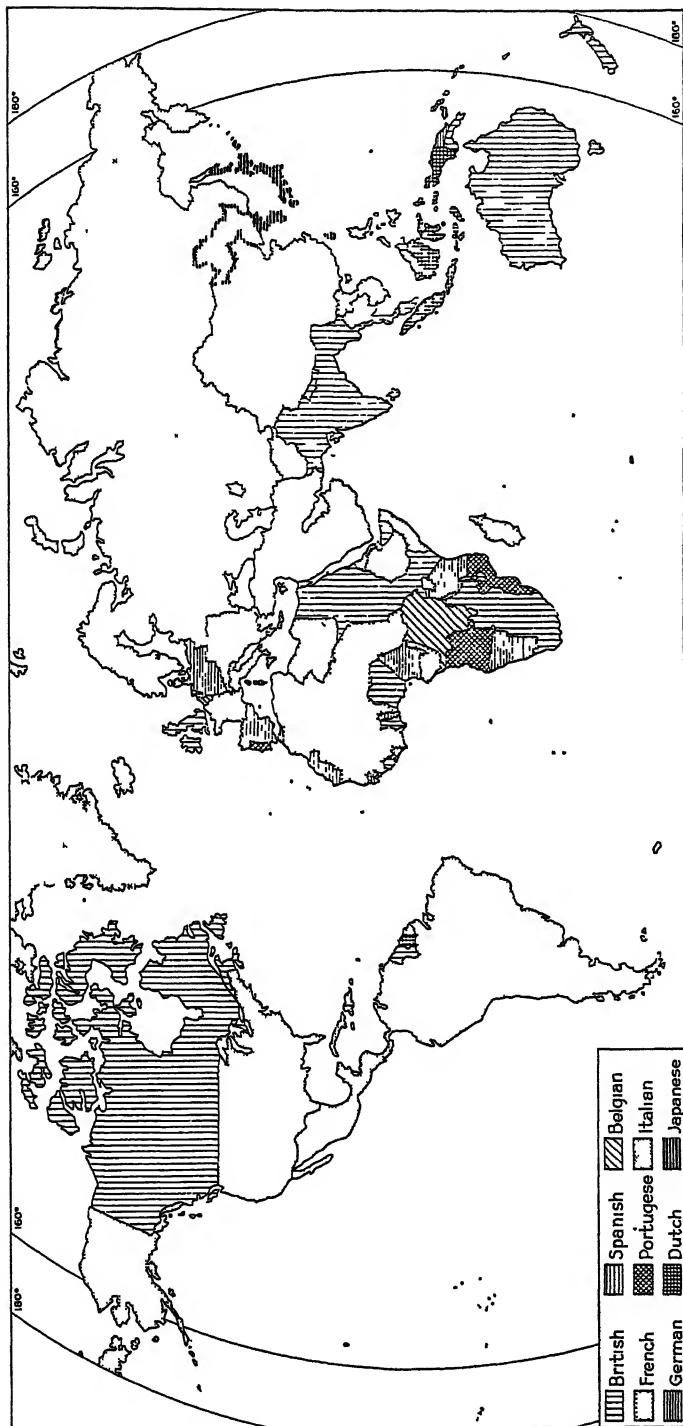
The Japanese success greatly encouraged the nationalist reform party of China, and they pushed through extensive social and economic changes aimed at modernizing the empire. Political reform, however, did not keep pace with the agitation for it. A start was made, but at this crucial moment the old dowager empress died, leaving the throne to a baby emperor and an incompetent regent. The inevitable revolution broke out in west and central China in 1911, and rapidly spread to the southern provinces. These, under the guidance of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, declared their independence and set up a republic. The movement reached its climax in 1912 when a united Chinese republic was established. Sun Yat-sen resigned the presidency in favor of Yuan Shih-k'ai, last of the imperial premiers, in the vain hope that this would aid in the process of unification. Yuan, who favored the establishment of a strong executive, soon clashed with the liberal Nationalist Party (the Kuomintang) which wanted to make China a real democracy. Disorder and confusion, which outlasted Yuan's death in 1916, resulted in the rise of local war lords who became the real rulers of China. Despite this fundamental weakness and disunity, China entered the war against Germany in 1917 mainly in the hope that the subsequent peace would include the restoration of the lands and rights which had been taken from her. The Treaty of Versailles, which China refused to sign, blasted these dreams and assigned the former German area of Shantung to Japan who had taken it from Germany in 1914 and refused to return it to its original owner, China.¹ This led to an anti-foreign movement among the Chinese and to an effective boycott of Japanese goods. China refused to sign the Treaty and later made a separate peace with Germany. She also became a member of the League of Nations by accepting the Treaty of St. Germain. However, neither that membership nor the two Nine Power Pacts, one "guaranteeing" China's integrity and the other promising revision of tariffs and extraterritoriality, which resulted from the Washington Con-

¹ Shantung was returned to China in 1923 as a result of a Sino-Japanese treaty signed at the time of the Washington Conference. The area was again conquered by Japan in the war which began in July, 1937.

ference (1921-1922), gave any real benefit to China. Certainly they offered no protection against invasion and despoilment.

The history of China since the World War is a complex of domestic strife, party struggles, foreign complications and foreign invasions. Poverty, hardship and disillusionment rising from its shabby treatment at the hands of the Occidental Powers made China a fertile field for the seeds of communism which Soviet Russia eagerly sowed. The Kuomintang, which under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen had made itself master of the Canton area, enlisted the aid of Russia and of the Chinese communists in its struggle to unite the country and free it from foreign domination. This phase ended when Chiang Kai-shek, the general who rose to the leadership of the Nationalists after Sun's death in 1925, joined the anti-communist faction of the party. By 1928, most of the war lords who had been ruling China had submitted, and the Kuomintang set up a national government with its capital at Nanking. The Nanking government, by a series of treaties with the western States, won tariff autonomy and freed China from some of the extraterritorialities. Chiang Kai-shek's government was, however, weak and the Kuomintang divided against itself. War lords rose to contest with the Nanking government and with each other, communist insurrections flared out, and in 1931 a rival government was set up in Canton. The remainder of the story is intimately bound up with the expansion of Japan.

The World War came as manna from heaven to the Japanese. They declared war on Germany in August of 1914, and, in November of that year, captured and appropriated not only the German leased port of Tsingtao but also the German economic interests in the Shantung province. In January of 1915, Japan presented China with "Twenty-One Demands" which, if granted, would have guaranteed Japanese supremacy over large sections of her neighbor's land. Chinese resistance, and the fear of incurring too much odium among the western Powers, led Japan to modify her plans slightly. However, a series of treaties were extorted from China in 1915 which recognized the paramount economic interests of Japan in Shantung, southern Manchuria, and part of Mongolia. Alarmed by these and other evidences of Japanese imperialism, and faced with the prospect of a naval race among Japan, Great Britain and the United States, the latter Powers sought to call a halt. At the invitation of the United States, the Powers interested in the Far East met at a conference in Washington late in 1921. The tension was temporarily relieved by agreements which reduced the number of capital ships, built



MAP 34. EUROPEAN AND JAPANESE EMPIRES, 1914

or building, by forty percent, and limited future construction of capital ships and airplane carriers. Other treaties promised to maintain the status quo in the Pacific, and the Powers agreed to respect the independence of China.

It proved to be a transient settlement. The military clique soon rose to power in Japan and embarked their country on a policy of vigorous economic and territorial expansion. Japanese trade goods, low in cost largely because of the cheapness of labor in Japan, have found their way into the world's markets, frequently forcing out Occidental competitors. More dramatic has been the imperialistic advance of Japan into China. The first goal was Manchuria, rich in mineral resources and foodstuffs, populous enough to be a good market but roomy enough to permit colonization, and virtually independent of China. Steady economic penetration had won Japan almost sovereign rights in several sections of the country and China's difficulties in 1931 offered her a chance to gain full control. An "incident" in September was used as the excuse for a Japanese invasion which rapidly conquered Manchuria. The following spring, Manchuria, renamed Manchukuo, was declared "independent" under the regency of Henry Pu-yi. The rapidity with which the Japanese closed the "Open Door," among other things, soon made it almost painfully clear that Manchukuo was only a puppet state, ruled by Japan. Meanwhile, China had lodged a futile protest with the League of Nations and had resumed its boycott against Japan. The latter led directly to the attack and capture of Shanghai by the Japanese. Its ransom, which the Chinese paid, was the lifting of the boycott. Continuing expansion in and from Manchukuo next led to a further undeclared war on China which ended only when a provisional government of North China agreed to the establishment of a demilitarized, Japanese "protected" zone between China and Manchukuo (1933).¹ Japan had accomplished what her occidental tutors in imperialism had once hoped to do themselves.

C. LIGHT IN THE DARK CONTINENT

Africa occupies a unique place in the story of European development because, although it was one of the cradles of European civilization, it was also the last great land mass to be explored and colonized. The lands of northern Africa form part of the Mediter-

¹ The story of the continuing expansion of Japan into China after 1933 will be found in Chapter XXXII.

anean basin and have lain within the orbit of European development since time immemorial. Early sailors in their halting search for the East, the later traders in their desire for profits, touched the eastern and western coasts, and Portuguese, Dutchmen, and finally Englishmen settled on the southernmost tip of the continent. Not until the nineteenth century, however, did any of them penetrate into the hinterland. The explanation of this seeming paradox lies in the geography of the continent. Africa is not an hospitable land. Its coast has few harbors, and its great rivers are not easily navigable by ocean-going vessels. Moreover, ranges of hills and mountains, which roughly parallel the coast, shut off the interior. Comparatively little of the continent is suitable for white habitation. The coastal plains are mostly too hot and much of the interior tableland is too arid. The great Sahara Desert in the north and the Kalahari Desert in the south form further barriers to penetration and use. In spite of these unattractive features, Africa has considerable resources. Agriculture is possible in some large areas and grazing in others. The mineral resources are valuable and important, and African slaves, ivory, and rubber have proved a powerful lure to white traders.

Numerous trading posts had been established along the coast as early as the sixteenth century, but the first real penetration of the continent began only with the British acquisition of South Africa in 1815. Prior to this, South Africa had been, first, a Dutch way station on the route to India and, later, a Dutch colony. The colonists, who were known as Boers, were not consulted when the change of ownership was made and they vigorously resented the advent of the British. This initial friction was rapidly aggravated by various unwise policies, and between 1835 and 1840 some ten thousand Boers migrated into the interior to escape British rule. After a series of clashes, two small independent Boer states, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, were set up in 1852 and 1854, respectively. The British continued to advance in that region, finally annexing the Transvaal in 1877, but, in the meantime, the chief scene of action had shifted to the northern coast.

French trade with the Mohammedan states of that area, which had lapsed during the Napoleonic period, slowly revived after 1815. This commercial recovery was hampered by the frequent depredation of the piratical rules of these so-called Barbary states. Count Polignac, minister of Charles X (1824-1830), sought to quiet political unrest in France and at the same time to restore French prestige

abroad by a war against these pirates. A pretext was soon found and, despite vigorous British protests, an expedition conquered Algiers in 1830. The new government of Louis Philippe accepted the conquest as a *fait accompli* and proceeded at very considerable expense to extend and consolidate the new French possession. After the Franco-Prussian War, France embarked upon a program of assimilation. Algeria was made an integral part of France, huge sums of money were invested in public improvements, and co-operation with the native population was strenuously and successfully furthered. Algeria has been France's most successful colony.

The ancient land of Egypt had long been subject to the attention of France and Great Britain. Both Louis XIV and Napoleon had planned its conquest, and the growing British interests in the East made Egypt increasingly more important to her. In theory, Egypt was a province of Turkey, but the chronic weakness of that empire prevented the exercise of any real authority. The meteoric rise of an Albanian soldier, Mehemet Ali, to the position of virtual sovereign of Egypt, increased the interests of Britain and France in that country. France supported Mehemet Ali, in the hope of winning the hegemony of the Levant by making him dependent upon her. Britain supported Turkey because she believed that a subservient Turkey was the best guaranty of her interests. The growing Red Sea trade, which was largely in British hands, became the immediate point of conflict. Mehemet Ali and the French revived an ancient scheme for a canal across the Isthmus of Suez. The British supported a railway from Alexandria to Suez as a counter-project. Eventually both were built, the latter under British auspices and the former under the ægis of France. Almost from the beginning the canal, which was the more important, became essentially a British venture, and after Disraeli purchased a large block of Suez Canal shares from the penniless Egyptian ruler, Ismail, in 1875, there was no question as to the real controller of the water route.

The financial condition of Egypt continued to grow steadily worse until finally in 1878, France and Great Britain felt themselves forced to assume control of Egyptian finances. This Dual Control lasted until an anti-European outbreak in 1882. The French drew back at the last moment, and a British army conquered Egypt in the process of restoring order. Reiterated promises to withdraw when the situation warranted eventually ceased to fool even the British themselves. The importance of Egypt to the British route to India, plus imperialistic conflicts in Africa, combined to guarantee

the continuance of British control. Moreover, as the vital importance of the Nile to the life of Egypt became increasingly apparent, the British were led to extend their control into the region of the Sudan.

The proximity of Tunis to Algeria and the financial and political chaos in the former made French expansion there likely if not inevitable. The establishment of French financial control in Tunis (1869) was so violently protested by Italy and Britain that joint control was substituted, and the Franco-Prussian War further delayed French action. When the Congress of Berlin (1878) was presented with the notice of the British acquisition of the island of Cyprus, Bismarck joined Disraeli in urging the French to find consolation in taking Tunis. Italy, uninformed as to this maneuver, tried to further her own ambitions in Tunis. Her purchase of a small railway there in 1880 stimulated the French government to action. The Bey of Tunis bowed to the superior force of the French, and Tunis became a French Protectorate (1881) to the intense but temporarily impotent anger of Italy. The French administration has been wise and successful, and the protectorate has paid its way in money and loyalty.

Late in the eighteenth century, hardy and ambitious European explorers began their perilous journeys into the heart of Africa. Close on their heels came traders and missionaries, and the nineteenth century saw the great continent opened to European exploitation. Some few of these hardy pioneers have attained a lasting fame, but the majority are today forgotten. Easily the most famous among them were the Englishman, David Livingstone (1813-1873); the Anglo-American, Henry M. Stanley (1841-1904); and the French-Italian, Savorgnan de Brazza (1852-1905), whose real name was Brazza Savorgnani. To them goes the credit for the unveiling of the great Congo region, but it should be remembered that they built upon the foundations left by their lesser known predecessors.

The commercial penetration of the Congo Basin was the work of King Leopold I of Belgium. Disguising his aim under the cloak of intellectual interest, he was instrumental in forming the "International African Association" (1876). On the face of it, this organization proposed to extend the benefits of European civilization to Africa. One section, known as the "Committee for the Study of the Upper Congo," engaged Stanley, ostensibly to explore that area. His real purpose, which he carried out between 1879 and 1884, was to establish a protectorate, in the name of the Committee, over

the tribes of central Africa. By skillful maneuvering, Stanley was able largely to forestall de Brazza who had been sent out by the French government with similar instructions.

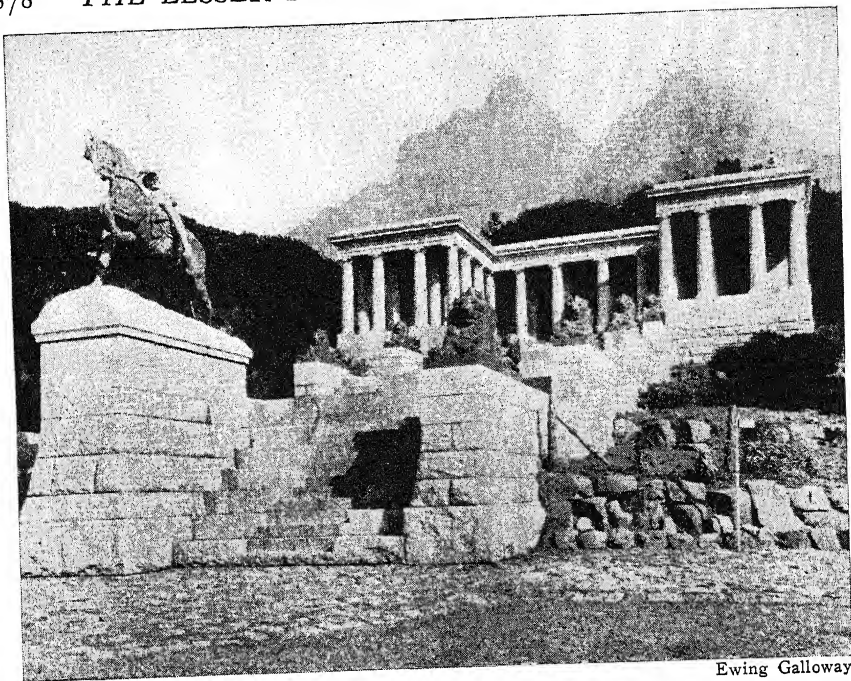
These activities roused the British, who sought to steal a march on the rest of Europe by making a treaty with Portugal which would have closed the Congo River to the other nations. Not to be balked in this fashion, Germany, supported by France, forced the submission of the whole problem to an international conference. Before the conference met at Berlin, the treaty was abandoned, and the International Association of the Congo (which had replaced the International African Association in 1882) was recognized as an independent state. Its labors thus reduced, the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) attempted to localize and regulate the struggle for African territory. The "Congo Free State" was erected, and the principle of the "Open Door" there was proclaimed. The new State was placed under the rule of Leopold and he, in the absence of any controlling body, soon transformed it into a personal possession. Large portions of the State were turned over to concessionaires who paid Leopold well for the very profitable privilege of ruthlessly exploiting the country and its peoples. Gradually, reports of the atrocities and brutal exactions leaked out, and an outraged world opinion forced Leopold to modify his methods. By that time, also, the easy profits had been taken and with questionable generosity, Leopold transferred the Congo Free State to the Belgian people in 1908. Under Leopold's successor, Albert, the administration of the Congo was reformed, the natives released from their virtual slavery, and a long-range program of economic development replaced the earlier exploitation. To date, the expense of the colony has been greater than its return, but the careful and provident management of the Belgians seems to be slowly changing that situation.

The French dream of empire embraced far more than Algeria and Tunis. It was in fact nothing less than a grandiose scheme to bring all north Africa from the Mediterranean to the Congo and from the Atlantic to the Red Sea under the tricolor. To realize this plan, French agents sought to penetrate Africa from east and west. In 1883, French Somaliland was set up on the shores of the Red Sea, and in the following year, de Brazza established the great Protectorate of the French Congo. The greatest obstacle to the fulfillment of the French dream was Great Britain. On the west coast, the French were more successful than their great rivals, and the British were able to salvage only one large area, Nigeria, and a few

small enclaves, but in the region of the Upper Nile the story was different. Having learned the vital importance of that river to Egypt, and stimulated by the dream of connecting Cairo with Capetown, the British began a systematic advance up the Nile in the early nineties. While they were slowly taking over this region, the French were moving eastward toward their goal. The two finally clashed in the persons of the British General Kitchener and the French Major Marchand, at the little village of Fashoda in September of 1898. There ensued a very acute crisis which almost resulted in war. The two Powers finally compromised their differences (March, 1899) by a mutual recognition of British rights in the Sudan and French rights in western and central Africa. The British thereupon set up the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and the French consolidated their gains. By 1900, the latter owned all of northwestern Africa except Nigeria, the German Kameruns, a few small sections of the west coast, and Morocco. The eastern boundaries of this huge area were the Sudan and the Belgian Congo.

Germany was a late-comer to the African scene though Bismarck apparently began to plan for German colonies there as early as 1880. In 1883, a German merchant, with Bismarck's support, leased the area of Angra Pequena on the southwest coast, and in the following year, Germany annexed Togoland, the Kameruns, and Southwest Africa. Only hasty action by the British forestalled German annexation of Nigeria. On the other side of the continent, Germany established the large colony of East Africa in 1885, and attempted to extend her sway over Uganda. An Anglo-German Agreement (1890) provided for an exchange of territories which consolidated the German holdings and briefly relaxed the tension which had been building up between the two nations. During the World War, the German colonies were conquered by the Allied Powers and stripped from her by the Treaty of Versailles. In the field of colonial administration, Germany profited by her early mistakes and became an efficient and successful colonizing power. From a financial point of view, however, the German colonies, like those of most other Powers, remained a liability.

Great Britain, in the meantime, was active in preserving and promoting her interests. Despite the opposition of the other Powers, she remained firmly entrenched in Egypt, and after an ill-timed attempt at withdrawal soon began to expand in the Sudan. Under the aggressive leadership of Cecil Rhodes, Britain made Bechuanaland a protectorate (1885) to forestall the German advance, and,



Ewing Galloway

RHODES MEMORIAL, CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902), multimillionaire and empire builder extraordinary, won his fabulous fortune in the gold and diamond fields of South Africa when he was still a young man. Largely through his efforts, the British acquired vast areas north of Cape Colony, including those territories which were joined (1895) to form the province named Rhodesia in his honor.

in that same year, she also set up a protectorate over Nigeria. In the next year, she divided the holdings of the Sultan of Zanzibar with France and Germany. Then in rapid succession she extended her sway over Somaliland, Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and Uganda. The discovery of gold in the Transvaal, with the resulting influx of British prospectors and miners, sharpened the already existent Anglo-Boer hostility which flared into war in 1899. This unhappy conflict lasted three years and before it was over the British were forced to call upon the resources of their empire to subdue the stubborn Boers.¹ The Peace of Pretoria (May 31, 1902) which ended the struggle was quite generous. The two Boer Republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, were firmly annexed to the British Empire, but they were also promised self-government. This promise was kept within five years, and in 1909 these two colonies joined

¹ The British Army finally numbered about 250,000; the Boers never had more than 40,000 fighting men.

with Cape Colony and Natal to form the Union of South Africa. The development of this new dominion has been stormy and difficult, but fortunately for the British Empire two former Boer generals, Louis Botha and Jan C. Smuts, lent their influence and ability to the British cause, and the Union today is a loyal and very valuable partner in the Empire.

The various imperialistic successes of the British, French, and Germans roused yet another nation to seek territory in Africa. Almost from its inception, the kingdom of Italy had longed to prove by the acquisition of colonies that it, too, was a great Power. Balked in Tunis, Italy was forced to look elsewhere, and, with the active encouragement of the British, who used her to forestall the French, she turned her attention to the Red Sea region. Italy acquired a small holding there in 1882, and three years later expanded it into the colony of Eritrea. In 1889, she claimed a protectorate over Somaliland and the last native free state in Africa, Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Her plans for an advance in the latter area were suddenly cut short when the Abyssinians inflicted a crushing defeat upon an Italian army at Adowa in 1896. The Italians perforce withdrew and turned again to northern Africa, but they did not forget.

Only two sections of north Africa remained unoccupied, Morocco and Tripolitania. The former, a rich and desirable region, France had long since marked out for herself, and only fear of European reactions had kept her from taking it. The changed international situation enabled her to remove that fear early in the twentieth century. Her ally, Russia, without interest in Morocco, had no objections; Spain and Italy promised her a free hand; and the establishment of very friendly relations with Great Britain (1904) seemed to remove most of the danger, even though Germany who also was interested in Morocco had not been consulted. Accordingly, the French foreign minister, Delcassé, intervened in Morocco in 1905. The immediate result was a diplomatic explosion when the angry Germans heard of the French attempt. Delcassé lost his position, and France was forced to submit the question to the Conference of Algeciras (1906). The French, loyally backed by the British, scored a triumph at the conference which placed Morocco under the joint supervision of France and Spain. That was not, however, all that the French had hoped and they continued to push toward complete control. A second Moroccan Crisis suddenly broke upon a fearful world in 1911. This time the diplomatic situation was even more favorable to France, and Germany was forced to accede to a

bargain which recognized French primacy in Morocco in return for the transfer of part of the French Congo. A formal French protectorate over Morocco was declared in 1912, and France began the arduous and costly task of extending her control over the country. The occupied area has steadily grown and the increasing economic development of the country has made the French very hopeful for the future. The small portion of Morocco accorded to Spain at the same time has not kept pace with the successful development of the larger area.

Italy, having learned both from her own experience and that of the French, proceeded to make very careful arrangements before she moved against the Turkish province of Tripolitania. Germany, Austria, and Great Britain had recognized the Italian interest there in the late eighties, and by recognizing the French interests in Morocco and Russian interests in the Straits, Italy had won their consent to her expansion into Tripolitania. These preliminaries over, she forced a war with Turkey in 1911. The struggle took longer than the Italians had expected, but the Treaty of Lausanne (1912) surrendered Tripolitania to Italy. The piecemeal conquest of the native tribes was interrupted by the war, but Fascist Italy has resumed it with vigor. The colony has been renamed Libya and an attempt has been made to assimilate it. The Fascists have made very real advances in the economic development of Libya but to date its only consistent product has been a heavy deficit.

The most recent chapter in the story of European imperialism in Africa was written by Italy in 1935-1936. Still hungry for colonial proof of her greatness and still smarting under the defeat at Adowa, Italy determined to add Ethiopia (Abyssinia) to her empire. Diplomatic preparations having been made, a border incident furnished the necessary excuse. Frantic negotiations by France and Britain failed to halt the Italians, and October, 1935, saw the formal opening of the Italo-Ethiopian War. The highly organized, mechanized Italian armies proved far too strong for the divided Ethiopians, whose war equipment was woefully outmoded. Nevertheless, both the people and the country offered a stubborn resistance to the invaders, and it was not until May 5, 1936, that the Italians entered and occupied the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa. Four days later, it was announced in Rome that Ethiopia was "placed under full and complete sovereignty of the Kingdom of Italy," and in June, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland were joined to form Italian East Africa.

The Italian conquest of Ethiopia is a fitting conclusion to this account of greed, selfishness, and force, since it follows the usual pattern of imperialism. It cost Italy thousands of men, over a billion dollars, and inestimable good will. For its sake Europe was again brought perilously close to war and a people were deprived of freedom. Whether or not the benefits which Italy hoped to derive from her action will offset the tremendous cost is an open question. All imperialisms, including this recent one, appear to belong on the debit side of civilization's ledger.

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Saving Western Civilization

A. "THE ROAD TO WAR"

Peace propaganda and wishful thinking to the contrary, war has become almost habitual among the communities of men. From the era of primitive war clubs to the present age of machine guns, shrapnel, and poison gas the members of the human race have fought among themselves. The appeal to force, open or concealed, and the resort to war as the final arbiter in periods of crisis, even by those devoted to peace, are universal. War is the irrational, emotional reaction of men to problems involved in living together. The disheartening conclusion is that a great many humans are not truly rational beings, that they are not capable of solving a problem by reason and therefore turn to force. It may be that fighting and war are primarily expressions of that basic human urge, self-preservation. That men will fight for their lives is a profound truth as well as a truism. The corollary is that men will bow to a superior force to preserve their lives if necessary. Moreover, men will fight to continue their established habits of life, so opposed are they to change.

Because fighting is irrational, the things which move men to war are not rational but emotional. Men will fight for their homes, their families, their fortunes, their countries. Nor is it necessary that these things actually be threatened; the fear that they may be endangered at some future time has often been enough to set men at each other's throats. Fear is perhaps the most powerful lever by which men are impelled to war, and here again the motive appears to be primal and universal. Fear has always been a driving force and usually what men have feared has been change and novelty. Men fight also because of greed for wealth and power and the desire to dominate their fellows. To analyze that motive would be to

explain ambition—one of the many things that men do not yet know how to do.

It may well be argued that men would not so often resort to war if war never paid for itself. There have been many occasions when the ends gained have seemed to justify the means employed, as, for example, in the cases of the American Revolution and the formation of the German Empire. Whether or not wars can be justified on that score is a question that each must answer for himself, but it may be suggested that reason would perhaps have been capable of producing the same results more cheaply and with greater permanence. It must be recognized, moreover, that the apparent successes of force have been a potent factor in educating men to its use. The military successes of Prussia, to cite only one of many instances, certainly tended to incline the Prussian people toward regarding wars as worth their cost.

The World War, because of its size, its complexity, and its still intimate relation with the life of today, offers the best case-history of wars in general. Before it was over, all possible motives had come into play and nearly all the world had become involved. This very complexity renders generalizations about it both difficult and dangerous, but certain apparent truths seem to stand out. Its fundamental and underlying cause was the universal assumption that the final appeal must be to force and the consequent acceptance of war as a legal, equitable, and justifiable instrument of national policy. Upon that basic premise depended all other causes, immediate and remote. Without it, there could have been no war. The systems of alliances and of militarism were built upon it; the forces of nationalism and imperialism were strengthened by it; and propaganda campaigns took it for granted.

The systems of secret alliances, inspired by mutual fear and distrust, divided Europe into two hostile groups. For a time these groups helped to preserve peace but they also made it inevitable that war, when it came, should involve all of the major European powers. As the rivalry between the two groups became keener, the preservation of them seemed ever more vital to their members. The least friction between any individual members of the opposing combinations instantly became the concern of all. When the crisis arose in July of 1914 it was not a question of Austria and Russia alone but of the two alliances and their respective satellites. Austria was, of necessity, supported by Germany; Russia, by France and Great Britain.

Militarism, which was greatly accelerated by the alliance system, included both the maintenance of large armed forces with their equipment and the existence of a small but disproportionately powerful class of professional military men. There was nothing new about either. Europe had had large armies and professional soldiers for many years. The various peoples supported these expensive burdens partly because they had come to believe that the surest way to preserve peace was to prepare for war. The military caste, aided and abetted by the armament makers, made frequent use of this argument which appealed essentially to fear and the desire for security. If the people seemed disinclined to continue their support, an engendered "war scare" soon brought them back into line. The end result was not peace and safety but a vicious circle of fear which led the nations on and on in the race to have the biggest and deadliest war machines.

Nationalism, which has consistently played a leading role in the drama of human development, again takes prominent part as a cause of war. Here, too, it appears in a variety of make-ups. Love of country, pride in national achievements, and the greed for national glorification are emotional appeals which rouse men to fighting pitch. The clash of nationalistic ambitions has tended to irritate peoples and exacerbate international relations. An intangible element in social development, it is hard to tell whether nationalism is itself provocative of war or whether it is used by interested groups to bring about conflicts. Probably it is both, and certainly it has produced a ready response to the machinations of chauvinistic elements. Imperialism figures as a cause of war largely because it is likely to bring nations into conflict. There is no question but that the rivalry of two powers in the fields of economic and political imperialism has often colored their other relationships and produced a long-lived and fateful tension between them.

Without modern methods of communication and particularly without such means of disseminating information and misinformation as the newspaper press, war on such an enormous scale would be impossible. As molders of public opinion, the men who control the press must bear a large share of the responsibility for inciting their readers to war. By playing upon the motives of nationalism and by appealing to the forces of fear and greed, the press did much to create a state of nervous excitement among the peoples of Europe. Rumors of war, accounts of the growth of their neighbor's armaments, and interpretations or misinterpretations of the speeches of

native and alien political leaders effectively created a state of mind which made war inevitable. Once the war had begun, the various powers used the press and other vehicles of propaganda to urge their citizens to more strenuous efforts and to drag other nations into the conflict.

B. THE DIVISION OF EUROPE

The pre-war systems of alliances were the outgrowth of Bismarck's fear of France and of his desire to maintain Germany in the dominating position he had won for her. With excellent reason the German chancellor feared that France might launch a war to avenge the defeat she had suffered at his hands in 1870-1871. To his mind the isolation of France meant the insulation of Germany and constituted an elementary precaution which he had no choice but to take. Accordingly, in 1872, he inspired the emperors of Austria, Russia, and Germany to make an informal agreement to maintain the status quo. The conflicting ambitions of Austria and Russia in the Balkans made this *Dreikaiserbund* (Three Emperors' League) weak from its very inception but for the nonce it served its purpose by depriving France of possible friends.

Beginning in 1875 a series of rebellions against the Turks rocked the Balkans, and aroused a demand in Russia for intervention. Austria, who feared Russian hegemony in the Balkans perhaps more than she feared anything else, so bitterly opposed the Russian plan that for a time an Austro-Russian war seemed likely. Bismarck, who wished to remain on friendly terms with both Powers, was finally forced to choose between them. He chose Austria, thereby averting the war but undermining Russo-German friendship. To soften this blow he urged Austria to recognize the Russian interests in the Balkans, and sought to effect a compromise between his two partners. Russia, balked in her plans to humble Austria, patched up a temporary agreement with the latter, and went to war with Turkey (April, 1877). Within a year the Turks were badly defeated and forced to sign the Treaty of San Stefano (March, 1878). This settlement practically expelled the Turk from Europe and created a large Slavic state in the Balkans under the ægis of Russia. Austria and Great Britain at once protested most vigorously, the latter even sending her fleet to Constantinople. Once more a possible war was averted when the Russians bowed to the Austro-British demand that the whole Near Eastern question be submitted to a general Euro-

pean congress. The Congress of Berlin (1878)¹ virtually nullified the Russian gains. The Turk was returned to Europe; Bulgaria, the Russian protégé, was reduced in size; and Austria was given the right to "occupy and administer" the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russia did not forget that on all important questions Bismarck had sided against her, and although the German's genius prevented an open rupture, Russo-German friendship was irreparably damaged.

This course of events impelled Bismarck in 1879 to conclude an alliance with Austria which remained the keystone of Austro-German policies until 1918. This so-called Dual Alliance was originally defensive. If Russia attacked either partner, the other was to come at once to its assistance, and if any other Power (meaning France) should attack one signer, the other was to maintain "at least a benevolent neutral attitude towards its fellow." In addition, should the attacking Power be aided by Russia, the attacked Power would be aided by its partner. This alliance, the terms of which were secret, was to run for five years. Subsequent renewals in 1883 and 1902 kept it in force as long as the two empires lasted. Neither party foresaw its long life nor that it would eventually force Russia to ally with France, and involve Germany in the Balkan muddle. At the time it merely served to keep the peace by forcing Russia to resist her desire to expand in the Near East.

Bismarck had not forgotten his primary motive which was to keep France isolated, and he assiduously tried to regain Russian friendship. His efforts bore fruit in a renewal of the *Dreikaiserbund* in 1881, which, in essence, guaranteed Russian neutrality in the event of a Franco-German or Austro-Italian war in return for an Austro-German promise not to assist Great Britain against Russia in the Near East. These promises, which were renewed in 1884, became untenable after another Balkan crisis and were allowed to lapse in 1887. Holding steadfast to his plan, Bismarck thereupon negotiated a treaty with Russia. Known as the "Reinsurance Treaty," this promised Russian neutrality in a possible Franco-German war, and German neutrality in an Austro-Russian or Russo-British war. In addition, Germany recognized Russian interests in the Balkans and Near East, and promised to further Russian aims in Bulgaria and Turkey. Bismarck was safe in making these concessions only because a tripartite agreement among Austria, Great Britain, and Italy (1887) to maintain the status quo in the Mediterranean basin effec-

¹ See pp. 797-798.

tively kept Russia from translating plans into actions. As long as he remained in power Bismarck successfully kept his various agreements from colliding, but the task was too difficult for his successors, and the treaty with Russia was discarded in 1890 with what proved to be disastrous results.

In the meantime, the Dual Alliance had become the Triple Alliance with the addition of Italy in 1882. This new alignment, also strictly defensive in purpose, was primarily a result of Italian fears. The new and weak kingdom of Italy was still apprehensive about the Papacy which steadfastly refused to recognize it, and which sought French and Austrian support. The possibility that France might offer aid to the pope seemed less remote to the Italians after the French seizure of Tunis. This bit of imperialism was not the decisive factor in bringing Italy into alliance with the Central Powers, but it helped to do so. Another motivation was the uneasiness of the Italian monarch over the continuing republicanism of some of his subjects. That convinced him of the need for a closer connection with successful autocracies. The Italians desired an alliance with Germany only, but Bismarck insisted that Austria be included. Neither the Austrians nor the Italians were enthusiastic about this plan, but Bismarck had his way. A secret treaty, signed on May 20, 1882, bound Austria and Germany to assist Italy if the latter should be attacked by France. In return, Italy promised to come to the aid of Germany should she be attacked by France. Another article provided for tripartite co-operation should any one of the three be attacked by two non-signatory Powers. When the treaty came up for renewal in 1887 the Italians found that their position had improved. The failure of an attempted Franco-German *rapprochement* and the Balkan crisis, already mentioned, convinced Bismarck that he must meet the new demands made by Italy. Accordingly, to the old treaty, which was renewed as it was, were added an Austro-Italian and an Italo-German treaty (Feb. 20, 1887). The former provided for reciprocal compensation in case either party should undertake expansion in the Balkans. The latter promised German support to Italy in case Italy should find it necessary to take steps to prevent further French expansion in North Africa. In short, the Triple Alliance had abandoned its defensive character and had become an instrument of aggression directed against France. France suspected as much, and the second renewal of the Alliance in 1891 increased her uneasiness. She would have been more uneasy had she

known that this time Germany had bound herself to aid Italian imperialism in North Africa.

France, though she had been acutely aware of her isolation from the beginning, had been powerless to change the situation. The imperialistic rivalry between her and Great Britain had made it useless to seek support from that quarter, and, besides, the British were inclined to hold themselves smugly aloof from continental combinations during the two decades after 1870. On the continent, all avenues of approach were closed to her until, late in 1887, Bismarck made a mistake. In his effort to dispel the war clouds rising from the Balkan crisis, he closed the German money market to Russia. Her nascent industrial revolution and the expenses of increasing her armament necessitated foreign loans, and she turned to Paris. The French were overjoyed to respond, and from then until the Russian Revolution in 1917, an untold, but enormous, quantity of French gold was poured into Russia. It was this golden chain which in the end tied these two very dissimilar Powers together. That event was delayed, however, by Bismarck's Reinsurance Treaty. Upon his dismissal from office, the new masters of German foreign policy, Kaiser Wilhelm II and Baron Friedrich von Holstein, allowed the treaty to lapse. Just prior to that, Great Britain, weary of competing with Germany in Africa, had signed an agreement¹ which removed the causes of friction between the two Powers and seemed capable of bringing them into closer relationships in the near future. The renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1891, therefore, clearly demonstrated the isolation of both France and Russia. Nevertheless, Russia was exceedingly reluctant to come to terms with the French and sought to induce the Kaiser to renew the Reinsurance Treaty. His brusque refusal and the interruption of loans by France forced the unwilling czar to come to an understanding with the source of his income.

An exchange of notes on August 27, 1891, signaled the beginning of the *entente*. The vague and limited co-operation provided for by these notes did not satisfy the French who pressed for a formal alliance. The General Staffs of the two powers reached an understanding in 1892 but the Russian government still held back. 1893 proved the turning point. A crisis rising from a conflict of imperialistic aims in Siam brought France and Great Britain to the very verge of war. In this emergency, the British sought German aid, thereby convincing the Russians, who were also having trouble

¹ The Heligoland Treaty of 1890.

with the British in Asia, that an Anglo-German rapprochement was not unlikely. Furthermore, a projected increase in the strength of the German army made both France and Russia more ready to strike a bargain. The still reluctant czar at last consented to the ratification of an alliance agreement in January of 1894.

This Franco-Russian Military Convention followed the general pattern of the guarantees exchanged by the members of the Triple Alliance. An attack upon France by Germany, or by Italy and Germany, would bring Russia to her partner's assistance; and France was to aid Russia in the event of a German or Austro-German attack. It was further mutually agreed that both Powers would immediately mobilize their armed forces if any member of the Triple Alliance did so. The terms of this contract, which was to last as long as the Triple Alliance, were kept secret, but the fact that the bargain had been made was admitted in 1895.

The formation of this new dual alliance temporarily restored the balance of power which had been destroyed by the unification of Germany and the Franco-Prussian War. During the next several years conditions in Europe itself were relatively stable and the attentions of the Powers were focused on the extension of their holdings and influence in Africa and Asia. The European alliance systems were by no means forgotten but neither were they mutually exclusive. France and Russia, it is true, were emboldened by their new partnership to promote their imperialisms in Asia with great vigor and considerable success, but upon occasion, as in the case of their intervention following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, they welcomed the co-operation of Germany. The latter encouraged Russia to concentrate her attention on the Far East and frequently assisted her in that region. Russia accepted German support gratefully and until her defeat by Japan was so absorbed in Asiatic expansion that she even joined her ancient rival Austria in guaranteeing the status quo in the Balkans (1897). Germany was temporarily in a position to play off Great Britain against the Franco-Russian combination. By siding first with one and then with the other, she checked both.

Great Britain was the chief butt of the Powers and it was gradually borne in upon her that her policy of isolation was a distinct handicap. The crushing defeat of China by Japan killed the long-standing British plan for an alliance with China which would have bolstered her position in the Far East. Eventually it resulted also in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902), but not until Great Britain

had tried vainly to get an ally in Europe. A British suggestion for a *rapprochement* with Russia fell upon deaf ears, and in 1898, Great Britain turned to Germany with the great imperialist, Joseph Chamberlain, as the prime mover. Germany was not interested then nor in the next year when Britain tried again. Anglo-German imperialistic conflicts and the passage of a new navy law, obviously aimed to provide Germany with a fleet strong enough to challenge Britain's, temporarily made the plan impossible. The situation improved soon after, but another British proposal in 1901 was allowed to drop. The failures of these negotiations were primarily due to overconfidence on the part of the Germans. They believed, first, that they were strong enough to stand alone, and, second, that Britain would never come to terms with France and Russia. In other words, they saw no need to ally with Britain since they were certain that the British neither would nor could join the Franco-Russian Alliance. They were wrong on both counts.

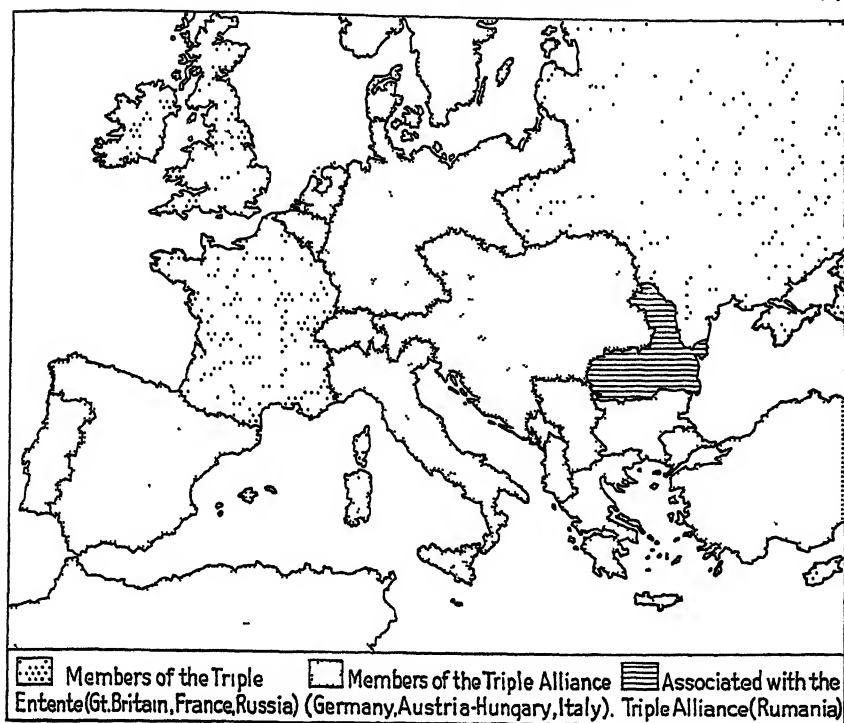
Twice during the decade of the nineties Great Britain and France had teetered on the edge of war over imperialistic conflicts, and both times they drew back from the precipice. The brief but sharp crisis over Siam in 1893, coupled with growing rivalries in southwestern China, forced the two nations either to compromise or to fight. They chose to compromise and the Salisbury-Courcel Agreement of 1896 partially cleared the air. The Fashoda crisis of 1898 was also settled by a compromise which, by implicitly recognizing the British possession of Egypt, removed that chronic source of irritation. There were still many points of issue to be settled but the pathway to co-operation had at least been staked out. During the next few years, while Britain was vainly angling for an alliance with Germany, France improved her position by a series of negotiations with Italy. The habitual hostility between these two Latin states gradually quieted down after the Italian defeat at Adowa and the consequent fall from power of the bitter Francophobe, Crispi. The ending of a tariff war in 1898 was a prelude to a mutual recognition of each other's aims in Morocco and Tripoli. The renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1902 was followed by a secret agreement with France in November of that year. Stripped of its technical verbiage, this was nothing less than a promise by Italy to remain neutral when, as, and if France and Russia should go to war against Germany. Only the Italians have ever been able to reconcile it with the obligations assumed in the Triple Alliance.

The failure of her alliance overtures to Germany turned Great

Britain back toward her trans-Channel neighbor. Reciprocal state visits by Edward VII and President Loubet served to introduce long and involved diplomatic negotiations. There were many controversial issues, but both Powers wished to succeed. The Russo-Japanese War, which involved the allies of both and thus opened the possibility of drawing France and Britain into the war, speeded the settlement which was finally signed on April 8, 1904. In a series of three documents, the outstanding colonial rivalries of the two Powers were amicably adjusted. The most important deal exchanged a recognition of French primacy in Morocco for a similar recognition of British hegemony in Egypt. A secret agreement, signed at the same time, made arrangement for an eventual division of Morocco between France and Spain. No word of these documents dealt with Europe, but the adjustment of colonial disputes established an *Entente Cordiale* (sincere harmony) between the two Powers which made their co-operation in Europe both possible and probable. The immediate effect was to checkmate the German practice of playing one off against the other; the later result was the formation of a new alliance system definitely opposing the Triple Alliance.

When her defeat at the hands of Japan forced Russia to turn again toward Europe and the Near East, she found that the situation had materially changed. Throughout the nineteenth century it had been Great Britain who had constantly supported Turkey against the Slav. Now, in the twentieth century, the British had largely abandoned the Turks to the Germans who, with no more altruism than had once moved the British, came forward as the champions of Turkey. Moreover, the Russian ally, France, now on good terms with her traditional enemy, was very eager to patch up an understanding between her two confederates. The British were nothing loath and the new, liberal Russian foreign minister, A. P. Izvolsky, was enthusiastic. His fundamental purpose was to open the Straits to Russia and, once he found that Great Britain was inclined to look favorably upon that plan, he facilitated the negotiations by large concessions to British imperialism. The formal understanding, signed on August 31, 1907, consisted of three documents, concerned with Anglo-Russian relations in Tibet, Afghanistan, and Persia. The effect was essentially the same as that of the Anglo-French agreement with the added fact that the *Entente Cordiale* had become the Triple Entente.

The World War looms so large as the *bête noir* of our own



MAP 35. ALLIANCES BEFORE THE GREAT WAR, 1914

time that it is all too easy to see in the years from 1904 to 1914 the almost mechanical working out of an inevitable end. To do so is to mock the truth by reading our present knowledge back into the past. The formation of the Triple Entente did eventually lead to the war between it and the Triple Alliance but there was nothing inevitable about it. The statesmen of that period could no more foresee the future than can those of today, and though they may have been apprehensive they could not have known the eventual results of their squabbles and machinations. They lived pretty much from day to day, as we do. Each new crisis held the potentiality of war but its settlement seemed to prove, if it proved anything at all, that war could be avoided. No man could have predicted with surety the course of events which filled those years nor foreseen the disaster into which the world stumbled in 1914. At no time until that conflict actually began did it appear inevitable to the majority of the peoples of the world or their leaders. It is only to us, wise after the event, that the happenings of those years seem to form a pattern, and we must guard against reading into the past interpretations which

belong only to the present. In the light of our knowledge the three major crises of the decade from 1904 to 1914 are all too likely to overshadow the fact that for most people life went on as before during those years, and the brief flurries which the crises produced were buried beneath the routine details of everyday life. Moreover, numerous peace efforts like the two conferences at the Hague (1899 and 1907) lulled people into what proved to be a false sense of security. The striking, albeit superficial, resemblance to our own situation lends a poignant interest to the years immediately before the war.

The Germans received the news of the Anglo-French *Entente* with an apparent complacency which they did not feel. Deeply concerned, they were at a loss to know what to do. The Kaiser favored making a continental alliance against Great Britain, but his attempt to do so failed. Baron Holstein and Chancellor von Bülow then prodded him into acquiescing in their plan to strike at France through Morocco. By so doing they hoped by a single stroke to further German interests in that area and to weaken the *Entente*. The climax of the German challenge came when the Kaiser, in a speech made at the Moroccan port of Tangier in March of 1905, declared that that country was and must continue to be independent. The German government then demanded that France dismiss her foreign minister, Delcassé, who had been largely responsible for advancing both the *Entente* and French plans in Morocco, and submit the whole Moroccan question to a general conference. France squirmed and twisted but in the end she was brought to terms by the German threat of war. Delcassé was forced out of office and a conference was set for January of 1906. Germany had won the first round but at the price of arousing the national pride of France and her colleague, Britain.

In the meantime, the Kaiser gave evidence of the German inability to pursue one course by indulging in a curious bit of diplomacy on his own responsibility. At a private meeting with Nicholas II of Russia, Wilhelm wheedled the Czar into signing an agreement for a Russo-German alliance which he hoped would be the nucleus of an anti-British system. Russia was to persuade France to adhere to this bargain, which was known as the Treaty of Björkö (July, 1905). Bülow, however, made this impossible by further antagonizing the French with his demands in regard to Morocco, and the Russian foreign office, which did not approve of the treaty anyway, persuaded the Czar that it would have to be changed. This the Kaiser refused to do, and the treaty was dropped, but repercussions of it lingered.

When the conference on Morocco opened at Algeciras, Russia felt herself compelled to stand loyally by France in order to dispel any doubts that might have been raised by the Czar's misadventure.

One other important development took place before the conference opened. The new British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, though he refused to enter into a formal alliance with France, did authorize the British military staff to make plans with the French general staff for joint military action in case of war. These conversations, which became henceforward a regular feature, were expressly declared not to bind the British government to any plan of action, and Grey consistently maintained, even in his speech asking war with Germany in August, 1914, that Britain was free to act as she saw fit. Whether or not she was matters less than the fact that these military conversations formed an extremely strong tie which so implemented the *Entente* that the French were encouraged to count on British support in a crisis. The British, it may be added, did not betray their colleague's confidence.

Fortified by these developments, France entered upon the Algeciras Conference with justified confidence. Not only did Great Britain and Russia stand by her, but Italy and the United States also supported her, and Germany discovered that she had only one real friend, Austria-Hungary. France made a few concessions to Germany but, on the whole, obtained an approval of her plan to Gallicize Morocco. The German plan had proved a boomerang: the *Entente* was strengthened and the French intrenched in Morocco.

The second great crisis of the decade centered around the Austrian seizure of the Turkish Provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. Its deeper significance was that it strengthened the Triple Entente much as the Moroccan crisis had strengthened the *Entente Cordiale*. The genesis of the crisis was a bargain struck by the Austrian foreign minister, Aehrenthal, with the Russian foreign minister, Izvolsky, in September of 1908. Briefly, Russia exchanged her consent to the annexation for the Austrian promise not to oppose the Russian attempt to open the Straits to the free passage of her men of war. The joker in this agreement was that the Austrian proceeded to announce the annexation in October before the Russian had completed his arrangements. The furious Izvolsky demanded a general European conference which Aehrenthal refused to consider. The difficulty was increased because Russia felt compelled to support Serbia's claim for compensation, based on the fact that the population of the two provinces was predominantly Serb. Since part of the Austrian

plan had been to cripple the Pan-Serb agitation in the Balkans, she would not even listen to the Serbian demand. Deadlocked and with the tension steadily increasing, both Powers began war preparations. Austria, with the wholehearted backing of Germany, was in a much stronger position than Russia whose allies gave her only diplomatic support. Finally, in the spring of 1909, a German note which the Russians construed as an ultimatum demanded that Russia recognize the annexation. Izvolsky had no choice but to abandon Serbia and give his grudging acquiescence. This apparent victory of the Central Powers was canceled by the fears which their success generated. Russia, France, and Great Britain felt obliged to co-operate more closely in the future in order to keep Germany and Austria within bounds. In addition, Russia was moved to reorganize and increase her army, and Great Britain was led greatly to speed up her naval construction.

During the next two years Germany painfully built up more friendly relations with the Entente Powers, but her efforts were nullified when she made a second attempt to inhibit French expansion in Morocco. The new head of the German foreign office, Kiderlen-Wächter, thought he saw a chance to do this in the spring of 1911 when he learned of the French plan to occupy Fez, the Moroccan capital. He planned by a show of force to maneuver France into making compensation to Germany, and in July of 1911 sent a German warship to the port of Agadir to protect German subjects there. Since there were no Germans at Agadir it was clear that he was striking at France, and a new crisis cast its shadow over Europe. France played her cards very skillfully, and the agreement finally made in November recognized her protectorate over Morocco. All that Kiderlen-Wächter got for having run the risk of war was an unimportant slice of the French Congo. Throughout the crisis, Britain, much alarmed at the German action, apprehensive over her trade losses to Germany, and fearful of the expanding German navy, stood loyally by her colleague. This, in turn, worried Germany and led her in 1912 to plan a further increase in her fleet. Before the appropriation necessary to carry out this was voted by the Reichstag, the two Powers made a futile attempt at a *rapprochement*. The effort failed because, caught in the vicious whirlpool of the armed alliances, neither government dared make any real concessions to the other.

The next two years saw a further consolidation of the two alliance systems. The French premier, Poincaré, successfully insured closer co-operation with Russia by a series of military and naval con-

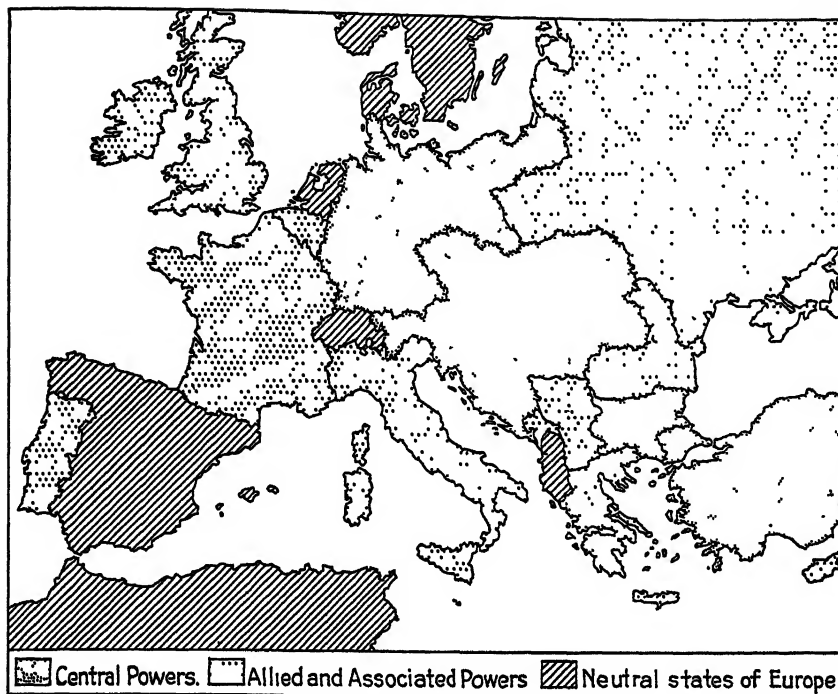
versations based on the French promise to back her ally against Austria in the Balkans. The passage of the new German naval bill enabled him to convince the British of the need for furthering their joint plans, and in 1912 the two governments agreed to naval co-operation. Britain concentrated her fleet in the North Sea and assumed the responsibility of protecting both herself and France. The latter concentrated her naval forces in the Mediterranean and agreed to protect British interests there. Britain was never as intimate with Russia, but the relations between the two were cordial. The Triple Alliance also presented a more unified appearance. Trouble in the Balkans seemed to tie the three Powers more closely together and led to the extension of plans for joint military and naval action. Nevertheless, war between the two systems did not seem likely. On the contrary, the two seemed to be on the point of working out their problems, especially after a series of economic agreements cleared the air. With the exception of the bellicose Balkans, the outlook was exceptionally good.

The master key to the bewildering Balkan problem was nationalism. In the nineteenth century, the working of this force had resulted in the winning of independence by some of the Balkan peoples and of autonomy by others. In the twentieth century, it produced a variety of conflicts both among these peoples themselves and between them and Turkey. In addition, there were superimposed upon this conflict the nationalistic ambitions of the Great Powers. Russia, still seeking a free outlet to the west, not only coveted the Straits, but wished also to protect that interest by establishing a *bloc* of subservient states in the hinterland of the Balkans. Austria-Hungary, harassed by the problems inherent in her heterogeneous holdings, wished at all costs to prevent such an extension of Russian interests, and to stifle the increasing clamor of the Serbs for a Pan-Serb union. The Dual Monarchy was in a very real sense fighting for its life, since to admit the claims of any one of its many national groups was to prepare the way for its own disintegration. The German interest in Turkey and the Balkans was primarily economic, but in the end this proved less important than the exigencies of the general situation which forced her to support her ally against the rival alliance system. Such support was the more imperative since Italy, who had her own ambitions in the Balkans, could not be depended upon. Great Britain and France were no longer interested in the Balkans *per se*, but just as Germany felt bound to support Austria, they felt constrained to back Russia.

These various interests might conceivably have checkmated each other if Turkey had been able to pursue the uneven tenor of her ways, but the Ottoman Empire was rocked by revolution in 1908. Planned and carried out by a group, known both because of their age and because of their ideas as the Young Turks, this outburst appeared to result in the formation of a truly liberal empire, whose keynote was to be Turkish patriotism and Turkish unity. The optimistic Young Turks underestimated the nationalisms of their subject peoples and overestimated the altruism of the Great Powers. Bulgaria, backed by Austria, completely freed herself from all traces of Turkish rule. Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina thereby setting off a general European crisis and rousing the Serbs to futile frenzy. An attempted Cretan revolution failed, but meanwhile the Young Turk movement was rapidly proving that it stood not for a constitutional and united Turkey but for Moslem domination of the empire. Their policy of Ottomanization further weakened their State by provoking a successful revolt in Albania and a war with Italy. Long interested in Tripolitania, the Italians were of no mind to see that area snatched from them, and in 1911 they went to war with Turkey for the express purpose of gaining it. The Italian success, registered in the Treaty of Lausanne (1912), was hastened by the outbreak of war in the Balkans.

Under Russian guidance, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro had united in a Balkan League (1912) with the purpose of freeing their kinsmen from Turkish rule. The reverberations of the Italian guns sounded to these hotheads like the knocking of opportunity and they precipitately declared war on Turkey in October of 1912. The Ottoman Empire collapsed under the impact, and by the Treaty of London (May, 1913) surrendered all of its territory in Europe except a small section around Constantinople. Within a month the members of the League had quarreled over the division of the spoils, and had gone to war among themselves with Bulgaria fighting not only her former allies but also Rumania, who saw a chance to gain more territory, and Turkey, who hoped to win back some of her losses. This second Balkan War ended with the Treaty of Bucharest which deprived Bulgaria of much truly Bulgarian territory and cut her off from her natural economic outlet. Thus truncated and embittered, Bulgaria was left impatiently to await her chance for revenge.

Serbia, gorged but not at all satiated with the fruits of her victory, became overly self-confident. Her bounding ambition now visioned



MAP 36. ALIGNMENTS DURING THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1918

a great Serbia which should include not only Bosnia and Herzegovina but all Yugoslav lands. In her path lay Austria whose apprehensions kept pace with Serbian ambitions; behind Serbia stood the colossus of Russia whose dream of a Pan-Slav empire seemed closer than ever before.

C. ARMAGEDDON

The Austro-Serbian feud culminated in the summer of 1914 in a crisis which engulfed the entire world in war. For sometime the authorities at Vienna had deemed it advisable that a member of the royal family appear among the peasants of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the hope of reconciling them to their new masters. Military maneuvers scheduled for June of 1914 within the vicinity of Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia, offered a splendid opportunity which the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir apparent to the throne, was reluctantly prevailed upon to take. After the maneuvers had passed without incident, the Archduke and his wife journeyed to Sarajevo on Sunday, June 28, to be formally welcomed by the local authorities of the province.

Along the path which the procession was to take, three assassins lay in wait. One discharged a bomb without injury to the royal pair; one lost courage and fled; but the third made good an accidental opportunity to kill both the Archduke and his wife. The world was horrified at this new exhibition of Balkan violence, yet no one imagined that it would produce a universal catastrophe.

Austria immediately accused the Serbian government of complicity in the plot, an accusation which could hardly be supported by the meager evidence available at the time, but which recent revelations have largely justified. The three assassins were all Bosnians, as the government at Belgrade innocently claimed, but all had spent much time in Serbia where they had close affiliations with the most violent of Serbian nationalist organizations, the Black Hand, whose membership included a number of Serbians prominent in circles of government. Pledged to terrorism, this society already had to its credit an unenviable record of inhuman cruelty before the projected visit of the Archduke to Sarajevo offered the excuse for its last and greatest plot. With a cold and calculating deliberation which defies comparison in modern times, leaders of the Black Hand worked out every detail of the plan, gave the assassins training in shooting and bomb throwing, provided them with the necessary materials stolen from government stock, arranged for their crossing of the Bosnian frontier unmolested, and by means of its secret agencies spirited them through the province without arousing the suspicions of Austrian officials. News of the plot leaked out in Belgrade fully six weeks before it could be executed, but the government, partly for fear of retribution at the hands of the terrorists, partly because it sympathized with the diabolical scheme, refrained from taking the proper precautions. The least it might have done would have been to warn Austria of impending danger, but, except for offering vague hints, it neglected this simple international obligation. The circumstantial evidence against the Serbian government is so incriminating that even the staunchest advocates of its innocence have been forced to admit its guilt.

Possession of these facts would have been helpful but hardly necessary to Count Berchtold, Austrian foreign minister, who was now unalterably convinced that the future safety of Austria lay in the annihilation of Serbia. There were many in official circles who shared this view, but there were likewise those who opposed it. The aged, unhappy, and somewhat superstitious Emperor Franz Josef,

who had never led his nation in successful war, wished nothing more than to end his reign in peace. Count Stephen Tisza, the forceful, competent premier of Hungary, thought the time not yet ripe for a final reckoning with Serbia, and, moreover, did not relish the idea of adding more Slavs to the Empire, as he feared would happen if war came. These objections might have been enough to stay Berchtold's hand had the German government not made the error of offering him its support in chastising Serbia by whatever means he deemed advisable. It is doubtful whether the German kaiser or Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg expected Austria to use force; certainly they neither plotted nor visualized a world war, but by giving Austria this "blank check" (July 5) they committed an irreparable but understandable blunder. Twice before Germany had restrained Austria in the Balkans; there was danger that repetition of such procedure might deprive Germany of its only remaining reliable friend. Such was the vicious result of the alliance system.

Having received the "blank check," Berchtold, with almost the same cold, calculating deliberation with which the Black Hand had planned Franz Ferdinand's assassination, secretly settled down to weave his plot against Serbia. Fearing that Germany might yet change its mind and interpose objections at the last moment, he henceforth carefully refrained from consulting fully with his ally until a policy could be chosen from which there could be no retreat. Meanwhile, with subtle and artful cunning, he used Germany's vague promise to pry loose the objections of the emperor and Tisza to his determined plan. At a Council of Ministers on July 7 he recommended strong measures but without result. Two days later Franz Josef, upon the recommendation of Tisza, still objected to forceful action, but by July 14 Tisza had been convinced, and with him the emperor, that unless strong action were taken at once against Serbia, Austria's friendship with Germany might be jeopardized. By the grossest and most inexcusable exaggeration Berchtold had made it appear that his policy of force had been urged upon him. With opposition removed at home and Germany honor-bound to support whatever plan he devised, he proceeded at once to compose such an ultimatum as Serbia could never accept. Under condition that Austria renounce all claims to Serbian territory except for certain minor frontier rectifications, Tisza agreed to its terms. It met with the approval of a Council of Ministers on July 19, and was despatched next day to the minister at Belgrade, with instructions that it be not presented until

the afternoon of July 23.¹ In the usual fashion, the secrecy which shrouded all these preparations could not be completely kept. Diplomatic circles seethed with rumors of the demands which Austria would make, some being astonishingly correct, but repeated efforts to secure precise information from Berchtold were gracefully but forcefully rebuffed. Even Germany had no complete knowledge of the terms of the ultimatum until the evening before its submission, when it was already too late to water them down. Severe enough to make unconditional acceptance impossible, they were scarcely more severe than circumstances now seem to have demanded.² Serbia was given forty-eight hours in which to produce a satisfactory reply.

Officials at Belgrade were hard pressed to reply within the stipulated time. Presentation of the ultimatum on the afternoon of July 23 found the Council of Ministers out of the capital participating in an election campaign. They were hastily recalled, but it was impossible to settle down to the formidable task until the 24th and, even then, the reply could not be framed and completed until almost the very moment at which the ultimatum expired. Working without foreign advice and in feverish haste, their reply stands as one of the monumental diplomatic achievements of all time. Seemingly conciliatory, seemingly acquiescent, it was a masterpiece of delusive evasion. With numerous qualifications and reservations, Serbia agreed to accept all the Austrian demands except that which required Austrian assistance in hunting down and punishing those responsible for hostile propaganda. In a final flourish, the Serbian reply proposed that the whole dispute be submitted to the Hague Tribunal for dispassionate arbitration. Berchtold could not have anticipated an answer so astute as actually to put him on the defensive, but he had expected it to be unsatisfactory. The minister at Belgrade had collected his files and packed his baggage well in advance of the Serbian reply, and was able to leave Belgrade with his entire suite a half hour after it had been submitted.

¹ President Poincaré's visit to Russia at this very time occasioned the delay. It was thought best to await his departure before presenting the ultimatum since it was feared that he might encourage the warhawks at Petrograd.

² After condemning anti-Austrian propaganda which it called upon the government of Serbia to repudiate, the ultimatum demanded (1) that anti-Austrian newspapers be suppressed, (2) that the Narodna Odbrana (ostensibly a patriotic cultural society) be dissolved, (3) that teachers and (4) officials of the army hostile to Austria be removed, (5) that Austria be permitted to assist in the inquisition of those responsible for hostile propaganda, (6) that proceedings against those suspected of complicity in the murder be undertaken at once, (7) that two known accomplices be hunted out by the authorities and arrested, (8) that suspected frontier guards be dismissed, (9) that anti-Austrian statements of Serbian officials be forthwith explained, and (10) that Austria be promptly notified of the execution of these measures.

Diplomatic relations with Serbia were thus broken the evening of July 25 and that same day both Powers proceeded to mobilize their armies.

Until this time there was some hope but little prospect that an Austro-Serbian war might be localized. Every capital of Europe had been shocked at the murder of the Archduke, but as weeks passed by it became clear that few statesmen were prepared to sanction the extinction of Serbia as the appropriate form of chastisement. Russia, in particular, watched developments at Vienna with growing suspicion, fearful lest her position in the Balkans be endangered by the destruction of her protégé. The Pan-Slav press came out openly in Serbia's defense and, as usual, the Foreign Office shortly followed suit. By July 21, Sazonov, who had already let it be known among the foreign diplomats that he thoroughly mistrusted Austria, remarked that Russia could "not permit Austria-Hungary to make threats against Serbia or to take military measures." If there remained any doubts in the foreign minister's mind as to the wisdom of so strong a course of action, they were soon dispelled by President Poincaré of France, who at that very time was visiting Russia with the avowed purpose of strengthening the bonds between the two allies. Although the crisis over Serbia had not been responsible for the visit, arranged long before, it was the problem of vital interest at the moment and consequently uppermost in the minds of both statesmen. The French president, as fearful for the future of the Franco-Russian alliance as the Germans were for the Austro-German, let it be known that France would support her ally in a policy of determined opposition toward Austria. Assured by this French "blank check," Sazonov had reason to expect a decisive diplomatic victory which would efface the defeat suffered at Austria's hands in 1908. There is no indication that Sazonov expected war to follow necessarily, but he did not now shrink from such an eventuality.

It was in this frame of mind that Russian statesmen received the news of the Austrian ultimatum on the morning of July 24. Sazonov, visibly excited and determined to prevent Austrian absorption of Serbia at all costs, consulted at once with the military authorities about the possibility of partially mobilizing the army against Austria. He intended to hold the threat of war as the trump card with which to win his diplomatic game with Berchtold. Nothing could have been more dangerous to the peace of Europe. The military party, believing and hoping that war would come, was extremely apprehensive of partial mobilization, which they thought neither possible nor desir-

able. War with Austria they understood meant war with Germany as well, and they had made their plans accordingly. To change these when danger was imminent would throw the military machinery completely out of gear and expose the nation to fearful dangers. These arguments were compelling, and, during a Ministerial Council on July 25 to discuss the matter, Sazonov compromised far enough to allow the militarists the privilege of enforcing a secret "Regulation concerning the Period Preparatory to War." This was actually no less than the first step toward general mobilization. Troops were to be given instruction as to the probable disposition of the enemy; furloughs were to cease, horses to be bought and properly equipped, banks on the frontier to be evacuated, possible provisions for the army to be husbanded, European freight cars to be kept within Russian territory, and ships made ready for naval use. Beyond consenting to this step, the Ministerial Council agreed that troops be recalled from summer maneuvers to their quarters, cadets be promoted to officers, and that a "state of war" be declared in all towns containing fortresses on both the German and Austrian frontiers. These measures, which constituted neither partial nor general mobilization but were a decisive step toward the latter, were promptly put into effect July 26. Sazonov suffered the delusion that he had thus provided himself with a trump card. What he actually did was to pass his whole hand to the militarists and set in motion forces which swiftly got beyond control.

Meanwhile, the rest of Europe was justifiably alarmed at the prospect of an Austro-Serbian conflict becoming Austro-Russian and consequently European. No statesman really wished for this. As early as July 20, Sir Edward Grey had proposed that Austria and Russia consult together on the demands to be made upon Serbia or, at least, reach some cordial understanding regarding them after they had been submitted. Poincaré, believing that strong pressure at Vienna was more desirable for Franco-Russian solidarity and prestige, objected to this sensible suggestion as "dangerous." On July 24, when the terms of the ultimatum were made public, Grey proposed that the four less interested Powers (Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy) use their influence to mediate the differences between Austria and Russia. Germany accepted, but Poincaré still preferred pressure upon Vienna. On July 26, Grey made a third suggestion: that the less interested Powers assemble in conference to discuss the matter, while Austria, Russia, and Serbia refrain from further military preparations and await results. Germany, properly suspicious of Italy,

believed such procedure would result in a united front against Austria and endanger Germany's relations with her. Bethmann-Hollweg therefore recommended that the Conference project be shelved and offered to urge Austria and Russia to compose their differences amicably between themselves. Sazonov willingly accepted Bethmann's idea of conversations and took steps to set them going. Berchtold, however, never once having thought of reviewing the ultimatum as Russia wished, or of withdrawing from a final reckoning with Serbia, cut the ground from under this hopeful beginning by swiftly declaring war against Serbia, July 28. This was almost two weeks earlier than the military authorities of Austria had expected.

Europe now rushed headlong to the precipice. Until the declaration of war, German statesmen continued to believe that the Serbian problem might be solved peaceably to the satisfaction of both Russia and Austria, but they had placed unjustifiable confidence in the loyalty and trustworthiness of the obstinate Berchtold. Only at the last moment did Bethmann-Hollweg awaken to stark reality, and then, in despair and anger, he vainly sought to apply the brakes. By July 27, when he first saw a full copy of the Serbian reply, the Kaiser also was convinced that "every ground for war disappears." He, too, made strenuous efforts to stay impending disaster. The very day Austria declared war he devised a plan, known as the "pledge plan," by which Austria was to be allowed to occupy Belgrade as a guarantee of Serbian promises while he mediated with Vienna for peace. Such a solution seemed highly practicable, since it would have allowed the warhawks at Vienna a chance to use the army, would have quelled Russia's fears that Serbia was to be completely annihilated, and would perhaps have satisfied the French who had always insisted upon such pressure at Vienna. Sir Edward Grey gave his approval to the project and it was delivered at Vienna with the request for an immediate reply. Twice on July 29, Bethmann-Hollweg telegraphed for the answer, and the next day he became more insistent. Berchtold was visibly distressed at this threatened defection of his ally, but saw no escape and, consequently, summoned a Ministerial Council for July 31 to help him frame a reply. German pressure was at last working in Vienna, but, at the time the Council of Ministers assembled, all hope for peace had vanished with the news that Russia had already ordered general mobilization.

The militarists in Petrograd, convinced that war had already come, had been able to set some of the machinery of mobilization going as early as July 26. Two days later when it was learned that Austria

had declared war, they were able to extort from the civilian authorities the promise to speed it up. Sazonov wanted only partial mobilization, but effective objections were raised against this, and a compromise was reached by which a decree for partial and one for general mobilization were compiled for the Czar's signature. These were both signed on the morning of July 29. In the meantime, the Kaiser intervened with the Czar, asking that military preparations be halted while he use his influence to preserve the peace. Nicholas acquiesced and withdrew the order for general mobilization. However, the next day, July 30, he allowed his mind to be changed again by the military men who already had Sazonov completely in their clutches. A new order for mobilization was signed and despatched that same evening. Russia had thus cut the Gordian knot. Peace in Europe was henceforth inconceivable.

The nervous haste with which the other powers rushed to arms during the next week constitutes a story of confusion and despair which has little more than academic interest. Peoples were whipped to white-hot patriotic frenzy; channels of trade were blocked; international intercourse ceased. Men and nations had once more submitted their differences to the arbitrament of war.

Germany, who had the most to fear from international war, was actually the last to mobilize. Her greatest danger was the threat of simultaneous invasion on both the western and eastern fronts by France and Russia, whose potential man power was infinitely greater than hers. The German military experts, in consideration of this almost inevitable possibility, had staked all on technical superiority, the slowness of Russia's military machine, and the swiftness of German mobilization. If the proper steps were promptly taken, it was thought possible to annihilate France before Russian troops had begun to move. The army could then devote itself entirely to the eastern front. Everything, therefore, seemed to hinge on Germany's getting the jump on her enemies. Bethmann-Hollweg, however, insisted that no irrefragable steps be taken until all avenues to peace had been closed. Consequently, he held the anxious military men in leash until unmistakable evidence of Russian general mobilization was produced on the morning of July 31. Shortly thereafter Germany adopted "preparatory measures." It is interesting to observe that France had already begun to take this step six days before.

As the machinery of mobilization got under way in Germany, Bethmann-Hollweg despatched ultimatums to Russia and France. The former, with a twelve-hour limit, threatened German general

mobilization unless Russia desisted from hers; the latter, with an eighteen-hour limit, called upon France to pledge her neutrality in case war came between Russia and Germany. Both ultimatums expired without satisfactory reply on August 1. German general mobilization followed immediately. France had ordered general mobilization a half hour before. That same day Germany declared war upon Russia, and two days later she declared war upon France.

While all this was happening on the continent, Great Britain remained a doubtful factor. Attempts by France and Russia, in the early stages of the crisis, to tie the British government had drawn from Sir Edward Grey only indefinite and evasive replies. Indeed, British business was opposed to war, and public opinion, in general, seemed against it. Divisions in Parliament and in the Cabinet reflected this divided state of the public's mind, making it extremely dangerous for the government to commit itself to any settled policy. Grey leaned heavily toward France, but was unable to carry the Cabinet with him, until the German government played directly into his hands by violating Belgian neutrality.

To annihilate France swiftly, German military experts had long been convinced that some great flanking movement would be necessary to bottle up the French army. Since the strongly fortified Rhenish frontier in Alsace made this impossible on the Franco-German border, necessity dictated an advance through Switzerland or Belgium. France was incautious enough to leave these frontiers undefended. The fact that the neutrality of both states was guaranteed caused little concern to military men who were interested only in results. Count Schlieffen, who had devised the German plan of campaign against France, planned to concentrate his thrust on the right wing. Using Belgium, he intended to send several armies at top speed across the French border, rolling the unsuspecting French back upon the Swiss frontier. This plan was the one military experts planned to use in 1914, so the civilian authorities faced the delicate task of reconciling the Powers to the infringement of Belgian neutrality. On August 2, an ultimatum was presented to the Belgian government, requesting the use of her territory for the duration of the war. Belgium refused to grant the request, informed the Powers of her determination, and called upon them for protection.

Great Britain had reason to expect this eventuality, for as early as July 29 Bethmann-Hollweg, in an attempt to make a "strong bid" for British neutrality, gave assurance that Belgium's rights would be scrupulously respected after the war. This blunder by the German

Chancellor strengthened the Francophile party in the British Cabinet which four days later, at the news of Germany's ultimatum, gained the upper hand. On the afternoon of August 3, Grey appeared before Parliament, and in a masterly address called upon the British people to respect their "obligations of honor and interest as regards the Belgian Treaty." That evening the Cabinet decided to demand the withdrawal of Germany's ultimatum. Germany refused, and at midnight August 4 war began. Only two determined pacifists resigned from the Cabinet, giving certain proof of the extent to which the infringement of Belgian neutrality had united the country.

Meantime, the German armies moved with swift precision to encircle the French forces already advancing, as expected, upon the German left wing in Alsace-Lorraine. Schlieffen's original plan had called for three armies in the Alsace sector. These were to fight a holding battle, gradually retreating to lure the French on until they would butt their heads fruitlessly against the fortified places about Metz. While the majority of French forces were thus occupied, four stronger armies on the right wing were to cross Belgium into France, pivot on Düsseldorf, and describe a long arc just north of Paris, driving the disordered French into the net which was being prepared for them. Helmuth von Moltke, Schlieffen's successor, had weakened this brilliant plan by strengthening the armies in Alsace and allowing them to assume the offensive. The right was therefore weakened, but for the first several weeks it carried out its scheduled operations with comparative ease. Luxemburg was occupied on August 2, Belgium overrun by August 23, Paris in danger of encirclement to the northeast by September 3. The exhausted Belgian army and the small British expeditionary forces seemed incapable of stemming the tide which threatened to sweep all before it. Only serious weaknesses in the German line, appearing as communications lengthened, and the ability of General Joffre, French commander in chief, to use these advantageously, saved the Allies from complete disaster. Moltke's weakening of the right now proved disastrous. Joffre gathered together British and French troops and awaited the proper moment to strike. Beginning September 5, he drove a wedge into a twenty-mile gap which had opened between the German First and Second armies. As the wedge penetrated, the German staff justifiably feared encirclement, and a general retreat was ordered on September 9. This first Battle of the Marne was decisive only in the sense that it completely frustrated Germany's hope of inflicting a swift defeat upon France. By September 16, the German armies had completed an orderly re-



TRENCH WARFARE

Zigzagged trenches communicating with advanced and rear lines were so constructed to provide protection against murderous fire down the line by the attacker.

treat to the Aisne river, where they dug themselves into almost impregnable entrenchments and defied their enemies for four years.

With the retreat to the Aisne, the war took on a new character. Except for efforts that same autumn to outflank each other in the flat and marshy plains of Flanders, and the memorable Battle of Tannenberg in the east, the war of movement had ceased. Both sides entrenched themselves and settled down to a test of endurance, to a war of attrition which was to be won not on the field of battle but by the starvation and utter exhaustion of millions of civilians. In a struggle such as this, fortune favors that side which controls the routes of transportation and commands the greatest resources in man power, goods, and technical skill. To attain such command both sides sought friends and allies among neutral states and attempted to cut off each other's sources of supplies.

Italy was unquestionably the choicest of the neutral Powers on the continent. If she joined with the Allies, Austria would be further imperiled by the necessity of dividing her armies for use on three fronts, while France, freed from menace in the Alps, could concentrate attention entirely upon Germany. If Italy threw her weight with Austria and Germany, France would be weakened and Austria strengthened. Both sides consequently bid heavily for Italian support. At first,

however, Italian public opinion, under the influence of the pacific Socialist and Catholic press, seemed determined to remain aloof. The government consequently made use of an escape clause in the Triple Alliance treaty, formally declared its neutrality, and announced its intention of pursuing its own interests. A sudden and determined shift of public sentiment against Austria soon dictated a more definite policy. Profiting by its favored position in relation to the belligerents, the government proceeded to bargain simultaneously with each. Austria was asked to cede the Irredentist territories (Trentino, Trieste, Istria), give Italy control of Albania, and bestow upon her certain cherished places on the Dalmatian Coast. In return, Italy promised to help Austria. Under German pressure, Austria finally consented to meet some of these demands, but the total price was higher than any government could afford. Meanwhile, France and Great Britain, with nothing to lose, could be more generous with Austria's territory. On April 26, 1915, while Italy was still negotiating with Austria, she signed the secret Treaty of London with France and Great Britain. Beside recognizing Italy's claims to the Irredentist provinces, the Dalmatian Coast with certain of its islands, and her right to dominate Albania, this treaty agreed to share both Turkish and German possessions with her at the end of the war. Italy agreed to denounce the Triple Alliance, and on May 23 she declared war upon Austria.

Before Italy cast her lot with the Allies, Germany had already won the support of Turkey, with whom she signed a secret treaty as early as August 2, 1914. The Allies remained completely ignorant of this engagement and continued to bid for Turkey's aid until the end of October. At last, in the middle of November, the Sultan proclaimed a holy war against the British, French, and Russians. With heavy Moslem populations under her jurisdiction, Great Britain was most alarmed at this turn of events. Strenuous efforts were made to keep the lid on Egypt and defend the Suez. To prevent the rich oil fields at the head of the Persian Gulf from passing into Germany's hands, an overly ambitious expedition was sent to Bagdad. In the early spring and summer of 1915, the British likewise attempted to seize Constantinople by storming the Dardanelles, followed by a land offensive on the Gallipoli peninsula. This project ended in a complete fiasco. For two years the Turks held out successfully against their enemies.

Meanwhile, the Balkan states were eagerly courted. Bulgaria, in particular, enjoyed a favored position. For her support, both the Allied and Central Powers were prepared to offer portions of Serbian

Macedonia, territory from Greece, and even compensation at the expense of Turkey. In this case, the Central Powers could better afford extravagant generosity. Despite high bids, King Ferdinand, Bulgaria's crafty and unscrupulous sovereign, held out until victory seemed certain for one side or the other. In October, 1915, fortune seemed to favor Germany when a determined Austro-German attack upon Serbia was begun by the redoubtable Mackensen. On October 12, Bulgaria joined the Central Powers in the attack. By the end of the following month, the Serbian armies were driven in complete disorder across the mountains of Albania. Except for Rumania in the north and Greece in the south, the Central Powers now dominated the Balkans. The Baltic Sea and the Persian Gulf were almost linked, forming an expanse of territory which was not only rich in man power and resources but which also practically isolated Russia from her western allies.

Rumania and Greece fell as prizes of uncertain value to the Allied Powers. The former, in much the same position as Italy before the war, was officially connected with the Triple Alliance but was drawn by interest toward the side of the Triple Entente. So long as the Hapsburgs held millions of Rumanian nationals in Transylvania, an alliance with Austria-Hungary was literally meaningless. The aged Hohenzollern king, Carol I, hoped to keep his written promises, but public opinion was largely against him. The government therefore declared its neutrality when hostilities opened, though it soon bargained with both sides. Finally in August, 1916, when a Russian offensive against Austria proved brilliantly successful, Rumania threw her lot with the Allies. On the seventeenth of that month, a treaty was signed granting her her maximum demands in the Banat, the Bukovina, and Transylvania. Ten days later she declared war upon Austria. Swift retributions followed. Under the leadership of two German generals, von Falkenhayn and von Mackensen, a terrible pincers closed upon Bucharest, which fell before Christmas of 1916. The Rumanian army, in considerable disorder, withdrew toward the Russian frontier where it remained in enforced idleness for the rest of the war. Rumania's declaration of war had proved to be a blessing in disguise for the Central Powers. By her swift defeat, their front in the Balkans had shrunk several hundred miles, and much-needed resources of grain, minerals, and oil fell into German hands.

Greece was even more of a problem to the Allies, although in the end she provided them with an invaluable base in the Balkans. When the war broke out, councils of government were much divided over

the course to follow, but Venizelos, the Premier and the most powerful figure in public life, believed that only the Allies could win and satisfy the Greek dream of empire. Between him and the pro-German King Constantine no agreement was possible so Greece officially declared her neutrality. Then followed an exhibition of revolting intrigues among the contending factions in Greece, and of Machiavelian diplomacy on the part of France and Great Britain. Venizelos, on his responsibility, promised aid to the Allies, and invited them to send troops to Salonika (October, 1915). Constantine vainly protested, but managed nevertheless to preserve momentarily the fiction of neutrality. During 1916, Venizelos, determined that Greece should join the Allies, plotted with the French and British for the overthrow of the monarchy. A republic, which he proclaimed, promptly received the support of these two Powers who shelled and starved the opposition into submission. Neutrals and belligerents, especially the United States and Russia, were so shocked at this procedure that France and Great Britain decided to let matters stand for the time being. Their scruples disappeared completely, however, after Russia collapsed and the United States joined the war. June 11, 1917, Constantine was compelled to abdicate, and less than a month thereafter Greece declared war upon Germany. Meanwhile, the accumulating Allied forces in Greece languished in idleness.

As diplomats battled for Balkan aid, most of the remaining important neutrals became ensnared in the meshes of war. Japan, covetous of German possessions in the Pacific area, cast her lot with the Allies early in August, 1914, and little Portugal followed suit three months later. Except for Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries, the whole of continental Europe had thus been drawn into the conflict. The neutrality which these managed to preserve was constantly endangered. The Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries were, unquestionably, in the least enviable position. In close proximity to Germany, they provided the means for the Central Powers to reach out to the western hemisphere for badly needed supplies. Even with Britain's mastery of the seas, the economic strangulation of Germany might have been less prompt had the neutrality of these states been fully and completely respected. Great Britain, however, undeterred by international law, declared a blockade in the whole area of the North Sea. The little neutrals were thus cut off from the outside world almost as completely as Germany itself. Their protests were ignored by the British admiralty which, before the end of the war, high-handedly rationed supplies among

them. Even the cry of starving civilians in Germany failed to arouse the humanitarian sympathies of the British public.

The British navy was tightening the noose about Germany's neck. The Kaiser and his advisers had hardly calculated upon such an eventuality, since they confidently expected that France would capitulate within a few months. Moreover, an open challenge to the superior British fleet seemed too dangerous to risk. The German navy, except for a few ships which managed to prey upon allied commerce, was therefore kept on the defensive, behind the impregnable fortress of Heligoland. Occasional sallies to the British coast were designed chiefly to weaken civilian morale. When it appeared that the war might last indefinitely and as the problem of food supplies became serious, the German authorities determined to do something to break the blockade. In February, 1915, a submarine campaign was announced. All enemy merchant vessels, within a specified zone about the British Isles, were warned that they might be sunk and that it might be impossible to save crews and passengers. This campaign reached its climax in May, 1915, with the sinking of the *Lusitania*, after which it was stopped at the forcible insistence of the United States. The submarine having failed to produce satisfactory results, Admiral Scheer, newly appointed commander of the High Seas fleet, decided to divide the British forces in the North Sea, wear down their tonnage superiority, and then, if possible, inflict a fatal blow. The British had advance news of the plan, and on May 31, 1916, when the flower of the German navy sallied forth toward the coast of Norway the two fleets seemed prepared to engage in battle. Strategy, the elements, and technical skill were with the Germans, but they were overwhelmingly outnumbered and outweighed. Scheer cunningly avoided combat, eluded the British, and took his crippled fleet back in safety. This battle of Jutland was really not a battle at all, although it was the most important event in the uneventful struggle of the war. It was decisive only in the fact that it demonstrated clearly to the Germans the utter futility of trying to break the blockade by ordinary means.

By December, 1916, acute food shortage and a desire to win the war by starving Great Britain induced the German command to revive submarine warfare, despite the fear of American intervention. Announced in February, 1917, the new submarine campaign reached its stride in April, when one of every four ships leaving British waters was sunk, and a total of almost a million tons of Allied shipping

destroyed. Starvation by Christmas threatened, until the conveying of merchant ships was found to be an effective means of defense. By September, sufficient destroyers had been released for this purpose to cut losses to twenty percent of the April total, and by the end of the year the menace had largely passed.

The most significant result of the submarine campaign was American entrance into the war. Subjected to subtle and concentrated propaganda chiefly from the *Entente* but also from the Central Powers, bound to Europe by financial ties, its shipping interfered with everywhere on the high seas, the United States was able with great difficulty to maintain neutrality for two and a half years. Great Britain was the first to give offense through her blockade of the North Sea. Strong protests were registered at London, but Wilson and his advisers at Washington hesitated to implement these with forceful measures, especially since bankers, business men, and the public press manifested a keen solicitude for the Allied cause. It was otherwise with the Germans. When the first submarine campaign was announced, President Wilson sternly warned the German government that it would be held to "strict accountability" for possible loss of American life and property. Within a month one American had drowned on a torpedoed British boat, and two American ships were sunk. While President Wilson was finishing a strong protest against these sinkings, there came the great tragedy of the *Lusitania* (May 7, 1915) with the loss of more than 1,000 persons, 114 of whom were Americans.¹ The American government immediately demanded a disavowal of the act, reparation, and a promise from Germany that it would prevent the recurrence of such incidents. In essence, what President Wilson wanted was to subject submarines to the same rules of war as larger vessels. For technical reasons this was impossible and would have meant complete renunciation of submarine warfare.² The German government, neither wishing to deprive itself of an effective instrument of war nor to offend the United States too deeply, sought

¹ American citizens had been warned not to sail on the *Lusitania*, both because of the fact that its course took it through the restricted area and because it was known to carry munitions of war. Moreover, it appears now that the heavy loss of life was due chiefly to the negligence of the ship's Captain Turner, who ignored warnings of the British admiralty to change his course and was culpably negligent in not giving passengers adequate lifeboat drills and in not keeping his lifeboats in good condition.

² The submarine was too small to save passengers and crews. Moreover, it was completely helpless above the water. If it rose to give warning, it was threatened with destruction by any armed merchant ship. If enemy merchant boats had used their own flags, it might have been possible to save neutral shipping but all the belligerents, Great Britain in particular, freely used neutral flags.

to straddle the dilemma and finally, out of deference to Wilson, postponed submarine warfare indefinitely in March, 1916.

Meanwhile, American sentiment shifted steadily toward the Allied cause, under the influence of business, financial, and cultural interests. Nevertheless, President Wilson remained firm in his determination to preserve American neutrality. This, he believed, was the mandate of the people who re-elected him in the famous campaign of 1916. As late as January, 1917, he remarked to his intimate friend, Colonel House, that "This country does not intend to become involved in this war." Yet a month later, diplomatic relations with Germany were severed. This somewhat sudden though not unexpected change of policy was provoked by the German revival of submarine warfare. Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, after vainly seeking to dissuade his government, submitted the notice of its decision to Secretary Lansing on January 31. Three days later Bernstorff was given his passports. President Wilson, still not convinced that this meant war, sought to negotiate a peace between the belligerents. When these efforts failed, he reluctantly decided to take the final step, and, in a special message to Congress on April 2, called for war against Germany. By an overwhelming majority Congress declared war four days later.¹

When America joined hands with the Allies, the Central Powers still enjoyed a superficial advantage. Even though German offensives on the western front had produced no significant results, neither had the Allies been able to penetrate behind the German lines. In fact, serious mutinies in the French army made it seem likely that French morale would crack, while suffering from the submarine campaign intensified defeatism in Great Britain. In October, 1917, the Italian armies were disastrously defeated at Caporetto and forced to retreat behind the Piave. Two months later, Russia withdrew from the war, after experiencing a violent revolution, and in March, 1918, signed with Germany the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Rumania shortly followed suit. In the meantime, Allied victories were confined to minor advances on the western front and to successful engagements against Turkey. The German staff had reason to feel that if the strength of the nation could hold out a little longer, the war might yet be won in the west, before the weight of American man power had been thrown into the scales. With this end in view, war production was geared to its highest peak, and troops concentrated at strategic points

¹ Cuba, Panama, Brazil, Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay, Liberia, Siam, and China shortly followed America's example.

for the final and greatest offensive. In March, the storm broke, and continued with steadily diminishing fury until July. The German troops, attacking with extraordinary ferocity, recovered recent British gains in Flanders, drove the British back to Amiens, and penetrated behind the French lines to the Marne, within striking distance of Paris. At almost any one of the great salients which had thus been driven into the Allied lines victory might have been snatched had Germany possessed the requisite strength.

The prolonged strain of war had everywhere produced weariness and distress among the embattled peoples of Europe. Russia had been the first to feel its consequences seriously but none of the other powers was immune from dangers brooding underneath. Defeatism was rife in Italy, dangerously active in France, growing in Great Britain. Socialists and pacifists became increasingly critical, and everywhere strong measures were necessary to keep discipline intact and martial fervor alive. In this test of endurance, the Allies, possessed of inexhaustible resources, had a decisive advantage over the Central Powers whom they gradually strangled. The food situation, bad in 1915, became very acute in 1918, resulting in widespread riots which no amount of German organizing skill could prevent. Demoralization of the civilian population spread also to the army, provoking mutiny and rebellion. Even so, Germany might have lasted longer had not her allies succumbed.

Completely exhausted, Bulgaria was the first to capitulate. Almost continuous fighting since the first Balkan war had worn down her man power, while civilian morale was cracked by bad harvests and insufficient food. During the summer of 1918, the army literally melted away as thousands of soldiers deserted, and when, in September, the Allies attacked, the feeble remnant fled in terror. Appeals to Germany and Austria having passed unheeded, the government at Sofia begged the Allies for peace. On September 29, a tentative agreement was reached, and on October 3, after Ferdinand had abdicated, an armistice was signed. A little more than three weeks later (October 30) Turkey followed the same course after British troops, with Arab aid, had driven back the Turkish armies and occupied Damascus and Aleppo.

The defection of Bulgaria, with the resulting threat to Austria from allied powers in the Balkans, was a terrible blow to the enfeebled Hapsburg Empire. Food was almost unobtainable, and heroic attempts by the government to put the citizenry on rations provoked popular rebellion. The army, never trustworthy or dependable, was

falling apart under the pressure of nationalist movements which gained in strength as Hapsburg authority weakened. After the aged Franz Josef died in 1916, his successor, Karl, sought to save what he could by fathering constitutional government. The Nationalist parties would have none of this, with the result that repeated efforts to assemble a national Reichstag ended in miserable failures. Karl then tried to negotiate peace with the Allies, and when this was contemptuously scorned, he made elaborate promises of autonomy to the various nationalities in the Empire, cloaking these under Wilson's Fourteen Points. Perhaps these would have been acceptable a few years before, but in 1918, the subject nationalities would have nothing less than complete independence. Moreover, President Wilson, on October 21, let it be known that his sympathies lay with the latter. A "Federal State" which had been hopefully decreed on the fifteenth thereupon collapsed. Hungary denounced the Ausgleich on the twenty-third, and, in the meantime, South Slavs and Czechs set up their own governments. While the Hapsburg Empire was disintegrating, the Italian army resumed the offensive. Attacked on October 29, the Austrian army fled in complete disorder. An armistice, requested on the following day, was signed on November 2.

The withdrawal of her three allies made Germany's increasingly dangerous situation desperate. The great advances on the western front between March and July had used up the last ounce of energy, extended the battle line beyond the capacity of her depleted man power, and exposed her to withering attacks from the Allies. Moreover, the Allies had at last sufficiently reconciled their differences to centralize the command under the persevering French General, Foch. In August, he began a series of simultaneous attacks along the entire front. These continued through October, until the Germans were driven behind the Hindenburg line, their last and most famous trench system, and were compelled to relinquish two-thirds of the territory they had captured in France. On September 29, Ludendorff, the German Chief of Staff, gave up all hope of victory and persuaded the Kaiser to seek an armistice. President Wilson was consequently requested, early in October, to use his influence for the restoration of peace. When he replied that the Armistice must be such as to make revival of war impossible, the military experts protested, since they had hoped merely for a rest period in which to reconstruct their lines. The civilian authorities would not hear of further delay and, on October 23, the President's demands were officially accepted. Ger-



Wide World

THE ARMISTICE CAR

In this railway car the Germans, in November, 1918, accepted the armistice terms imposed by the victorious Allied and Associated Powers. France preserved it as a national monument. In June, 1940, the conquering Nazis summoned the beaten French to this car to make formal recognition of their defeat. The car was then removed to Germany as a trophy of victory.

many's request for an armistice was then turned over to the Allied military experts in France for consideration.

Generals Foch, Haig, Pétain, and Pershing met on October 25 to discuss terms. Opinions varied from Haig's request for moderation to Pershing's protest that the Germans be given no armistice at all. The terms which were finally agreed upon were then submitted to the political authorities of the Allied governments, working through a steering committee composed of the prime ministers of France, Great Britain, and Italy (Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando), and Colonel House, who represented the United States. After lengthy and heated discussions, the terms were put into final form by November 4. The Germans, notified immediately, sent a commission to meet with General Foch on November 8. They were asked to accept the terms within seventy-two hours under the threat of a resumption of hostilities. Next day, the German government fell, and on November 10 the provisional government accepted the armistice which was definitely signed the morning of November 11. Germany was compelled to evacuate France and Belgium, supply the

Allies at once with huge quantities of guns, munitions, railway materials, and ships, renounce the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, and promise to pay reparations for all the damages she had inflicted upon her enemies.

By the armistice with Germany, fighting ceased, and the greatest war of human history had all but legally terminated. Thirty-three nations had been locked in a conflict which had cost the lives of over eight million soldiers, and the partial or permanent disablement of some twenty million more. This does not include those who died of starvation or disease for which the war was responsible. Direct monetary costs have been placed at approximately two hundred billion dollars, and the indirect costs at one hundred and fifty more. Perhaps worst of all, the economic life of the entire world was deranged beyond hope of immediate recovery, and the whole of western society brought to the brink of ruin.

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The Search for Security

A. IDEALISM AND PRACTICAL POLITICS

Perhaps no group of men has ever borne a heavier burden of responsibility than did those statesmen who assembled in Paris in January, 1919, to dictate a peace to Germany. The peoples of the world, unutterably weary of war, looked to them for peace and guaranteed security. Peace meant a cessation of war, but what constituted a guaranty of security? On that question there was and is a tragic difference of opinion. Peoples schooled in patriotism and whipped raw by nationalistic propaganda can see only one kind of security, their own. It is not strange after four years of horror, four years during which nationalism was kept at white-hot heat, that the statesmen sought not the ideal security of all but the politically practical security of their own people. The armistice had silenced the guns and halted the marching men, but the world was still in the clutch of a horrid fear. War psychosis was the greatest obstacle to a just and lasting peace. Men sought not justice but vengeance. Uppermost in the minds of the majority were two demands: first, that Germany be made to pay the cost of the war; and, second, that Germany be shorn of her strength so that she might never again menace the status quo. There were few who understood the causes of the war and they were as voices crying in the wilderness. So often had the Allies claimed that Germany alone was responsible that they finally believed it. Besides, Germany had been beaten. Did that not prove that justice was on the side of her enemies? The gods of war had spoken.

Nor was war psychosis the only problem which confronted the peacemakers at Versailles. Their *quondam* ally, Russia, had come under the control of the ambitious Bolsheviks, and conservative statesmen shuddered at the well-founded fear that communism might spread. Economic distress in Germany, which the continuing block-

ade rendered more dreadful, made that country peculiarly susceptible to Russian influence. It was because of the common horror at the new Russian regime that Paris, rather than Geneva which had been suggested at first, was chosen as a meeting place for the conference. Wilson, especially, feared communist influence in the Swiss city. All the great statesmen felt that something must be done to check the new Russia, and they wasted much time in fruitless discussions of ways and means.

Literally scores of minority interests sent agents to plead their cases and their often opposing demands constituted another problem which had to be solved. The Wilsonian declaration of the principle of self-determination roused the hopes of minority groups ranging from Polish nationalists to the advocates of a reconstituted Zion. All sought independence of former masters, feeling that that way lay security. Again and again these minority aspirations rose to bedevil the powers that were.

Moreover, all the important statesmen at Paris were hampered by either personal or national promises made prior to the conference. All had made the gesture of accepting President Wilson's Fourteen Points as a basis for the peace, but actually he alone felt bound by them or sought to translate them into practice. Lloyd George had thought it necessary to strengthen his position by holding a general election before the Conference met and in his election speeches he had promised, among other things, to hang the Kaiser and to saddle the cost of the war upon Germany. Clemenceau was bound by no such promise, but France and Great Britain were both committed by treaties which they had made with Italy and Russia during the war. These secret treaties, which were in the nature of bribes, apportioned the enemy territory among the Powers. Russia was to be given Constantinople and other territory in the Near East; Italy, the Austrian Tyrol, the Dalmatian Coast of the Adriatic, and colonies. The Allied promises to Russia had been repudiated by the Soviets, but Italian memories were as keen as her ambitions and she had to be considered.

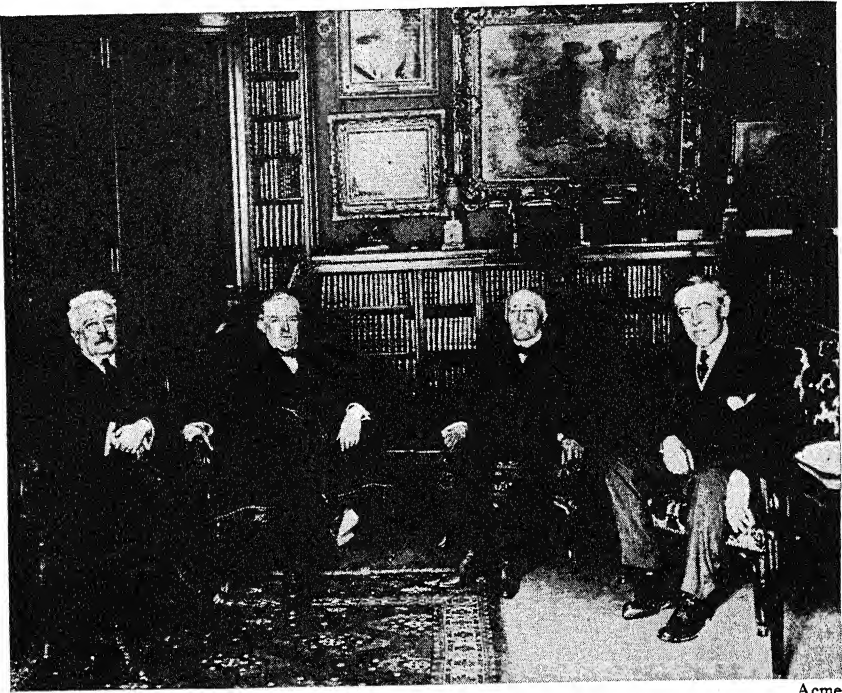
The organization of the conference was in itself a very considerable task. There were jammed into Paris over one thousand official delegates, representing the twenty-seven participating nations, and a huge number of experts, lobbyists, and secretaries. Adherence to the Wilsonian principle of "Open covenants . . . openly arrived at . . ." would have made necessary the participation of all these peoples in the making of the peace. This was not only a physical impossibility; it was also regarded by the Great Powers as antithetical

to their interests. In the end, eight general sessions were held, but only the one dealing with the League of Nations was of any importance, and that session, it may be noted, was not open but secret. In the last analysis, the terms of the peace were arranged by the heads of the three Great Powers: the United States, France, and Great Britain. They were assisted by various committees but the final decision rested with three men: Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George. Personalities were far more important than organization.

Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, was the most powerful if not the most imposing individual in the world in 1919. His various wartime speeches, and particularly the Fourteen Points,¹ which he had laid down as a basis for peace, made him the champion of what the world hoped would be a new order. He was an idealist and an autocrat who apparently enjoyed a sublime self-confidence. He was perhaps at his best on a lecture platform and at his worst in the give and take of a politician's conference. His wisdom and his judgment are open to debate but no one can deny the indomitable courage or absolute sincerity with which he championed what he thought was right. He stood alone for what he considered a just peace, never realizing that, like all other men, his sense of justice had been warped in the inferno of the War.

Georges Clemenceau, the Tiger of France, had won his nickname by a long lifetime of often unscrupulous belligerency. A disillusioned and cynical old man of 78, he vividly remembered the Prussian humiliation of France. The Conference of Versailles was to him an opportunity to guarantee forever his nation against Germany. No idealism for a universal good moved Clemenceau. His devotion was to France and to her alone. Keen-witted, experienced, and owning no aim but the future security of his country, he was a powerful and awesome figure.

¹ The Fourteen Points were embodied in an address delivered on Jan. 8, 1918, in New York City. Briefly they were as follows: (1) open covenants . . . openly arrived at; (2) complete freedom of the seas; (3) the removal of economic barriers, (4) adequate guarantees of international arms reduction; (5) impartial adjustment of colonial claims with attention to the interests of the populations concerned; (6) evacuation of all Russian territory and the recognition of the right of Russia to pursue her own course of political development, (7) evacuation and restoration of Belgium; (8) restoration of all French territory, ". . . and the wrong done . . . in 1871 . . . righted . . ."; (9) readjustment of the frontiers of Italy on the basis of nationality; (10) the autonomous development of the peoples of Austria-Hungary; (11) rehabilitation of the Balkans along the lines of national and economic independence, (12) maintenance of Turkish sovereignty over Turkish peoples, with the promise of autonomy to other peoples in the empire, and the permanent opening of the Straits; (13) the erection of an independent Poland which should have free access to the sea; (14) the formation of a general association of nations to guarantee the future political and territorial integrity.



Acme

BIG FOUR AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Reading from left to right, the "Big Four" are: Orlando, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Wilson.

Less awesome but equally powerful and astute was the little Welshman, David Lloyd George. Born with the gifts of a quick wit and a magnetic personality, L. G., as his associates called him, had developed the qualities of leadership in the hurly-burly of British politics. Details he scorned to know, those were for subordinates to study and settle. His eyes were on the main issues, and he was a past master in the art of opportunism. Moreover, his position was peculiarly favorable since Britain had already won her main objective when the Conference opened.

These three were from time to time assisted or hindered by various lesser lights. Wilson's chief confidant and adviser throughout most of the Conference was Colonel E. M. House. Clemenceau was supported and advised by André Tardieu, and Arthur Balfour played second fiddle to Lloyd George. The demands of Italy were presented by Vittorio Orlando. Of some prestige and not without influence were Venizelos of Greece, Beneš of Czechoslovakia, Paderewski of Poland, and Koo of China.

Clemenceau and Lloyd George paid lip service to the Fourteen Points, but only Wilson sought to realize them and he was forced many times to compromise his ideals. The fundamental touchstone of the settlement was security as interpreted by the various Powers. The peace treaty was grounded on the assertion that Germany was responsible for the war. Not only was it the common belief of the peoples of the Allied and Associated Powers, it was also the only speciously valid basis for demanding that Germany make reparations to the Allies. Article 231 of the treaty which the German representatives were forced to sign on June 28, 1919, read as follows:

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

Unfair as this statement is now realized to be, it must be remembered that no less would have satisfied the peoples of the victorious powers. This was the war psychosis in action.

It was also primarily the force of public opinion which drove the peacemakers into demanding huge reparations from Germany. France had suffered a tangible material loss of approximately \$6,000,000,000; it was to be expected that she would be unyielding in her demands for compensation. Britain's losses were far less, but Lloyd George himself had once promised his constituents that Germany would pay \$120,000,000,000. Neither he nor Clemenceau dared to be moderate, and even Wilson, apparently, was determined that the fallen foe be made to pay. When it came to the actual drafting of the treaty, the three were faced with a dilemma. Germany could not pay if they set the figure too high, but it would have been political suicide to make it moderately low. They finally demanded \$5,000,000,000, to be paid in two years as a first installment, and then established a Reparations Commission to set the final amount. In an effort to guarantee payment, the treaty provided that Germany should support an Allied army of occupation in the Rhineland until she at least had satisfied this Commission as to her good faith.

Having saddled Germany with a crushing burden of debt, the victors, with a most unfortunate short-sightedness, proceeded to render her incapable of meeting her obligations. She was forced to make restitution for the shipping she had destroyed by ceding most of her

merchant marine to the various Allied Powers and by building new ships for them. Her economic resources were in large measure impounded to pay for the rebuilding of devastated areas in France and she was required to furnish thousands of tons of coal to Italy, Belgium, and France. By direct annexation or by annexation cloaked under plebiscites she was deprived of the economically important areas of Alsace-Lorraine, Posen, Danzig, a strip of West Prussia, and large portions of Schleswig and Upper Silesia. In addition, she lost the rich region of the Saar for fifteen years. These concessions were not counted as part payment of reparations, nor was she given any credit for her forced surrender of her overseas possessions. The forfeiture of her colonies represented a very real loss of invested capital, but since they had never paid for themselves, she was really relieved of a considerable financial burden. That was small comfort, however, for the injury done to German pride.

In a vain attempt to attain security by rendering Germany impotent, her army was reduced to 100,000 officers and men; her fortifications were destroyed; her production of war material was limited, and she was forbidden to import any, and her navy was cut down to a skeleton patrol force. She was also forced to promise the surrender of the Kaiser and other high officials for trial by an international court.

Wilson put his trust not in these provisions but in the project nearest his heart, the League of Nations. He was adamant in his insistence that the treaty of peace contain the charter of such a world union. Clemenceau and Lloyd George were not enthusiastic about the plan, and they used it as a pawn in their bargaining with the American. It is fair to say that the vengeful terms imposed upon Germany was the price Wilson had to pay for his League. He, at least, was satisfied with the bargain.

The "covenant" or constitution of the League, which was written into the treaty, provided for an assembly, a council, and a secretariat. The assembly which was really a forum for the discussion of international problems was to include delegates from all member powers. In it was vested control of the budget,¹ the right to admit or expel members, and the power to appoint committees. The council, which was the executive body, was made up of the agents of the Great Powers. It was to act as a mediator in all disputes, to take action

¹ The League was to be supported by contributions from its members.

against an aggressor nation, and to supervise mandates. Both the council and the assembly were to be in session only intermittently. The secretariat, a permanent body, was set up to carry on between sessions and to perform the necessary clerical and research tasks.

The League had four major purposes: (1) to prevent war; (2) to organize peace; (3) to execute certain provisions of the Treaty of Versailles; and (4) to forward co-operative world action in matters of general concern. To aid the League in performing these functions the treaty established two supplementary bodies: the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labor Organization. The "World Court," as it was usually called, consisted of fifteen justices appointed by the Assembly and Council of the League. This court was in permanent session at The Hague and was empowered to adjudicate any dispute referred to it by the contending parties and to give advisory opinions when asked to do so by the League. The Labor Organization was entrusted with the task of studying labor conditions throughout the world with a view to discovering and recommending improvements. It has proved to be one of the most effective and valuable bodies set up by the treaty.

Partly because of mutual fears and jealous suspicions and partly out of deference to Wilson, the enemy colonies were not openly partitioned among the Powers. Instead they were given the name of "mandates" and distributed among the various "mandatory" powers to administer under the guidance of the League of Nations. To further complicate matters, the mandates were divided into three classes.¹ The "Class A" group, comprising the Turkish possessions in the Near East, were shortly to be given independence. The former German colonies in Africa except one were put in "Class B," and were to be given independence eventually. "Class C" mandates in-

¹ A full list of the mandates is as follows:

<i>Area</i>	<i>Mandatory</i>	<i>New Name</i>
Class A North Syria	France	Palestine, Transjordania
South Syria	Great Britain	
Mesopotamia	Great Britain	
Class B German East Africa	{ Great Britain	Tanganyika Territory Ruanda-Urundi
	{ Belgium	
Togoland	France, Great Britain	France, Great Britain
Kamerun	France, Great Britain	
Class C German South Sea Islands	Japan	Union of South Africa
German New Guinea	Australia	
German Samoa	New Zealand	
Naurau Island	Great Britain	
German South West Africa	Union of South Africa	

cluded the former German colony of Southwest Africa and various islands in the Pacific. No provision was made for the granting of independence to these mandates which were virtually annexed to the mandatory powers.

Since the Treaty of Versailles dealt only with Germany it was necessary to make separate treaties with her allies. Austria signed, on September 10, 1919, the Treaty of St. Germain which reduced her to a state of penurious impotence. From her once great empire was created in whole or in part the new nations of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. She was also forced to cede territory to Italy and to Rumania; to give up her seaports; to reduce her army; and to pay an indemnity.

The Treaty of Neuilly, which Bulgaria was forced to sign on November 27, 1919, confirmed Rumania's possession of Dobrudja; deprived Bulgaria of the Thracian coast, which went to Greece; and of most of Macedonia, which was handed over to Yugoslavia. Bulgaria also was required to cut down her army and to pay an indemnity.

Hungary fared no better. The Treaty of the Trianon, signed on June 4, 1920, reduced her territory from 125,000 to 36,000 square miles and her population from 22,000,000 to 8,000,000. The new states were again the chief beneficiaries. Czechoslovakia was given the Slovak province; Croatia and part of the Banat were ceded to Yugoslavia; and Rumania was enriched by Transylvania, the remainder of the Banat and other lands. The Hungarian army was also limited.

Disputes among the Allies and a civil disruption in Turkey held up the peace settlement with that empire. Finally the sultan's government accepted the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), but a group of nationalists, led by Mustafa Kemal, repudiated it. This "strong man" of Turkey backed up his refusal with effective, forceful resistance. The situation cleared when, under cover of a Græco-Turkish War (1921-22) and aided by France and Italy, Mustafa Kemal made himself master of a new Turkey. A very delicate series of negotiations led to the Treaty of Lausanne, which was signed on July 24, 1923. Since Turkey participated in these negotiations she became the only defeated power who escaped a dictated peace. She was, however, forced to consent to the demilitarization and internationalization of the Straits and to the loss of Palestine, Syria, Transjordan, Mesopotamia, and the Hejaz.

One other country also made separate treaties of peace. The Senate of the United States refused to ratify the general European treaties and the United States remained technically at war until treaties were made with Germany, Austria, and Hungary in 1921.

B. AFTERMATH AND RETRIBUTION

The victory of the Allies was construed by casual observers in the early post-war years as the crowning glory of constitutionalism and democracy. The old autocracies had vanished with the smoke of battle, and the "people" had at last gathered the reins of power into their own hands. Idealists believed this presaged a new era of international peace and understanding, guaranteed by the League of Nations, itself a manifestation of successful democracy. Such unbounded faith in the rationality of men and the selfless effacement of democracies was hardly justified by the treaties and the short-sighted policies of the victors. Democracy itself, faced with unprecedented problems of social and economic reconstruction which it could not everywhere solve successfully, was on trial.

In England, the mother of modern democracies, constitutional government was put to a very severe test. Even before the war, British industrial supremacy had been rudely shaken by the expansion of industrialization to both hemispheres. The restoration of peace left this situation unimproved, for the war had impoverished many buyers and had encouraged the growing independence of others. Japan had captured much of the textile trade of China; India was producing an ever-increasing share of goods for its own markets; and the United States challenged London's supremacy in the financial markets of the world. Shortly after the peace of Versailles there began in Great Britain a prolonged depression, unequaled by anything in British history. Trade fell off with alarming speed, and as unemployment increased the distress of labor led to a growing number of strikes which culminated in the nine-day "general strike" of 1926. Under the circumstances, Liberal, Conservative and Labor Governments alike resorted to the most extraordinary palliatives. Believing that part of the difficulties resulted from outmoded business methods and organization, the Government encouraged, sometimes through direct subsidies, the scrapping of old machinery and the introduction of new manufacturing processes. Industries were induced to establish measures of self-regulation, and attempts were made at controlling markets and prices. Great public works pro-

grams were devised, the best known of which was the slum clearance and housing project. Free trade was abandoned for protective tariffs, limited only by preferential rates accorded to the Dominions. To solve the distressing conditions of unemployment, which the social legislation of pre-war years had not relieved, a system of doles was instituted. These drastic measures improved conditions, but did not solve the problem of economic stagnation, so that unemployment remained a chronic sore in British life.

The economic misfortunes of the country naturally influenced British politics. After the war Lloyd George's Government was retained, but its life was rendered precarious by its inability to solve the Irish question and by the problem of unemployment. In 1922 the Ministry was defeated by the Laborites and Conservatives in a general election, and a Conservative Government was established. Two years later the growing Labor Party, led by Ramsay MacDonald, formed its first Ministry, after both Coalition and Conservative Governments had failed to meet the pressing problems of economic distress. This Labor Party, founded in the early twentieth century, had grown steadily before the war and had now reached the proportions of a major party. It was not a revolutionary workers' organization, since it expected to socialize government through constitutional means. Even if it had aimed at radical reforms, its plans would have been frustrated by the large representations of both Conservatives and Liberals in the House of Commons. During its first brief ministry little was done to relieve the conditions of unemployment, although Russia was recognized in the hope that the revival of Russian trade might lead to some material improvement. MacDonald's negotiations with the Soviet aroused both the Liberals and Conservatives who withdrew their support from the Cabinet and forced a general election. This produced an ample Conservative majority, assuring Conservative Government under Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin for the next five years. Baldwin had as little success with the problem of unemployment as his predecessors, and in the general elections of 1929 the Labor Party, advancing an elaborate program of social reforms, gained enough seats to force its resignation. MacDonald, however, as in his first ministry, did not have a clear majority in Parliament, and, having to rely upon the support of Liberals and Conservatives, was compelled to limit his Party's program. He had to content himself with a liberalization of unemployment insurance, and arrangements for prices and marketing in the much-harassed mining industries. Indeed, as the

depression of the 30's set in, the prospect of undertaking further expensive social reforms became much obscured. Faced with mounting deficits, the Government was compelled to increase taxes or curtail social security expenses. The Labor Party split on this issue and MacDonald resigned (1931), to head a National Coalition Government supported in part by a section of the Labor Party, the National Liberals, and an embarrassingly large body of Conservatives.

Meanwhile, the British Government was faced with the most perplexing imperial problems. Although the Dominions had co-operated faithfully in the war, their spirit of independence had gained strength during its prosecution. South Africa, Canada, and Australia emerged as virtually independent nations, tied to the mother country by only a few common interests and the tenuous connection of the British crown. Successive Imperial Conferences (1917, 1926, 1930) fully recognized this fact, confirmed in 1931 by the Statute of Westminster. Apart from the growing independence of these older dominions, Britain's most serious imperial problems were to be found in Ireland and India. In the former, a nationalistic movement, already well established before the war, reached its maturity. But as in 1914 so also in 1918 the solution of the Irish question was complicated by the mutually hostile programs of the Protestant North, which wished to preserve official connections with Great Britain and the Catholic South, which sought complete independence. Although these differences were not wholly composed, a compromise was reached (December, 1921) by which northern Ireland (Ulster) was allowed to preserve its separate existence from the Irish Free State, recognized by the British Government. By this arrangement Ireland achieved dominion status, with the right to its own parliament and local government, but still recognized the suzerainty of the British crown. The extremely nationalistic party of Irish Republicans, led by Eamon De Valera, refused to abide by this settlement and precipitated a bloody civil war, which the properly constituted authorities terminated only after great difficulty. The Republicans were not restored to good graces until 1927. Five years later De Valera and his party won a substantial majority in the Irish Parliament which they have succeeded in keeping.

In India, Britain's problem was no less difficult. The Indian nationalists, led by the Mahatma Gandhi, asked for nothing less than self-government. The British Government sought to meet this demand by the Government of India Act of 1919, which established

a measure of self-government in the Provinces as the basis for native political training. Otherwise, political administration by the British government remained substantially unchanged. Gandhi and the Nationalists refused to accept this arrangement, and a few years later Parliament set up a committee under Sir John Simon to make a thorough investigation of Indian affairs. The Simon Commission failed to find an immediate solution and its report in 1930, favoring the strengthening of British administrative control, was obviously unsatisfactory. Then a series of Round Table Conferences, attended by British and Indian representatives, canvassed the whole field of British-Indian relations; and after the third (1932) a new constitution for India was devised.

The Indian problem and the Irish question were only the most important among the imperial problems of the British Empire. Others have been equally aggravating. Japanese expansion in the Far East threatened Singapore and Britain's favored position in China; while the demands of unsatiated or disaffected powers such as Italy and Germany raised problems of unpredictable proportions.

Post-war France was economically better off than the democracy across the channel, but was perplexed with problems no less difficult. The most highly industrialized and resourceful region of France comprising fully a tenth of her territory had been over-run and held in occupation by German troops for the duration of the war. In expectation of German reparations, this was swiftly "restored," the expenses being paid from extraordinary budgetary allowances to be recouped from Germany later. This procedure put a false light on French recovery and finances, although it guaranteed for the moment French economic supremacy on the continent. Germany's inability to pay the expected indemnities, even under the pressure of an invasion of the Ruhr (1923), punctured the bubble of artificial prosperity and produced a downward spiral of economic development which culminated only with Premier Poincaré's drastic measures (1926) of incorporating the "recovery" budget with the regular budget and stabilizing the franc. Together with the natural expansion of French trade resulting from "recovered" enterprises and the deliberate stimulation of tourist travel, this fended off serious economic difficulties until the depression of the 30's was well advanced. Then, however, growing budgetary deficits which threatened financial stability, and spreading unemployment, produced widespread unrest and led to a number of serious political crises.

Republican France had never been distinguished for its political

stability. The varieties and shadings of political parties had made party government a practical impossibility and had necessitated the establishment of coalition governments which were no stronger than their weakest member. This instability produced numerous and confusing cabinet changes which frequently defy explanation by the trained observer. At times parliamentary government had been seemingly paralyzed by such procedure, only to recover when the future seemed blackest. For several years after the World War party factionalism abated before the general desire to present a united front to Europe, to assure French security and peace, and to exclude the threat of Bolshevism. By 1924 this self-imposed quiescence of party leaders was broken. The many radical parties showed signs of recovering their strength, and the fear of communism declined. Ministerial changes became more frequent thereafter, accelerating their pace as the depression gradually reached the depth of its trough in 1934.

Apart from purely economic and political difficulties, the course of French government did not run smoothly after the war. Widespread fear of a possible "revival of 1914" encouraged the adoption of a defensive program of stupendous proportions, in which the most ambitious and expensive project was the construction of the Maginot Line of fortifications on the German frontier. Even this was not enough to produce the security which so many French citizens demanded. At the same time the government was greatly perplexed by problems arising out of its war-time acquisitions, especially in Alsace-Lorraine and its mandate of Syria. Attempts to absorb the German cultural minority in the former were met with serious objections and were never completely successful. In Syria, the difficulties have been even greater, since efforts to superimpose French culture have given rise to a strong nationalist reaction which has not yet responded to treatment. But by far the most persistent and potentially dangerous problem of democratic France grew from the development of the Fascist states, Italy and Germany.

Great Britain and France despite their difficulties had remained democracies, but to the horrified astonishment of many peoples some of the other Powers did not fulfill the promise of the "war to make the world safe for democracy." Partly because of the continuing power of that shibboleth, but more because of the education and tradition of democratic peoples, there has been a strong tendency to interpret these post-war developments, especially in Russia, Italy and Germany, as being retrogressive. A re-examination of the history

of those countries shows, however, that the establishment of dictatorships in them is not a deviation from their tradition and background. Russia remained legally an autocracy until the establishment of the Duma in 1905, and actually an autocracy until 1917. Italy, theoretically a constitutional monarchy, was really an oligarchy from its very formation, and the German people have enjoyed less than a decade of republicanism. It is, therefore, hardly to be wondered that under the stresses and hardships of the contemporary world these peoples turned not to the comparatively unknown democracy but to the more familiar government of dictators and oligarchs.

The world was startled in 1917 by two revolutions in Russia which not only deposed the Romanovs but also embarked that country upon a program of sweeping social change. Riots and rebellions were not new in Russia, but successful revolutions were, and the second of these was so comprehensive in its scope that it is still impossible to estimate it accurately.

The fundamental causes of the revolution lay deep in the political and social structure of the Russian state. Russia was definitely a land of privilege and contrasts. At the top were the czar, the nobles and the wealthy bourgeoisie who monopolized the government, the land, and the wealth. At the bottom were the underprivileged and exploited city workers and the land-poor peasantry.¹ The middle class was small, amounting to less than seven percent of the total population in 1917. The continuance of this system of inequality depended very largely upon the presence of a firm and capable autocrat, and Nicholas II, last of the Romanovs, was vacillating and incompetent. When the added burden of the war fell upon his narrow shoulders and narrower mind, he proved unable either to bear it himself or to shift it to more competent men. The middle class was neither sufficiently large nor sufficiently trained to assume the government; and the power fell, therefore, to the first organized minority which promised land to the peasants, peace to the soldiers, and food to the workers.

When the war began, nearly all the upper classes, including the bourgeoisie, rallied to the support of the czar with a patriotic fervor unmatched since the days of the Napoleonic invasion. A more able ruler than Nicholas might have used this opportunity to unite his

¹ It is estimated that in 1905 30,000 landlords owned 189,000,000 acres while 10,500,000 peasants owned only slightly more than 200,000,000 acres of land.

people under a true constitutional monarchy, but Nicholas and his czarina were autocrats by training and inclination if not by ability, and they refused to compromise their ambitions. A judicious policy of liberalism might well have saved both the monarchy and the monarchs. Nicholas chose instead to try to make the war prove the strength of the autocracy, and by refusing both the pleas and the advice of those who might have helped him, he alienated those whose support he most needed. Successive defeats shattered the army and ruined the morale of the patriots at home who might have remedied or at least improved the situation had the czar allowed them to do so. The only remedy which occurred to the panicky powers-that-were was to call more and more men to the colors, thereby reducing production, breaking down the system of transport, and otherwise gravely exacerbating existing evils. It is significant that the revolution began with bread riots in Petrograd in March of 1917. Unable to withstand the terrific pressure placed upon him, the czar abdicated and after a terrible moment of hesitation the Duma set up a provisional government. With the power in their hands, the bourgeois leaders were at a loss to know what to do with it. To the problems of the war, food shortage, and agrarian unrest were added the calamities of vacillation, incompetence, and the lack of leadership. Out of this welter of confusion there emerged in the next few months a minority group, the Bolsheviks, and two remarkable leaders, Trotsky (Leo Bronstein) and Lenin (Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov).

Neither this party nor its leaders were strange to the ways of revolution. The party was an offshoot of the Social Democratic Party which had been formed in 1898 and had five years later split into two groups, the *menshevik* (minority) and the *bolshevik* (majority). Both men had been agitators from their youth, and both had been at one time exiled to Siberia. The party split divided the two men, but the Revolution of 1905 found them both in Russia and both acting against the government. The reaction which followed that affair drove them both once more into exile and the outbreak of the World War found Lenin in Austria, Trotsky in the United States. The German government, correctly gauging the value of Lenin to their cause, permitted him to return to Russia in April, 1917. Trotsky came back to Russia shortly thereafter and the two temporarily forgot their differences to join in seizing their golden moment.



LENIN

Wide World

At the same time that the weak, bourgeois, Provisional Government had been established the Socialists had organized a Soviet¹ of Workers and Soldiers Deputies. Composed of about a thousand "delegates" from labor and army groups, the Soviet was a mildly anti-bourgeois organization. Controlled at first by the Mensheviks, it contented itself with interfering with the new government in various ways and thus rendering the existent confusion worse. The advent of Lenin and Trotsky transformed the Soviets into

a Bolshevik organization, and supplied the strong leadership which had been lacking. The now radical Petrograd Soviet, followed by local soviets which had been formed throughout the country, consolidated its power and organized its energies. Lenin, with a remarkable acuteness and total lack of ethics, was rallying the lower classes to his support by promising food, land, and peace—none of which he was in a position to confer. Very cleverly outwitting and outmaneuvering Kerensky, who emerged as the leader of the Provisional Government, Lenin forced the break and on November 7 proclaimed the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the establishment of a proletarian state. Subsequent pronouncements promised peace, the destruction of capitalism and private property, and the gift of the land to the peasants and the control of production to labor. The Second Congress of Soviets so decreed and legalized the temporary government known as the Soviet of People's Commissars. The most important members were Lenin as President, Trotsky as Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and a revolutionary, named Dzhugashvili, but usually called Stalin, as the Commissar for Nationalities. The Commissars were to hold office until a Constituent Assembly could be summoned to establish a permanent government. When the Assembly finally met in January of 1918, it was so definitely anti-Bolshevik that Lenin found the means

¹ "Soviet" is the Anglicized form of the Russian word COBET which is usually translated as "Council."

to destroy it and kept the power in the hands of the Commissars.

The new rulers of Russia, who had won that place less by their own merit than because there had been no unified opposition to them, now faced the more difficult task of maintaining themselves in power. Not only were they under the necessity of at least making a show of keeping their promises, they also had to face the violent opposition of those whom they had dispossessed and the hostility of the Allied and Associated Governments. That hostility became active after March, 1918, when the Bolsheviks in desperation made the separate peace of Brest-Litovsk with Germany. The Allies blockaded Russia, landed an expeditionary force in Siberia and aided the counter-revolutionaries with money and supplies. Only the fact that the latter were unable to co-operate because of personal differences and their geographical location saved the new government. Perhaps the hardest problems of all were the food shortage and the agrarian unrest. Lenin had planned to barter manufactured goods for food, but the worker-controlled factories did not produce enough goods and the peasants had to be forced to surrender their grain. By playing off one group against the other, by quieting the workers with talk of the proletarian state and the peasants by gifts of land with promises of more to come, by building up a strong and loyal army, and by using terrorism to drive opposition underground, Lenin and his associates performed the truly remarkable feat of consolidating their power. The first crises were past but there were hard days to come.

While the civil war was yet raging, the Bolsheviks worked out their system of government. Czarist Russia included many minority peoples, and these the new rulers sought to incorporate into their system. Despite high-sounding promises of autonomy and self-determination for all nationalities, the basic Soviet policy was to incorporate into the new state as many of the subject peoples as possible. When there was no chance of so doing, as in the case of the Baltic states and Poland, the new government let them go with an outward show of good will. In 1923 a constitution knit the various peoples into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.). Around the nucleus of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) were grouped four federative and two unitary divisions. In theory these component parts are free to rule themselves and even to separate from the whole if they so desire, but in practice they are bound to the R.S.F.S.R., which dominates them.

The first constitution of the R.S.F.S.R., formulated in 1918, established a very intricate system of administration which at first glance appears to vest the sovereign power in the proletariat. As a matter of fact, this elaborate system was merely a mask. The real power lay not with the masses but with the few leaders of the Bolshevik Party.¹ Lenin, who until his death in 1924, was the guiding genius of this new state and whose principles continue to dominate much of the Russian thought and action, expressed his stand thus: "The state means the workers, the most advanced, progressive section of the workers, the advanced guard—that is, ourselves." In other words, Lenin dominated the inner group which controlled the Bolshevik Party. The party dictated to the proletariat, and the proletariat ruled the country. There could be no purer dictatorship. The advent of Stalin upon the death of the master and the new constitution of 1937 have made no essential change in the situation. Stalin's authority derives less from his official position than from the fact that he heads the Bolshevik Party. That party carries a tremendous burden, for it constitutes less than two percent of the total population of the U.S.S.R. Its strength stems from its rigid organization and discipline which resemble the sixteenth-century Jesuits, and from its use of a secret police which parallels the Spanish Inquisition. The party members are true fanatics in the service of a new religion. Theirs is the only party permitted in Russia, and they guard their monopoly with the fierce determination of self-preservation.

Soviet domestic policy centered about the efforts to solve the tremendous problem of re-establishing and promoting the industrial and agricultural development of the country upon a wholly new basis: the national ownership of the tools of production, the land, and the resources of the land. The World War, the Revolution and its ensuing troubles, and the transformation of the system reduced Russia to desperate economic straits in the early days of the new regime. It has already been noted that industrial production fell so low that the barter of manufactured goods for grain proved impossible. The coming of civil peace failed to improve matters, and in desperation Lenin retreated to a compromising of pure communism with capitalism. This hybrid, known as the New Economic Policy (NEP), went into effect in 1921 and continued until 1928. The state retained control of foreign trade, transport and large industries, but agriculture and small industries were restored to private

¹ In 1919, the party name was officially changed to "Communist" but the older form is used throughout this discussion to avoid confusion.

ownership. Internal trade was opened to individual enterprise, and the peasants were no longer forced to surrender their surplus production to the state. The NEP was sufficiently successful so that in 1928 Stalin, who had made himself the real ruler of Russia, was able to inaugurate the famous Five-Year Plan. The audacious and somewhat pompous aim of this plan was to transform Russia in five years from an agrarian to an industrialized state, strong enough to stand alone. The process was marked by a return to the so-called "War Communism" of the early years. Internal trading was once more restricted, the government control over industry strengthened, and an attempt made to replace individual with collective farming. Before the allotted time was up, Stalin declared that the major objectives had been obtained, and closed the campaign in order to begin upon a second Five-Year Plan. In the absence of trustworthy statistics it is impossible to measure exactly the success of the first plan. Considerable advance was made in industrial production, but apparently it was at the expense of the Russian people whose living standards seem to have suffered from lack of consumer goods. The second plan, incidentally, was aimed at increasing the production of such goods. In agriculture the success was considerably less. The peasants, often by passive means, resisted collectivization and brought starvation again and again to many of their countrymen.

Next to the Five-Year Plan the world in general has been most interested in the Russian social experiment. Education, welfare of the masses, atheism, and a code of social ethics in which the state is paramount to its members have been its cardinal points. Here again it is still impossible to report exactly what has been accomplished. There is no question but that education in the new way of life has been widely undertaken, but no reliable index of the progress made is available. The figures offered to show the increase in schools and colleges, even if accurate, do not measure the amount or caliber of the instruction provided. Distinct efforts have been made to provide the masses with adequate living quarters, sufficient food and clothing, and medical care. To date, however, though much has been done, much more yet remains to be accomplished. Branding religion as a bundle of superstitions and "a narcotic for the people" the Soviet state has, from its inception, pursued a policy of substituting its dogma and faith in its power and accomplishments for the older faith in God. The new generation has been successfully trained in the new credo, but many of the older people remain true to the faiths of their fathers. The new code of ethics has centered around

more liberal divorce laws. The "nationalization of women" once alleged has long since been proved a peculiarly slanderous piece of anti-Bolshevik propaganda.

Italy managed to last out the war, but her situation in 1919 was grave. Naturally deficient in resources, the financial strain of the war and its aftermath had imposed an almost insupportable burden upon the Italian people. Supplies of prime necessities were woefully inadequate, business and agriculture were almost completely paralyzed and widespread unemployment, engendered by the derangement of economic life, was dangerously aggravated by the demobilization of the army, already rife with mutiny and rebellion. A strong government might have met these difficulties with heroic measures, but the Italian government was notoriously weak. Long before the war political life had been corrupted by self-seeking politicians, and to this was now added parliamentary paralysis resulting from the emergence of a variety of new parties. While the Chamber of Deputies argued and debated fruitlessly, the people resorted to primitive methods of self-preservation. Conditions were ripe for revolution.

If maturity and numerical strength had counted, either the Syndicalists or Socialists might have profited from popular distress. During the 1890's both of these parties had taken strong root. The Socialists, in particular, had grown to such proportions that on the eve of the war they controlled a majority in Parliament and practically dominated public life, but war psychosis and an unhappy dispute among the party's leaders divided its ranks after hostilities began. The breach was so wide that it could not be bridged, despite temporary reunion in the early post-war years. It was not difficult for the Socialists to encourage strikes or by other means cripple the economic life of the entire nation, but the hopelessly weak and divided leadership of the party made it impossible to reap profit from resulting distress. Meanwhile the golden opportunity passed to other hands.

As early as 1917 there appeared in the wealthy agrarian and industrial valley of the Po, the stronghold of the Socialists, a number of patriotic clubs designed to protect property and preserve law and order against the anarchical forces of socialism, communism, and syndicalism. Much like the vigilance committees of the American frontier, these grew spontaneously out of the forces of the time. Some were agrarian, some industrial; some wore black shirts, some blue, some gray; some were extremely radical while others were conservative and reactionary. These *fasci*, as they were called, had little

in common except the methods of violence which they used to destroy their enemies or appease the greedy appetites of adventurous leaders who dominated them. There is a curious resemblance between these "patriotic" clubs and the armed bands of the *condottieri* of the Renaissance.

The genius of one man molded the diverse and scattered *fasci* into a coherent, smoothly working political machine which in the brief span of three years imposed its will upon the Italian people. Son of a village blacksmith and local demagogue, Benito Mussolini (1883-) was introduced in early youth to the world of intrigues and revolution with which his family and friends had close affiliations. After a meager education in the local schools of Forlì he attended the College of the Salesian Fathers at Faenza and then, at the age of eighteen, secured a position teaching in an elementary school. Intimate association with Socialists soon put him in the bad graces of the local authorities, and after an altercation with the mayor he was promptly dismissed. As a vagabond, hunted by the police, he spent the next several years in Switzerland, moving always in the circle of revolutionaries who flocked about Geneva. This brief exile is already shrouded in mystery and legend, though it culminated in a misadventure with the Swiss authorities and his expulsion from the country. In Italy again, after teaching French in a private school and writing for the local newspaper of Trento, he secured an appointment as secretary of the Socialist association at Forlì in 1910. Here he established a newspaper, *La Lotta di Classe* (Class War), in which, as an orthodox Socialist he assailed Parliament as a corrupt anachronism, and preached the dictatorship of the proletariat. The vigorous, uncompromising spirit of his editorials, his round denunciation of the conservatively inclined leaders of the Socialist Party, and his relentless campaign against the imperialistic Tripolitan War of 1911 brought him a considerable following and made him a power to be reckoned with in his party. Never one to let an opportunity pass, Mussolini used his influence in 1912 to reorganize the party directorate and, incidentally, to acquire for himself control of its principal organ, the *Avanti*. That he was a journalist of more than ordinary acumen is attested by the fact that the newspaper's circulation soon more than doubled under his direction.

When the World War broke out, Mussolini, perhaps the most widely known if not the most influential Socialist in Italy, was so vigorously opposed to Italian intervention that he threatened the state with a general strike and civil war if neutrality were aban-

done. It was not long, however, before he completely reversed his position, was expelled from the staff of the *Avanti*, and soon emerged with a new paper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, the mouthpiece of the party of interventionists who demanded war upon Austria. Whether this sudden change of front was due solely to genuine patriotism or to suspected Entente bribery matters little, for with his new adventure his star was definitely in the ascendant. *Il Popolo* supported the war on the front, helped to stem the tide of growing defeatism, and, finally, when Socialists sabotaged and crippled local political and business life, became the champion of law and order. It was chiefly through his newspaper that Mussolini organized his first *fascio* at Milan in 1915 and six years later united the various other *fasci* into the Fascist Party.

When the government seemed to abandon the nation to its fate, Fascism under Mussolini's still uncertain leadership took on the aspect of a crusade. Strikes were halted by force, Fascists themselves supplying the men to operate machinery. Socialists were threatened with violence, beaten, forced to gorge themselves with castor-oil or have their teeth pulled by "dentists" who made no pretense of being painless. The success of these measures vaulted the embryonic Duce's soaring ambitions. In 1921 at a national congress of *fasci*, the Fascist Party was definitely organized under Mussolini, who proceeded at once to formulate its political program.

Coming from one of the greatest opportunists of recent times and adapted to a polyglot group of malcontents, it is not difficult to understand why this program defies definite statement. It denounced the monarchy and then defended it; it was hostile and then tolerant toward the church; it was socialist for the laboring class and capitalist for the bourgeoisie; and finally, it defended and then condemned the parliamentary system. It was consistent only in its determination to regenerate the nation and establish an empire. Under the circumstances, a more tangible program would probably have meant the defeat of the party. Its strength lay in its flexibility and swift adaptability, in its consistent inconsistency. Inspired Fascist philosophy has since endowed this quality with the requisite respectability.

The formulation of the party's program had hardly been made when the strikes which had paralyzed the country began to diminish and Socialist influence began to wane. With the prospect of having no enemies to fight, Fascist leaders justifiably feared that their organization might well collapse through internal dissension.

To forestall this, Mussolini, in 1922, directed his attack more specifically against the Chamber of Deputies, which happily for him was deadlocked, and spoke openly of a revolution to save the nation. Offers of several posts in the cabinet were made in a vain effort to appease him, but these he refused. In October, 1922, he convoked a congress of his party at Naples to announce that unless the government capitulated he was prepared to seize power. On the 28th his blackshirts occupied the capital; and the following day King Victor Emmanuel III, who had been unable or unwilling to use force against him, called upon Mussolini to form a ministry.

The victory was still far from decisive. Within the party itself Mussolini's authority remained tenuous, while the Chamber of Deputies, whose co-operation he needed for the time, was anti-Fascist. To establish his independence of pushing allies, he dismissed the blackshirt army with which his *coup* had been effected and then settled down to conciliate his enemies. A coalition ministry, composed of only four Fascists and a majority of Liberals, Nationalists, and Democrats, was formed, and several weeks later Mussolini apologized before the Senate for the rudeness with which power had been seized. Toward the Chamber of Deputies he was less deferential but hardly less conciliatory; there was no evidence yet of a determination to dispense with constitutional forms. All that he asked was unlimited powers for one year in order to make the necessary economies of government and to settle the troubled state of national economic and political life. The country did not consider this request unreasonable and it met with the approval of a considerable majority in the Chamber.

The opposition parties, however, had been silenced only momentarily. Incipient rebellion in the Chamber flared up ominously before the year of probation had passed. The Catholic *Popular* Party, which had negotiated a truce with the Fascists, soon denounced the government for its disrespect of individual liberties. Fortunate circumstances enabled Mussolini to eliminate its leaders, and the party melted away. To consolidate this gain and to kill the Socialist Party, from which he had really the most to fear, Mussolini now proposed a new election law which would give the party receiving a bare majority of votes two-thirds of the representation in the Chamber. This bill was passed in July, 1923, and in the "honest" election which followed shortly thereafter, the Fascists won a clear fifty percent of the votes. This was perhaps a surprise even to Mussolini,

who by it, however, was enabled to entrench himself more strongly in power.

Even in this "reformed" Chamber, opposition was not yet silenced. The Socialists became so violent in their attacks that Mussolini, in June, 1924, threatened to clear the Chamber. Within a week of this ultimatum the most uncompromising of the Socialist deputies, Matteoti, was ruthlessly assassinated. Mussolini publicly denounced the use of violence, promised to reconstruct the cabinet, cleanse the government and reorganize the party, but public opinion was hardly satisfied. At no time in his career was his position more precarious, but he had a genius for turning misfortune into advantage. After several vain attempts to conciliate the growing opposition in the Chamber, he suddenly declared war upon it. On January 3, 1925, he announced that the Socialist deputies, who had meanwhile withdrawn to function as a separate body, would be crushed. Appropriate measures to carry out this project were forthwith adopted, the press was muzzled, and all publications of literature hostile to the regime suppressed.

This done, the mask of constitutionalism was at last dropped and the totalitarian state gradually took shape. Suspected liberals were imprisoned, anti-Fascist lawyers and teachers were forbidden to practice their professions, opposition to the regime was made a political crime, and reorganization of the courts of law was undertaken with the view to eliminating hostile influence. Meanwhile, a series of decrees enlarged the scope of the Duce's authority. Dictatorial power was guaranteed by a measure which made the prime minister responsible to the king and empowered him to issue decrees having the force of law. Local political democracy likewise vanished, the central government assuming the right to fill by appointment all important local offices. By 1926 Mussolini had made the Fascist Party the only recognized political body of the nation with himself as master.

The German people, convinced that their cause was the righteous one of self-defense, entered the war with an almost unanimous patriotism. Four grueling years brought war weariness and an increasing hatred of the Imperial Government and the ruling classes who were blamed for the growing misery. To this disillusionment, Allied propaganda, especially Wilson's Fourteen Points, the blockade, and the Russian Revolution contributed no small share. Military disasters late in 1918 and the shortage of food which was rapidly becoming more acute combined to break the morale of the German people.

The kaiser and his advisers vainly sought to stem the flood of discontent in October, 1918, by abolishing the autocracy and turning the government into a parliamentary monarchy. Their concessions came too late. Led by the Socialists and inspired by a mutiny in the navy, the people demanded the abdication of the ruling families and a new deal in government. Mass demonstrations and strikes forced the government to acquiesce in the replacement of the liberal chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, by the Socialist, Fritz Ebert, on November 9. Despite bitter party friction, the various Socialist groups rallied behind Ebert and on the following day a Socialist German Republic was proclaimed in Berlin. This proclamation emanated from a workers' and soldiers' soviet, which, despite its name, was neither Russian nor Bolshevist. The government was entrusted to a coalition committee until a constituent assembly could be chosen to frame a constitution.

At the election in January, 82 percent of all adult Germans exercised their right of suffrage, and the National Assembly so elected opened its sessions at Weimar in February. Under a temporary constitution Ebert was chosen president and a coalition ministry was named to assist him. The assembly's major task of drafting a permanent constitution was interrupted in June by the necessity of dealing with the Versailles Treaty. The Assembly had no choice but to accede to the Allied demand for an immediate and unconditional acceptance of it, and the ratification was made on June 23. Unfortunately many people blamed the Assembly for accepting what it could not refuse and an understandable but unjustifiable odium was thus attached to the Assembly and to the constitution which it placed in effect on August 11.

The Weimar Constitution represented a unique combination of democratic and socialistic elements. The forms of government were republican, but the emphasis placed upon the reciprocal duties of the State and its citizens was socialistic. The new German republic was a strongly centralized State with much power vested in the president, who was chosen by direct election for a seven-year term. With the consent of the lower house, the Reichstag, he could suspend the constitution, dissolve the Reichstag and govern by decree. Normally the functions of the government were to be discharged by a bicameral legislature consisting of the Reichsrat, a federal council of seventy members; the Reichstag, composed of five hundred members elected by universal suffrage; and a ministry responsible to the

latter body. The Reichstag was given power to overrule the upper house and to override the president's veto.

The young German republic was immediately beset by frightening difficulties. It was bedeviled by plots of communists, monarchists and other malcontents, including, in 1923, an abortive rebellion led by an obscure Austrian, Adolf Hitler. The economic system of the country, already overburdened by the cost of the war, was gradually collapsing under the added weight of the reparations charges. Finally, late in 1922, Germany defaulted in the reparations payments, and France who thought her late enemy was bluffing moved an army of occupation into the Ruhr District. The hapless Germans offered the only resistance they could, they refused to work, and the bottom fell out of the financial bucket. Germany was unable to obtain credit in the world's markets and went into involuntary bankruptcy. The mark, once worth about twenty-five cents, plunged downward in value as the government presses roared constantly in a hopeless effort to stop the unstoppable by inflation. By August, it took 1,100,000 marks to equal one dollar, and by November, a dollar would have bought from three to four billion marks. The resulting chaos and hardship should stand as a sufficient warning to any nation which contemplates inflation as a way out of difficulties. The most important result of the German travail was the practical wiping out of the middle class. The *bourgeois* became, temporarily, the forgotten man.

At a moment when the republic seemed doomed, the chancellorship passed to an ardent German patriot, Gustav Stresemann. Essentially a monarchist, and probably a chauvinist, he proved himself to be above all else, a realist. His far-sighted statesmanship, his policy of conciliating Germany's *quondam* enemies, and his vigorous actions stamp him as one of the greatest figures of the post-war era. He at once began the painful and unpopular process of stabilizing finances by issuing a new currency, the rentenmark, equal to one billion of the old marks. When his people proved fractious he met force with force and made them swallow the bitter pill of rehabilitation. Turning then to foreign relations he bowed to the French occupation of the Ruhr and so removed their immediate hostility. He followed up this policy of *rapprochement* with the Locarno Pacts (1925) which were really a Franco-German guarantee to maintain the status quo with Great Britain and Italy as co-guarantors. His reward was the evacuation of the Ruhr and the admission of Germany into the League of Nations (1926). Two years later he

again demonstrated his desire for peace by bringing Germany to adhere to the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact outlawing war. Meanwhile his policies had resulted in marked improvement in the economic situation. In 1924, he had been instrumental in bringing about the revision of reparations known as the Dawes Plan. This arrangement which lasted until 1929 not only reduced the amount of the yearly payments but, what was more important, provided for foreign loans to Germany. Under the guidance of Stresemann and with the stimulus of the foreign loans German business began to recover, but the government continued to incur a yearly deficit. In an effort to alleviate this situation and to make a final settlement of the reparations problem, a group of international bankers, headed by Owen D. Young of the United States, produced a new plan for scaling down the debt (1929). The untimely death of Stresemann in August of that year, and the beginning of the worldwide economic depression doomed this scheme to failure.

Following Stresemann's death the leading figure in German politics was the president, Paul von Hindenburg, who had been elected after the death of Ebert in 1925. The choice of this former servant of the kaiser was at first expected to mean the end of the republic, but the old war lord proved at first as staunchly loyal to his new responsibilities as to his earlier ones. After a few years, however, Hindenburg, approaching his dotage, became a pawn of contending factions. To the undoing of the republic, his clouded brain remembered clearly only his loyalty to his fellow Junkers. Whatever hope there was that he might hold Germany to moderate policies of reconstruction was buried under the combined impact of the depression and the Allied insistence upon the payment of reparations. From 1929 to 1933 the government waged a losing battle against overwhelming odds. The collapse of German industry which by 1932 had thrown six million men, almost a tenth of the total population, out of work was mirrored in the growing unrest of the people. The blocking of a proposed Austro-German Customs Union by France in 1931 also increased the strength and numbers of the malcontents. Successive elections returned more and more of this group to the Reichstag until in July, 1932, the party of discontent, *par excellence*, the National Socialist German Workers (Nazis), won 230 of the 500 seats, and Adolf Hitler, the party leader, became the dominant figure in German political life.

Among the lesser powers, Poland was the largest and the least happily situated. After a turbulent period of national regeneration

during the late war years, an aggressive war with Russia (1921), and the seizure of Vilna and of territory in Galicia, Poland re-emerged by 1924 as the sixth largest nation of Europe, with a population of approximately thirty million. The fact that much of its territory was occupied by self-conscious racial minorities and that its boundaries were arbitrarily drawn in a fashion considered injurious by bordering great powers, always endangered the life of the state. The gravest problem centered around the "Polish Corridor," a narrow strip of land following the Vistula valley, which gave Poland access to the Baltic. This separated East Prussia from Germany and exposed Poland to a very real German danger. Scarcely less serious was the difficulty over Vilna which Lithuania never ceased to claim. Besides this, Poland had the misfortune of being geographically situated between Russia and Germany, with whose future her own destiny was inevitably tied. These circumstances were largely responsible for Poland's fairly constant attachment to France, and they also deeply influenced the marked trend of government from democracy to dictatorship.

The republic of Poland, as established in 1918, was closely modeled after that of France, with universal suffrage, a bicameral legislature, and a president, elected as in France by the two legislative bodies. As has so frequently occurred on the continent, these attractive democratic institutions were crippled by political inexperience and factional strife. Marshal Josef Pilsudski, the most active of Poland's founding fathers, was alarmed by the resulting instability of the government, and, in 1926, with the aid of the army, established a virtual dictatorship. Without destroying democratic forms, he manipulated the elections and eventually revised the constitution in such fashion as to greatly enhance the powers of the executive. He refused the office of president but bent the government to his will, and retained his power until his death in 1935. Colonel Rydz-Smigly then inherited Pilsudski's mantle and carried on his traditions.

Despite its unsteady political life, Poland enjoyed a measure of prosperity. Agricultural resources, though slight, were profitably exploited; and Polish industry was making effective use of such mineral resources as were available. The artificial port of Gdynia, created on the Baltic, might be taken as the measure of its commercial growth. From a barren waste, this city had developed into one of the most prosperous ports in northern Europe.

Like Poland, Lithuania had once been a great state and had long been submerged in Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution provided the

opportunity for its re-establishment. Following the practice, common to all the Baltic states, a republic was created in which legislative authority rested with a single-chamber legislature, elected by universal suffrage. The deliberations of this Assembly were soon made difficult by the appearance of numerous parties, and its prestige declined in direct proportion to its failures in foreign policy. It lost Vilna to Poland, and for its seizure of Memel in 1923, it was reprimanded by the League of Nations in the following year. In 1926, Conservatives and militarists under Antanas Smetona limited the powers of Parliament and concentrated authority in the hands of the president, whose power for all practical purposes thereby became dictatorial.

The little republics of Estonia and Latvia followed the example of Poland more slowly. Both these states emerged from the Russian Revolution with their independence and both of them adopted democratic institutions roughly comparable with those of Lithuania. Both experienced the same difficulties and in 1934 suspended their representative chambers, while the president of Estonia and the premier of Latvia proceeded to govern with dictatorial authority.

Finland alone among the little Baltic states had successfully adhered to the democratic institutions with which its independent post-war career began. In a measure this was probably the result of the extensive experience of the Finnish people with self-government in various forms. For a long time Finland had enjoyed autonomous rights under Sweden, and these were subsequently respected by Russia until a few years before the war. As an independent state, Finland established a constitution of the most democratic type, vesting power in a single-chamber legislature and a president. The life of this democracy had not been easy, but all attempts of the extreme left and the extreme right to establish authoritarian government had failed until the Russo-Finnish War (1940).

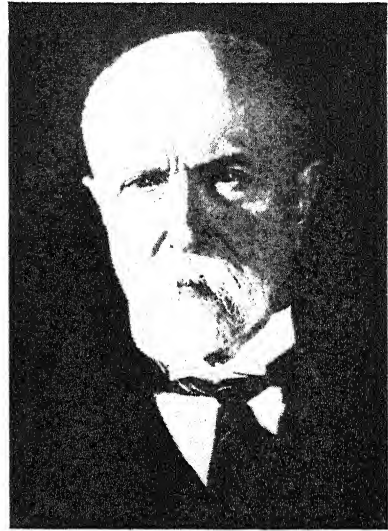
Homeland of one of Europe's greatest autocracies, it is not astonishing that Austria abandoned democracy after brief experiment and reverted to authoritarian government. Even if her political traditions had been otherwise, it is probable that the helpless and almost hopeless state in which she was left at the end of the war would have been quite enough to produce this result. Smaller than Portugal, severed from resources and markets, rendered defenseless, almost completely surrounded by enemies, Austria began its career as a republic on the brink of disaster. That it survived at all is remarkable; that it should have lasted fifteen years is miraculous. The con-

stitution which was promulgated in 1920 established a unicameral legislature, a responsible ministry, and a popularly elected president. The attempt to include a provision for eventual unification with Germany met with effective opposition from the Allied Powers. Neither the aristocratic upper class nor the urban masses placed confidence in the new regime. The former, led by Prince von Stahremberg and others, imitated Italian Fascists, created a party militia, and agitated for the establishment of a fascist dictatorship. Among the latter, the Viennese proletariat, gaining control of the city, established a socialist government which they sought to defend with a militia of their own. Constant conflict between these socialist and fascist groups kept post-war Austria in a state of turmoil.

Hungary has had a political career scarcely less turbulent than her former partner. Count Michael Karolyi, a liberal of aristocratic extraction, established a "provisional government" after the military collapse of the Empire, and subsequently declared Hungary an independent republic. From its accession, this regime was without support, and was harassed by the most extraordinary difficulties. All attempts to conciliate the former subject races failed, and when in 1919 it became clear that the victorious allies meant to dismember Hungary, Karolyi resigned his authority to Bela Kun, a communist recently returned from Russia. His dictatorship of the proletariat was swiftly engulfed in war with Rumania, whose army occupied Budapest. Bela Kun fled in terror in August, and the government fell to a group of aristocrats headed by Admiral Nicholas Horthy and Count Stephen Bethlen, who declared Hungary a monarchy, with the former in the capacity of "regent" and the latter functioning as virtual dictator. This government, frankly reactionary, was remarkably popular and stable. It consistently espoused Magyar nationalism and continuously labored to win back the nationals it had lost to Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. In the pursuit of this policy, Hungary received the sympathetic support of Fascist Italy.

Hungary and Austria were almost completely surrounded by new states who profited from their heavy losses. Czechoslovakia was the most prosperous and most stable of these, but the most unhappily situated. Scarcely more than a hundred miles wide at any point, it extended eastward from Germany for the distance of six hundred miles. On all sides it faced potential enemies: Germany, Poland, Austria, and Hungary. This precarious position made Czech states-

men peculiarly sensitive to the need of preserving the status quo through international machinery such as the League and encouraged them to pursue a strong, if defensive, foreign policy. Possessed of rich resources, and with a population trained to industry by experience, Czechoslovakia was able to enjoy the blessings of economic prosperity. This contributed to the stability of its government which was patterned largely after that of the United States, and facilitated the work of its two able statesmen, Thomas Masaryk and Eduard Beneš. Both of these men, ardent protagonists of Czechish na-



MASARYK

Wide World

tionalism before the war, were the most active exponents of democracy in Czechoslovakia. As time went on, however, democratic institutions were threatened by perplexing minority problems and their outgrowths. Beside the Czechs, there were considerable Germans, Ruthenians, Slovaks, and Poles. Among these, especially among the Germans, there developed nationalist political parties whose obstructionist tactics in Parliament embarrassed the government.

The nucleus of Jugoslavia was pre-war Serbia and Montenegro, plus a generous share of the former Hapsburg Empire. Except for a vociferous Magyar minority, the mass of people in this new state were south Slavs. These were descended from common origins, but time and circumstances had wrought important changes between them and dissolved many of the bonds of racial unity. The Croats and Slovenes, long under the Hapsburgs, had assimilated western culture, while the more numerous Serbs had succumbed to the Turks, and were deeply influenced by the Orient. These differences made the creation of a national government difficult and have ever since threatened its existence. The constitutional monarchy of pre-war Serbia was preserved, but the Croats and Slovenes from the beginning showed themselves unwilling to acquiesce to Serbian predominance. There were a number of bloody brawls in the Yugoslav Parliament and one sovereign, Alexander II, was assassinated as the result of

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e misunderstandings. At one stage in the critical life of the government, a royal dictatorship was established (1929).

Of all the victorious powers emerging from the war Rumania fitted most. From the previous Hapsburg Empire she annexed the territories of Transylvania and the Bukovina, both of which were occupied by sizable and obstreperous Magyar minorities. During the turbulent period of the Bolshevik Revolution, she seized from Russia the province of Bessarabia, with a heavy Russian population. She was also confirmed in the possession of the Dobrudja which she had seized from Bulgaria during the second Balkan War. Economically, these acquisitions were of great value and, added to the already rich nucleus of pre-war Rumania, made her one of the wealthiest states of eastern Europe. There are great deposits of coal, various mineral ores, and petroleum, to say nothing of the fertile soil which has long given Rumania distinction as the "granary of the Balkans." Despite all of this potential wealth, Rumania's political life was neither healthy nor happy. Constitutional forms were preserved, and universal suffrage granted by a liberal constitution in 1923. In practice democracy was not realized, partly because of fear of racial minorities which composed almost twenty-five percent of the population, and partly because of the traditions of political life which were largely authoritarian. The great preponderance of peasant proprietors prevented the development of radical Socialist parties, but a strong Fascist movement grew around the nucleus of an organization known as the Iron Guard. King Carol II, who had renounced his throne for love, but who returned in a romantic *coup* in 1930, was able to forestall the Fascists, while at the same time creating a thinly veiled dictatorship of his own.

Greece, like Rumania, was one of the most fortunate beneficiaries of the treaties of peace, and one of the least satisfied. Besides definitely acquiring possession of Macedonia and most of eastern Thrace, Greece was given the administration of Smyrna. Good fortune acted like an intoxicating stimulant upon patriotic nationalists, who already saw visions of a new Greek Empire. Losing all sense of proportion, they set upon hapless Turkey to take further advantage of her weakness, and in the war which inevitably ensued (1920-1922) were lucky to escape without complete disaster. Smyrna and Thrace were irretrievably lost, while the hatreds engendered among the Turks helped disturb the precarious balance of the Balkans.

Meanwhile, the Greek people must have found it difficult to keep pace with the frequent changes of their government. Within

the span of three years, three kings occupied the throne, including the unfortunate Constantine who, during his career, was twice forced to abdicate. The abdication and exile of George II in 1923 was followed by a momentary termination of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. After struggling for two years with the problems of post-war adjustment, of which the influx of Greek refugees from Turkey was the most pressing, the republic succumbed to dictatorship. Running true to form, this also lasted two years. Republican government was re-established, but after a series of revolutions the exiled George II was restored in 1935. The military party which engineered this revolution dissolved the National Assembly. Throughout this series of misadventures the outstanding figure was Eleutherios Venizelos. Cretan by birth and revolutionary by profession, he was chiefly responsible for the national regeneration of modern Greece, which he furthered with the same Machiavellian policies that brought immortal fame to Bismarck and Cavour. It was he who sent the Greek army successfully against Bulgaria in 1913, guided the nation through the tortuous course which brought her into the World War on the side of the Allies, and who, by the respect which he commanded among the negotiators of Versailles, realized for Greece enormous benefits. After the war he was the leading exponent of republican government in Greece which he defended until his death in 1936.

The only state in the Balkans to sustain material and territorial losses as the result of the war was unhappy Bulgaria. Once a leading power in the peninsula, she had twice experienced reversals of fortune. Enfeebled by the Second Balkan War, she was reduced to impotence by the World War. Seven thousand square miles of territory, including her natural outlet to the Ægean, were bestowed upon her neighbors, and she was burdened with a huge indemnity which she could not pay. To the resulting national poverty there was added a powerful irredentist movement which augured ill for the future of the Balkans. Numerous natives of Macedonia who claimed Bulgarian nationality employed every means, including organized violence, to obstruct persistent efforts by Greece and Yugoslavia to nationalize them. The fact that many of these fled across the border to Bulgaria to conduct their activities from there threatened to embroil the government in war with its neighbors on more than one occasion. In the midst of all these difficulties, the government followed the same stormy, uncertain course which characterized the post-war history of all her neighbors. The democratic forms of con-

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utional monarchy, never strongly established, gave way to intense
ty strife, violent political assassinations, and eventually to dicta-
ship.

By a curious irony of fate, the once corrupt and feeble "sick man"
Europe was transformed after the war into the most stable power
the East. The chief credit for this achievement belonged to
Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938). A radical from youth, Kemal rose to
prominence in the ranks of the Sultan's army, against whom he re-
turned with the Young Turks in 1908. During the World War he
successfully defended off the British in the Gallipoli campaign, and
attained to such popularity that the weak-willed Sultan
appointed him to an unimportant post in Anatolia where it was hoped
he would languish in obscurity. Greek aggression in the early 20's
rescued him from this fate, and cleared the path for revolution against
the government at Constantinople. Putting himself at the head
of the Nationalist Party which he was largely instrumental in creat-
ing, he launched an Ottoman crusade against the invading Greeks.
The government sought vainly to outlaw him but the majority of
the people flocked to his cause. Like Wallenstein and Cromwell, he
transformed a growing army of raw recruits into an efficient military
force which, under his capable leadership, eventually expelled
the Ottoman army in October, 1922. The Sultanate collapsed almost
instantly. The victorious Allies, who had disposed of Turkey and
bickering over the spoils, could hardly have dreamed such
a result was possible. They were now compelled to review their rela-
tions with Turkey. Eastern Thrace, Constantinople, and Asia Minor
were ceded, the capitulations canceled, and Turkish sovereignty
restored.

Kemal cleared the country of its enemies and restored its dig-
nity. He proceeded to reorganize Turkey from top to bottom.
In conformity with Ottoman national traditions, the provincial town
of Ankara became the new capital of a Turkish republic, formally
declared October 29, 1923. The constitution provided that legis-
lative authority should rest in the hands of an elected Assembly,
but Kemal practically nullified this by extending to the executive,
himself, almost unlimited powers. As virtual dictator, Kemal
transformed the country like a benevolent despot. His social reforms
were especially noteworthy. The Mohammedan church was deprived
of its special privileges, the calendar was changed to conform with
Europe's, and business was nationalized and subsidized. Even
the status of women in Turkish society underwent momentous and

revolutionary change. The veil was banished and suffrage was extended to women in 1929. Permeating all of these reforms was an intense spirit of nationalism. Kemal westernized Turkey to free her from western domination.

Almost everywhere in the Near, Middle, and Far East, European civilization felt the impact of advancing nationalism. Arabs in Iraq and the Hejaz achieved their political independence; those in Syria seethed with rebellion against British and French mandatory administration. Both Persia and Afghanistan shook themselves free from British protection, asserting their complete sovereign independence. India asked the right of national self-determination, while Japan and even China distressed the West by manifestations of rampant nationalism. Even northern Africa was aroused from its slumbers by national self-consciousness among Mohammedan tribesmen whose spirit of independence was inflamed by a noticeable revival of religious fanaticism. While most of this was held forcibly in check, Great Britain felt compelled to grant partial recognition of Egyptian independence. Like all nationalisms wherever they have developed, these newer manifestations were characterized by aggressive exclusiveness, mutual hatred, and fear. For the development of these trends the World War was not in itself responsible, but like the Napoleonic wars of a century before, it acted as a powerful catalyst upon materials which were ready at hand. Among those who subscribed to the "sacred" principle of national self-determination, the evolution of these new lesser powers was regarded with satisfaction, but the inescapable fact remains that these have produced more problems than they have solved, and in those areas which impinge directly upon western Europe, they have operated to accentuate the already perplexing problems of the post-war era.

Among the lesser powers, none has aroused greater hopes and fears than post-war Spain. Once the greatest power in Europe, she was the victim of a series of misfortunes which reduced her to practical insignificance at the opening of the nineteenth century. Little of the Iberian peninsula is suitable for agriculture and the resources which constitute the backbone of modern industry are limited. The Spanish people seemed condemned to poverty. To make matters worse, they had never experienced the blessings of good government. The notoriously weak Bourbon monarchy sought to retain power by the unsatisfactory procedure of playing the ends against the middle. The mass of illiterate peasants had no interest in politics, while the bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy were always so

hopelessly divided in their aims that they could not make up for royal deficiencies. Revolutions when they came, therefore, and they were rather frequent in the nineteenth century, were always enfeebled by their extremist character. In 1876, there was promulgated a constitution which provided Spain with the framework of democratic government, but perpetuated much of the authority of the Crown and the aristocracy, who controlled the Senate. Under this constitution, Spain managed to get along without too much trouble until the eve of the World War. Meanwhile, difficulties were brewing in various quarters. Industrialization in some of the more important urban communities brought with it a miniature reflection of the proletarian radicalism which had already infected the more important industrial nations. The Syndicalist movement grew in strength, while socialism, destined to flourish among the working men during the depression of the 30's, took root. The establishment of these working-class movements was marked, as in France and Italy, by numerous acts of extreme violence. As social unrest grew, King Alfonso XIII, last of the Spanish Bourbons, conceived the idea of diverting popular attention to the creation of a new empire in Africa. Negotiations with France and Great Britain in 1904 proved favorable, but the occupation and pacification of the promised prize in Morocco proved too much of a task. Men, money, and energy were wasted in the fruitless enterprise which culminated in inglorious defeat at the hands of the native Riffs in 1923. During this crisis, General Primo de Rivera, with royal support, erected a dictatorship. The army and navy were strengthened, but, unfortunately for him, de Rivera did little to appease discontent among the laboring classes. Rebellion broke out against the regime, causing it to collapse in April, 1931, and to drag the monarchy down with it. The revolutionaries declared for a republic and put into effect that same year a remarkably liberal and democratic constitution. A unicameral legislature with a responsible ministry was established, and universal suffrage guaranteed. Sweeping reforms were immediately undertaken. The Church lost its privileges and its control over education. A great number of new secular schools was created to wipe out illiteracy, large landed estates were confiscated in the interest of agricultural labor, and hours, wages, and conditions of labor in industry were strictly regulated. These measures disturbed both the conservatives who thought they were too radical and the radicals who thought they were too conservative.

C. PEACE AND THE STATUS QUO

The new Europe which emerged with the treaties of peace differed in many ways from the Europe of 1914. Germany had been crushed, Austria-Hungary extinguished, and Russia reduced to temporary impotence. The boundaries between these three Great Powers, established at the Congress of Vienna, were redrawn, supposedly in conformity with the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination. Poland was recreated; Lithuania, Estonia, and Finland were restored; Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were born; and all the victorious powers were enlarged at the expense of the vanquished. The most novel innovation was the League of Nations, which, it was hoped, would prevent the forces of international anarchy from reappearing. Many were optimistic enough to believe that with these changes there had begun a new era of peace and fellowship among men.

If passions had been less inflamed, if fears and hatreds had been less intense, if nationalism had vanished, if the victors had been in a less truculent mood—in other words, if men had not been men, the era of peace and fellowship might have dawned. Unfortunately, irreconcilable differences between peoples had not been extinguished, and within less than a decade international co-operation had succumbed once more to international anarchy.

The reparations tangle held a conspicuous place in producing this unhappy result. The Allied Powers, not content with humiliating Germany, carving up her territory, absorbing her colonies, and depriving her of needed resources and capital goods, determined to make her pay for the war of which she stood accused. No one imagined that she could possibly pay all, but it seemed only fair to demand the utmost. What the amount should be and how payments should be made mattered little for the moment. The negotiators at Versailles simply charged the war to Germany and then turned the baffling problem of itemizing the bill and arranging the payments over to a Reparations Commission. After a German offer to pay approximately \$25,000,000,000 had been scornfully rejected by the Allies and a demand by the latter for about \$60,000,000,000 had been as vigorously repulsed by Germany, the Reparations Commission finally presented a bill for \$33,000,000,000 in April, 1921. Thirty-three times greater than the indemnity of 1870 which had provoked the wrath of France, this "London Schedule" was much more lenient

than many experts had predicted, and considerably less than most of the Allies had expected. A German protest that the figure was impossibly high and quite beyond her capacity to pay was promptly met by a threat of occupation of the Ruhr.

Meanwhile, the Allies deprived Germany of the means with which to meet her obligations. Payment in gold was, of course, wholly out of the question, and paper marks would have been completely worthless. It was clear that German commerce and industry could alone provide the necessary goods and services with which reparations could be paid, but this avenue was also blocked. None of the victorious powers relished the idea of German economic recovery with its inevitable threat to their own economic stability. Indeed, they had already taken pains to avoid such a calamity by shutting off potential German markets, crippling her merchant marine, and denuding her of resources. Without markets abroad or profitable business at home, it was utterly impossible, as the Allies soon learned, for Germany to satisfy her enemies, to say nothing about keeping herself alive. By the time the Reparations Commission had reported, Germany had already been condemned to economic destruction. Hoping to solve matters, the government of the republic resorted to inflationary measures which in time reduced the mark to worthless paper, paralyzed business and commerce, and made further reparations payments impossible.

By 1923 Britain had awakened to stark reality and suggested that reparations be scaled down. France would hear none of this, and a conference, hopefully assembled at London in January to discuss the matter, terminated without result. Poincaré, the Germanophobe French premier, defended his action on the ground that the London Schedule was already inadequate to meet the demands of French recovery, that Germany could pay, and that any attempt at conciliation would simply make her more impertinent. At his suggestion, the Reparations Commission was thereupon induced to declare Germany in voluntary default. Using this as an excuse, Poincaré sent a French army into the Ruhr (January 11, 1923), the nerve center of industrial Germany, and attempted to carry out his threat of forcible collections. A petty war ensued. The German people sabotaged the factories, refused to work, and by every conceivable means attempted to make the French enterprise a total failure, which, in fact, it was. In the midst of this unfortunate exhibition of French intransigence, the German government was compelled to declare itself completely bankrupt.

The repercussions of Germany's economic collapse were so widespread that even Poincaré soon acquiesced to the British proposal that the reparations issue be reviewed by an international committee of experts. In November, 1923, the Reparations Commission appointed such a body, including among its important members Sir Josiah Stamp together with General Dawes and Owen D. Young, both of the United States. Its report, known as the Dawes Plan, was submitted in April of the following year. Unfortunately, this said nothing of the total obligation which Germany was to meet, since this had been specifically excluded from the deliberations, but it did recommend a temporary solution. Germany was to be given uncontested jurisdiction over her economic resources, and was to receive loans which would facilitate her recovery. When there was proof that her equilibrium was restored, Germany was to pay a stipulated minimum annually, or more in case the degree of her prosperity warranted it. The Allies accepted the plan, France somewhat grudgingly, and only after Poincaré had toppled from power. In July, 1925, French troops were withdrawn from the Ruhr.

The Dawes Plan was not intended to be more than a momentary palliative. Consequently, in 1929, another committee of experts, under the chairmanship of Owen D. Young, assembled to effect "a complete and final settlement." The plan which it offered and which the Allies accepted, scaled down the annuities well below the Dawes level, and provided that these be paid according to a graduated scale over a period of fifty-nine years, a period which exactly synchronized with Allied debt payments to the United States. A bank of International Settlement to receive these payments was established in Switzerland. By this means the amount of the bill had at last been fixed, and that at approximately a third of the displaced London Schedule. This seemed a hopeful augury for the future. The plan further called upon the Allies to terminate their occupation of the Rhineland by June, 1930. Curiously enough, this last and purely incidental portion of the plan was the only part which could be carried out. The financial provisions were obsolete almost as soon as they were made.

By the end of the year 1929 the whole world stood on the brink of economic disaster. Within two years the foundation of German business was collapsing, and by the summer of 1931, Germany was again threatened with bankruptcy. At that point, to save the world from ruin, President Hoover proposed a one-year moratorium on all intergovernmental debts. This was accepted by all the Powers.

Meanwhile, debtors and creditors involved in the reparations tangle, exclusive of the United States, met at Lausanne, in June, 1932, to arrange a more satisfactory understanding. This established an entirely new set of obligations, displacing those provided for in the Young Plan, and reduced the total German debt to approximately \$2,000,000,000. A supplementary understanding, which made ratification of this new plan contingent upon American willingness to review the payment of inter-Allied debts, practically nullified it, since the United States steadfastly refused to be a party to such an arrangement. But since collections were impossible, for all practical purposes, German reparations were wiped from the slate.

With this controversial issue there was closely linked the problem of inter-Allied debts. During the War the Allied Powers had borrowed heavily from each other, and after American participation Great Britain and France, especially, dipped deeply into the resources of American finance. Including those extended after the armistice, these loans totaled approximately eleven billion dollars. At the time, there was little doubt that these loans would be paid eventually, but the treaties of peace had scarcely been signed before there was an almost universal demand for reduction or cancellation. In such fashion, it was said, America could bear her fair share of the burdens of the War. Great Britain promised that she would match American generosity by making corresponding reductions or cancellations of debts which the Allies had contracted with her, a promise which helped to unite all debtor nations in a common effort to convince the United States. The most telling argument for reduction was advanced by France, who proposed that her debt payments be graduated to conform with Germany's reparations payments. This assumed that reparations and war debts were closely interrelated, and made it possible for France to place some of the odium attached to the reparations tangle directly upon the shoulders of the United States. The Young Plan accepted this view to all intents and purposes, but, officially, the American government continued to insist that war debts and reparations must be treated separately. It had no objections, however, to reductions within limits. Between 1923 and 1930 a series of debt-funding agreements with all its debtors were arranged, which, by reducing interest rates, extinguished a large portion of the debts. These agreements satisfied neither the American nor the European people, and with the coming of the Great Depression it was clear that they could be carried out no more successfully than the plans for German reparations. The Hoover mora-

torium of 1931 temporarily relieved the Powers of payment, and gradually thereafter all of them, with the exception of faithful Finland, declared themselves each year in default. The legal obligation of the debts remains, but since 1932 it has not been honored. It is a matter of some significance to note that it was dire necessity and not a spirit of mutual co-operation which induced the Powers temporarily to shelve the problem of reparations and debts.

So far as the matter of reparations was concerned, it should be pointed out that the economic depression was only one of a number of factors which pushed it into the background. Other points of friction had developed into much more acute dangers. In Eastern, Central, and Balkan Europe there were wars or constant threats of war, engendered by conflicts of aggressive national interests. Poland took up arms against Russia, bullied Lithuania into giving up Vilna, even threatened to dismember Czechoslovakia. The latter, in turn, working in close co-operation with Rumania and Yugoslavia, held a mailed fist over Austria and Hungary. With each threat or pretended threat of Hapsburg restoration or Austro-Hungarian, or Austro-German unification, these Powers lost no time mobilizing armies on their frontiers. Greece fought one war with Turkey and threatened Bulgaria with another. Italy snatched Fiume from Yugoslavia and these two Powers lived in a passive state of war for almost a decade thereafter. Moreover, Mussolini, exceedingly touchy on the point of national dignity, which Greece had offended, seemed bent upon taking the latter's island of Corfu.

In western Europe, the tension was almost as great. The clash of French and Italian interests in the Mediterranean produced a dangerous naval race between the two and a noticeable strengthening of their land armaments. At the same time, France always regarded the Rhenish frontier with nervous expectation, which no amount of guarantees seemed capable of removing. Europe before the War gave no greater exhibition of jealous suspicions and hatreds, and was certainly less inclined to meet each new threat with increased preparations for war. Armaments, growing continuously after the War, very soon reached proportions which the past generation would have deemed inconceivable. Bred upon hatreds which it intensified, the remilitarization of Europe stood as a perpetual threat to the peace of the world.

The machinery of the League of Nations absorbed a number of smaller shocks which came with recurring crises, as did the Concert of Europe in the pre-war epoch, but in major issues it was no

more successful. It settled amicably, quickly and with questionable justice, a dispute between Sweden and Finland over the Åland Islands. It patched up but did not solve difficulties between Lithuania and Germany over the city and territory of Memel. It intervened successfully between Austria and Hungary and the Powers of the Little Entente, and with equal success arranged differences between Great Britain and Iraq. It stopped an impending war between Greece and Bulgaria, and on more than one occasion, by standing ready at hand with facilities for arbitration, it managed to arrange some other minor problems before they became acute. Where the major interests of Great Powers were involved, however, the League was helpless. It allowed Poland to take Vilna with impunity, and impotently albeit gracefully retired from the Græco-Italian dispute over Corfu.

The friends of the League found many ways of excusing its obvious deficiencies. The abstention of the United States they regarded as the first and basic weakness from which all the others in turn sprang. The great prestige which the American government enjoyed at the culmination of the War, it was pointed out, might have made the League work more efficiently in the interest of peace. Certainly without the greatest and wealthiest nation of the world, it was impossible to expect "sanctions," whether military or economic, to be completely effective against aggressors. Yet, even without the United States, it was claimed that the League might have worked effectively, provided it had been endowed with an international army to enforce its will. Just how this was to be realized was more than all but optimistic idealists were able to explain. More pessimistic, although no less dispassionate, critics of the League regarded its machinery for peace as totally inadequate. Their arguments were based chiefly upon two fundamental premises: first, that its efficiency was impaired by its obligation to preserve the status quo; and second, that instead of escaping the evils of nationalism it was forced by its very nature to succumb to them. The League was bandied and buffeted about by its leading members who hardly obscured the fact that they intended to use it for the satisfaction of their national interests. Unhappily, it was true that the League was tied to the Treaty of Versailles and the other post-war treaties, whose none too satisfactory settlements it was forced to interpret as definitive. The complaint raised by the defeated and unsatisfied Powers that the League was the victor's mechanism to perpetuate the oppression of the vanquished, possessed a grain of truth.

Various attempts to strengthen the League met with uniform

failure. A proposal that constituent members accept a common definition of aggression and agree to specifically stated economic and military measures against the "aggressor" (the Geneva Protocol) grounded on the shoal of mutual suspicion. The admission to the League of Germany (1926) and Russia (1934), together with lesser powers, seemed to offer the prospect of making it truly a "League of Nations," thereby removing the complaint of its exclusiveness. Such optimism was premature.

Because the League was incapable of guaranteeing the security which each Power naturally defined as its own, the various nations of Europe, with France taking the lead, resorted to the old practice of independent negotiations and alliances. Neither satisfied nor convinced that Germany had been crushed, the French foreign office sought and obtained a close understanding with Belgium, Poland, and the Powers of the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Rumania), who had meanwhile combined among themselves for mutual defense. Among the lesser states, these agreements were regarded as necessary to their new-found freedom; to France, they seemed essential to prevent German aggression in the Rhineland. In 1925, the latter menace gave promise of disappearing. The French troops having withdrawn from the Ruhr, Gustav Stresemann suggested that France and Germany collaborate with other interested Powers in setting up mutual guarantees to put an end to fears on the Rhine. Edouard Herriot, successor of the combative Poincaré, responded favorably, and in 1925, for the first time victor and vanquished canvassed a delicate issue in conciliatory fashion. The negotiations resulted in a series of engagements, known as the Locarno Pacts, by which Germany and France and Germany and Belgium pledged to keep peace on the Rhine; Belgium, Great Britain, and Italy agreed to aid either France or Germany if it were threatened by the aggression of the other. This statesmanlike procedure momentarily cleared the surcharged atmosphere of Franco-German relations. France still showed no inclination to sever its alliances, and the following year storm clouds gathered anew. Germany, who had been induced to request admission to the League during the Locarno negotiations, was left standing outside while the members gave an exhibition of their petty nationalism. The German people could hardly have been blamed for scoffing at the "spirit of Locarno" which was supposed to have permeated international relations. Criticism against joining the League became so outspoken that a national

plebiscite was deemed advisable. The government won, but the heavy opposition was an evil omen.

Before long, Franco-German rivalry revived over the difficult disarmament question. By the Treaty of Versailles, Germany had been compelled to reduce her standing army to 100,000 men. The hope, expressed at the time, that the victorious powers might voluntarily effect corresponding reductions was never realized. The League of Nations, however, fulfilled its obligations by summoning a commission (1926) to investigate the matter. After five sessions had ended in futile deadlocks, the sixth (1930) produced a draft convention which was adopted by a bare majority. In February, 1932, the first world's disarmament conference assembled at Geneva. For almost every issue suggested for discussion by the convention the various Powers had submitted reservations designed to protect their own interests. The Conference consequently degenerated into futile bickering. Though the difficulties revealed by the deliberations were legion, that which involved possible German rearmament took precedence. The German delegation had entered the conference with a very simple program: that either the Powers should disarm to the German level or that Germany be allowed complete freedom to rearm. France was unwilling to accept either alternative, and Germany would accept nothing less. Thereby had arisen an insoluble conflict between French demands for security and German demands for equality.

Meanwhile, some progress had been made in the matter of naval disarmament. Shortly after the war, the United States, which was well on its way to becoming the greatest naval Power of the world, assumed the initiative and invited the various nations to participate in a conference at Washington (1921-1922) to consider the question of naval limitations.¹ The threat of Japan in the Pacific and the possibility of her joining hands with Great Britain in a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance were probably the motivating factors. Besides the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, France and Italy were also represented. The three former Powers set restrictions upon the use of their Pacific possessions for naval purposes, established a ten year "naval holiday," and placed the ratio of capital ships at five each for Great Britain and the United States, and three for Japan. For France and Italy the tonnage ratio was fixed at 1.67. Attempts to outlaw the use of poison gas and to limit the use of the submarine failed. In 1927, the United States invited the same Powers to reach

¹ See Chapter XXIX.

an agreement on auxiliary ships, but the objections of France and Italy reduced representation in the conference to the three major Powers, who failed to produce significant results. In 1930, the acquiescence of France and Italy made a five-power conference possible, and it assembled in London. The Naval Treaty then signed, except by France and Italy who were at loggerheads in the Mediterranean, regulated tonnage of cruisers and submarines among the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. An "escalator" clause practically allowed each Power complete freedom to build without limit in any category which national interest demanded. This substantially nullified the agreement.



Wide World

BRIAND PLEADING THE CAUSE OF PEACE AT THE LEAGUE

Aristide Briand (1862-1932), prominent statesman of France after the World War, was a forceful and effective orator who often swayed the League of Nations with his appeals for world peace.

Despite the failure of the disarmament conferences, the pacificism of the peoples of the world grew and it was optimistically believed that there would be no repetition of the World War. An agreement, fathered by Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States, and Aristide Briand, French foreign minister, and generally known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), voiced this optimism by formally outlawing war as an instrument of national policy. Despite this declaration and the apparent sentiment for peace, there were some who realized that the seeds of conflict were germinating and that the era of world peace had not yet dawned.

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Farewell the Tranquil Mind

A. ARMS AND THE MAN

Peace was not to be assured by pacts outlawing war, by deliberations at disarmament conferences, by regional or collective security agreements, or even through the agencies of the League of Nations so long as millions of men were still convinced that "security" could be interpreted only in terms of the national interest. This was, perhaps, the major equivocation of the post-war years. Behind the elaborate façade of the peace structure the conflict of selfish nationalism still raged. To break that down, if indeed such a result could have been possible, would have required an unlimited and generous willingness to compromise on every side. Mankind had not reached that stage in its development. So while some men talked of peace and proclaimed its virtues, others, appealing to human jealousies and hatreds, swayed millions with doctrines of the propriety, the justice, and even the virtue of war. That these apostles of violence should have gained the ascendancy was eloquent testimony to the powerful force of contemporary nationalism; that they should have been able to dominate the international scene and embroil the world in war was due in no small measure to the fact that national self-interests kept those states which professed love for peace from pooling all their resources in its defense.

The most important victory for the forces hostile to peace and the status quo came with the establishment and consolidation of the National Socialist regime in Germany in 1933. We are still too close to the event to evaluate accurately the many factors which made this momentous revolution possible, although some of them seem reasonably clear. In part, it represented a repudiation of the democratic machinery installed by the Weimar constitution. The Republic was alien to the experience of many of the German citizenry; it suf-

ferred the odium which went with defeat; many held it in slight respect since it signed the Treaty of Versailles and then acquiesced to Allied pressure under the treaty; still others accused it of responsibility for the economic misfortunes which the German peoples experienced. The virtues of the Weimar republic were less apparent than its shortcomings and, therefore, it was not too difficult for those who preached the doctrines of authoritarianism to win the public ear. Of equal importance, perhaps, was the psychological reaction of defeatism among many of the German people, stimulating the desire for national recovery and revenge. Such things as the pressure for reparations and the occupation of the Ruhr inflamed resentment and strengthened the determination to turn the tables upon the victors. Nazi revolutionaries subtly nurtured this spirit of revenge and capitalized upon its spread. But unquestionably the most important causes of the successful National Socialist Revolution were economic: the impoverishment of the middle classes, and the widespread conditions of unemployment which developed during the early 30's. Bourgeois and proletarian alike lost faith in the established order and were ready to search for security in revolutionary change, although they could not agree upon the forms which this change should take. The proletariat was inclined to support a radical socialist revolution, patterned generally after the Soviet model, with the controls in the hands of the workers; the bourgeoisie, deprived of its investments and savings by the inflation of 1923 and fearful of even greater losses at the hands of social revolutionaries, favored a change which would provide security for the rights of property. Clever revolutionaries like the Nazis were able to play upon the hopes and fears of both these groups and win their passive or active support.

The National Socialist German Worker's Party was not impressive in its early years. Springing from an obscure political organization of limited local influence in the city of Munich, it remained for some time after its founding (August, 1920) just another of the many German parties which sprang up in the post-war years. Great national crises such as the occupation of the Ruhr tended to increase its membership and spread its influence, but until 1929 it did not attain national significance. Indeed, at one stage in its early career, the Nazi organization was threatened with extinction. In 1923 its leader and organizer, Adolf Hitler, was encouraged by existing unrest to make a premature bid for power in the state of Bavaria. The government, with advance information of the plot, crushed this

"Beer Hall Putsch,"¹ as it was called, outlawed the party and its agencies and brought Hitler himself before the bar of justice. For nearly a year thereafter Hitler was in jail, compiling *Mein Kampf* (*My Battle*), the bible of his party, and reflecting upon the ways of revolutions. When he was released and the party was legally revived its fortunes had reached a low ebb. But the loyal ardor of the Nazi leadership and the hardships of Germany saved the party from collapse.

Adolf Hitler, the organizing and directive genius who led this party from obscurity to national and then international prominence, was an Austrian of lower middle-class extraction. Born in a little Austrian border town, in 1889, the son of a petty customs official, Hitler himself tells us that his early years were made unhappy by a domineering father who had little appreciation for his son's artistic ambitions. The death of his father in Hitler's twelfth year and the death of his mother three years later made the young man's lot still harder. He became the charge of relatives who begrudged his keep. At last, at the age of 17, in expectation of fulfilling his boyish artistic ambitions, Hitler departed for Vienna to take the entrance examinations for the Austrian Academy. Misfortune stalked his path. He failed the examinations and as a poor and friendless orphan was compelled to seek a livelihood where he could. Sometimes he managed to keep body and soul together by painting picture postcards; at other times he served as a building trades helper, carrying bricks and mortar. None of these occupations was to his liking. Ordinary workmen he despised as inferiors. The conviction grew that the whole social and economic structure was out of gear. Like many other profoundly disillusioned young men he believed the weaknesses were in the "system," not in himself, and he began the search for Utopia. It was in this mood that he fell in with the anti-Semitic and Pan-German elements of the Austrian capital, and the ideal future began to take shape in the form of an expanded German Empire free from what he held to be degrading and disruptive Jewish influences. Probably under the stimulation of these ideas Hitler was influenced to leave Vienna for Munich in 1912, there to continue his obscure career as house painter, handyman, carpenter, and amateur architect until the outbreak of the war.

Overwhelmed with joy at the declarations of war in 1914, a

¹ So-called because the meetings of the Nazi party were customarily held in the Munich Beer Hall, and because it was from there that Hitler declared the Bavarian government deposed.

war which he hoped would bring the Pan-German ideal to fruition, Hitler volunteered in the German army and soon found service on the western front. His military career was not spectacular, as is testified by the fact that he never rose above the rank of corporal, but he lacked neither loyalty nor courage. During the last months of fighting he was badly gassed. For some time his life was despaired of and even when it was certain that he would survive there were fears that his eyesight might be permanently impaired. His recovery was more complete than at first was supposed possible, but the period of convalescence was long, and it was during this time that Hitler first thought seriously about embarking upon a political career. The organization of the National Socialist Party followed soon thereafter.

It is not yet possible to make a completely adequate appraisal of this unusual man's abilities, although it seems obvious to everyone that they are of an extraordinary character. He is possessed of all the fanatical zeal of a crusader, sure that he alone is the savior of Germany and possibly also of the western world. What is probably even more important is the fact that he is endowed with those qualities of personality and skills of oratory which have enabled him to convince millions that he is their savior. He has shown himself to be the past-master in the arts of propaganda. And like so many other great revolutionaries he has displayed an uncanny sense in properly timing the blows which he directs at his enemies. Brutal and ruthless, though apparently panic-stricken at times by fears of personal retribution, he has been uncompromising in destroying the obstacles which stand in his path. Yet he has almost never struck until all preparations have been completed by cunning deliberation. A dreamer and a visionary with a single-track mind, impetuous and imperious, seemingly loathing decisions yet apparently making them without appeal to the rational processes, an associationalist moved to action by some awakening hint, an orator seeming to possess unshakable conviction in what he says at the moment yet immediately afterward contradicting himself with equally passionate conviction, Hitler's personality is indeed the subject for investigation by the abnormal psychologist.

That Hitler possessed uncommon skills in organizing and leading a party is sufficiently well testified from the history of the Nazis. Despite its early misfortunes, Hitler tenaciously held to his course and exploited every opportunity and used every expedient in its behalf. Like the Communist Party in Russia and the Fascist Party in Italy, the Nazis developed a smoothly working party hierarchy,

sworn to unswerving obedience to the leader. It was supplied with abundant military support in brownshirted storm troopers and black-uniformed guards to protect the leader, as useful in suppressing opposition as in swaying elections. It developed an efficient press organization of its own which by 1932 provided news for every village and city in the German Reich. It was adept in hypnotic oratory and in the use of a myriad of ingenious devices to awaken the public interest and win its support. No other party was so well endowed. Naturally it grew as distress increased. With a membership of 27,000 in 1925, of 178,000 in 1929, it expanded with such rapidity in the depression years that by June, 1932, its members totaled well above a million. No longer was the Nazi organization insignificant. It had become one of the largest as well as one of the strongest political parties.

Despite this great growth, Hitler showed little inclination to employ the method of violent revolution to attain power. His Bavarian experience in 1923 had apparently convinced him that the better means would be the strictly legal and constitutional one of winning preponderant influence through the national elections. The prospects of success seemed reasonably good. In the elections of September, 1930, the Nazis won 107 seats in the Reichstag, becoming the second largest party in that body. Two years later their successes at the polls were even more striking. In March of 1932 at the end of President von Hindenburg's first term of office, Hitler stood against von Hindenburg as a candidate for the presidency. The results were ominous, for although Hindenburg eventually won, his success was not easy. Hitler polled 37 percent of the popular vote to 53 percent for Hindenburg. Three months later in Reichstag elections the Nazis won 230 seats, thus securing the largest party representation though not a clear majority.

These successes naturally encouraged the Nazi leaders to make a strong bid for political power, while ministerial changes and political intrigues in high quarters played directly into their hands. At the beginning of the depression in 1930 President von Hindenburg had employed the emergency powers allowed him under the constitution and had kept in power a ministry in which he had confidence, even though it did not command political support in the Reichstag. This procedure had some merit in that it preserved political stability, but it had dangerous implications for the future since it meant that the ministry existed only at the sufferance of the executive. It was a great political misfortune for the German republic that

such enormous powers should have fallen into the hands of the aging Hindenburg. Allowing himself to be influenced by intriguers from among his own Junker class, he withdrew his support from the Brüning ministry (1930-1932) in May of 1932 and extended it in turn to his friend Franz von Papen and to General von Schleicher. Neither of these enjoyed Reichstag support and each conspired against the other. Finally, in January, 1933, the president, doubtless at von Papen's suggestions, named Hitler chancellor and von Papen vice-chancellor. Apparently the latter believed that he might use Hitler to advance his own cause and that in any case he could hold him in check. This time, however, the arch intriguer, von Papen, had overreached himself. Having won power by constitutional means, Hitler and his friends were not willing to let it slip from their hands.

The Nazis possessed the largest representation of all of the parties in the Reichstag at the time of Hitler's elevation to power, but they did not possess a majority. It was deemed expedient to correct this deficiency in order, among other things, to establish the ministry's independence of the executive. Less than two weeks after the Nazi government had been installed, an excuse was found to hold elections under conditions deemed favorable. Several days before the election the Reichstag building was set afire—by the Communists, the Nazis claimed—as part of a plot to precipitate a Left revolution; the enemies of the Nazis said it had been fired by the Nazis themselves so they could pin the blame on the Communists and capitalize upon German fears in the forthcoming elections. The evidence in the case is not clear, but the latter interpretation appears to be correct. At all events, the Nazis exploited the popular fears of Communist revolution to the full and in the elections for the Reichstag polled the largest popular vote in their history. Even so they did not secure a majority representation, but by the simple expedient of excluding the Communist members, now condemned of treason, a working majority was established. Henceforth the road to dictatorship was unobstructed.

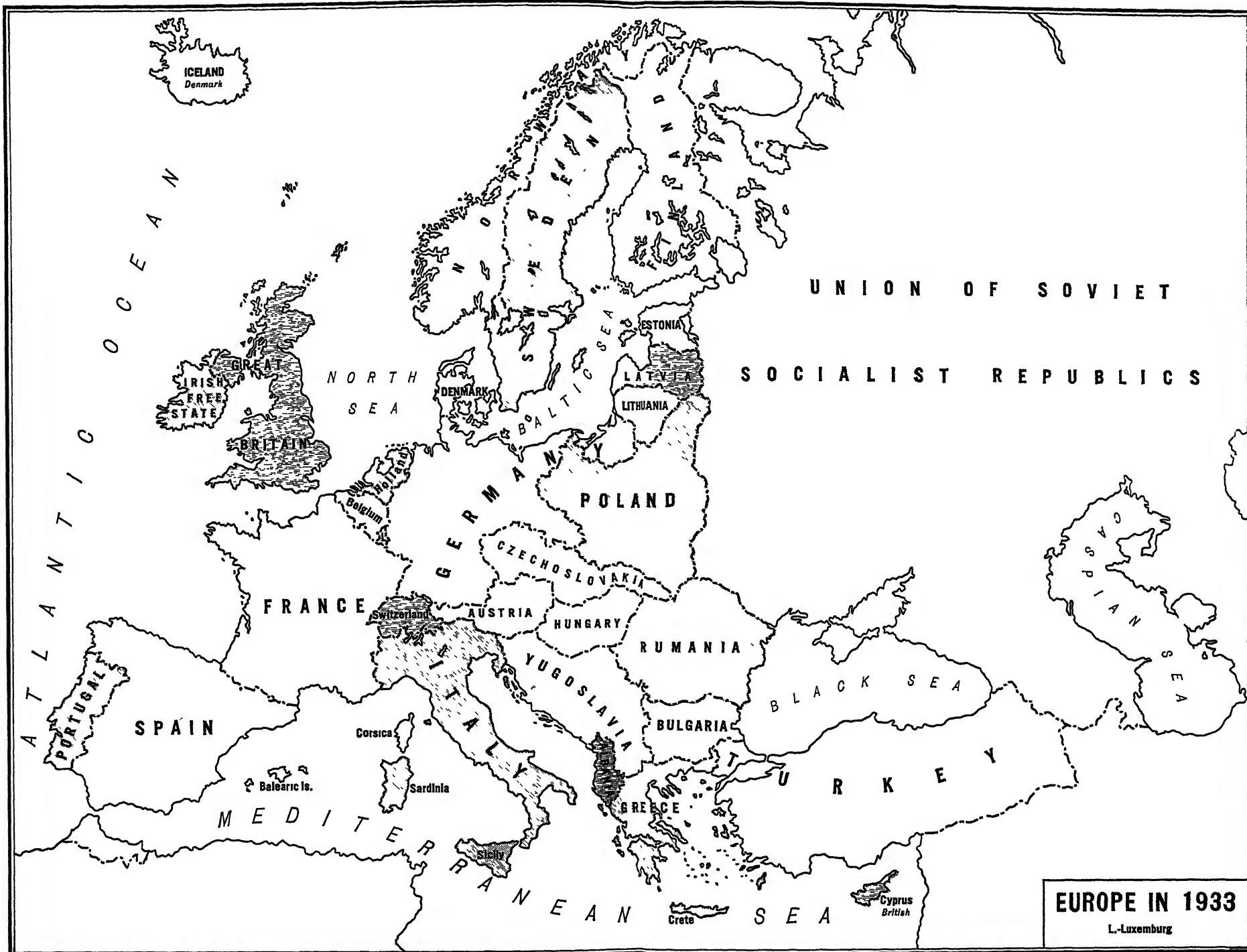
The purified and Nazified Reichstag dutifully extended dictatorial powers to the Führer for a term of four years so that he might restore the economic stability of the nation unmolested, and then disbanded. No time was lost thereafter in forging the instruments of totalitarian dictatorship and in consolidating its power. Enemies within the civil service were deprived of their offices; opposing political parties were gradually emasculated and then made illegal after

July, 1933; complete control was established over the written and spoken word; and the federal structure of the state was destroyed. Within a single year the Nazis had established a dictatorship such as the world had never seen.

Consolidation of political power over the nation was accompanied by the cleansing of the party so that it might function as the more perfect instrument of the Fuhrer's will. Division of opinion as to what the political program of the party should be was tolerated while it was still seeking power; it was intolerable after power had been achieved. Moreover, there were individuals within the ranks who were suspected of being ambitious and there were fears that these, with the aid of the motley brownshirts, might attempt a revolution within a revolution. Hitler ruthlessly undertook the extermination of the dissidents, committing them to the assassin's bullet in a blood purge in June, 1934. Thereafter, Hitler's authority over the party was uncontested within the ranks or, at all events, those held in suspicion were more quietly purged by an efficient secret police agency working within the party.

Firmly entrenched, the Nazi leaders hastened to translate their program and doctrines into policies of action. In accordance with the concept of Nordic supremacy¹ and in the supposed interest of Nordic purity, they inaugurated a policy of exterminating the Jews. The Semitic peoples, it was held, were responsible for all of the evils in contemporary civilization and were secretly engaged in a diabolical plan to contaminate and weaken other races. For this reason they intermarried with Nordics, fostered communism, and sought to gain control of the press, education, and business. Absurd as these arguments may appear to be, the Nazis advanced them so often and so vigorously that they persuaded many of the German people and probably convinced themselves. Jews were harried on the streets, they were driven out of the professions, their shops were ravaged without let or hindrance, and finally in the infamous Nuremberg Laws of 1935 they were denied the rights of German citizenship. But with all of this their cup of grief was not filled. They were herded into ghettos and on the slightest provocation their properties were confiscated. In November, 1938, when a young German Jew,

¹ The doctrine of Nordic supremacy, that is to say, the concept that the northern Teutonic peoples, identified by their blond hair and fair skin, represent a superior group among the animal species, was not new with the Nazis. It was first advanced by an Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who subsequently became a German and who in his last years probably influenced the thought of both Hitler and the philosopher of National Socialism, Alfred Rosenberg.



whose parents had been maltreated, sought revenge by taking the life of a German diplomatic officer in Paris, the Nazis wreaked vengeance upon all of the Jewish people under their jurisdiction. Synagogues were burned, property destroyed and the whole Jewish community compelled to pay an enormous fine. The scene was so revolting that the American government withdrew its ambassador from Berlin as a protest.

Meanwhile, the government sought to co-ordinate all the cultural and religious life of the nation. A Chamber of Culture was set up to supervise all production in the fields of literature, the press, broadcasting, the theater, music, art, and the films. The schools and universities were purged of suspected teachers, and new qualifications and standards of student achievement, measured in terms of the party interest, were established. Youth organizations, functioning as divisions of the party, were made available for the young, to take them from the family and church in leisure hours so that ties with the recent past might be more easily broken. The churches, too, did not escape the ubiquitous hand of the government. On the score that division among the Protestants was detrimental to their interests, an attempt was made to unite them under one head. The object, of course, was to Nazify the church, and when this aim was understood it was sternly resisted in some quarters. On this point the Nazis found it expedient to compromise. Relations with the Catholic Church were more cordial at first, but the Church's natural objection to the party's effort to absorb all of the life of the individual led to disagreement. An attack was directed at the priesthood on the ground that they were either immoral or acting as traitors, the publication of diocesan letters by offended bishops was prevented, and prohibitions against sermons with political implications were established. The climax of the anti-Catholic movement was reached, following the absorption of Catholic Austria into the Reich,¹ when the primate of former Austria was publicly insulted and rich properties of the Church were taken over by the state. By intimidation the Nazis hoped to keep the churches from becoming the centers of counter-revolution.

Still more significant was the regimentation of the economic life of the German people. Labor unions were outlawed and then replaced by the Nazi-controlled Labor Front. Strikes and lockouts were forbidden, all labor disputes being settled by arbitration and judicial procedures over which the Nazis exercised control. To solve

¹ See pp. 1001-1005.

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the problem of unemployment, elaborate public works programs were inaugurated and producers were compelled to provide employment beyond their needs. At the same time new installations to facilitate the rearmament of the nation were established and with the artificial demands which these stimulated, unemployment soon ceased to be a problem. Indeed, Germany began to suffer a labor shortage after 1936 and was compelled to import employables from abroad.

The costs of these undertakings were staggering and could not be met by conventional financing. The alternatives were either the abandonment of the rearmament program or fiscal revolution. The latter was accepted as preferable. Force was necessary to command respect and to effect territorial expansion, and if expansion could be realized Hitler had always maintained that economic problems would take care of themselves. A combination of factors determined the character of the fiscal revolution which followed. First, the heavy demands for imports of raw materials to create the instruments of war and to establish public works reduced Germany's capacity to produce exportable goods, while at the same time increasing the international obligations it had to meet for the payment of imports. The problem of foreign exchange consequently grew increasingly acute. Bills of exchange had to be rationed out in order to ensure the flow of needed supplies, and payments on foreign debts had to cease. At the same time, the Nazis embarked upon a campaign to make Germany an *autarchy*, that is, to make her economically self-sufficient. This too interfered with the customary movement of international trade to and from Germany and necessitated additional expedients. In due course, when even the rationing of bills of exchange proved inadequate, because there was not enough foreign money accumulated, the Nazi government embarked upon a program of international barter. Trade agreements were made wherever possible with other nations, allowing for the payment of Germany's imports by shipments of Germany's exportable goods. In this fashion, the Balkan states were tightly drawn into the economic orbit of Berlin.

While the problem of foreign trade was thus being met, the problem of domestic financing was solved in much the same fashion. Finding that negotiation of loans on ordinary terms was no longer possible by 1938, Nazi financiers devised methods little short of expropriation. The government was to be allowed to pay for some of its expenses in the form of I.O.U.'s, while much of the remainder was to be met by a kind of new circulating medium, based on anticipated taxes. None of these was to carry rates of interest.

The administration of these fiscal measures gave the Nazi government substantial control over most business enterprises. Since the national interest was to be given first consideration, the distribution of all imports had to be strictly regulated and rationed. And since the accumulation of foreign exchange was a vital necessity those businesses engaged in foreign trade had to accommodate themselves to the needs of the government. Not only had labor been regimented but capital as well, and with such completeness that the distinction from Communist Russia was one of detail rather than form.

It is apparent that the economic policies of the Nazi regime were very profoundly influenced by one compelling consideration: the rapid rearmament of Germany. To this Hitler had committed himself in *Mein Kampf* as the first essential of German regeneration and the absolute prerequisite of any German expansion. That this was the objective of the Nazi regime was scarcely concealed from the time of its inception. The limitations of Versailles were flouted and ignored, and the way was cunningly prepared for their repudiation. In 1933, the German government withdrew from the Geneva disarmament conference on the ground that it had failed to recognize Germany's right to military equality. For this same reason she withdrew from the League of Nations at the end of the year. Two years later, in March of 1935, Hitler found a convenient excuse to declare the military clauses of Versailles no longer operative, and in the summer of that same year he secured by negotiations with England the virtual repudiation of the naval clauses as well. Germany was to be allowed a navy 35 percent as large as Great Britain's. Meanwhile, the production of German military equipment went on apace and a mighty instrument of war was rapidly forged. All talk of disarmament in Europe had to be abandoned. A new arms race began which dwarfed that preceding the World War. Even the lesser states, who had accepted limitations or had had them imposed upon them, requested that these too be lifted. The freedom to arm as they chose was substantially restored to Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Nazi Germany had indeed toppled over the palace of peace which proved to be only a house of cards.

The political repercussions of the National Socialist Revolution were well-nigh universal. Either because of its example, or because of the direct aid which it extended, or because of the immediate threat which it created for Germany's neighbors, the Nazi movement was a powerful stimulant to the anti-democratic forces everywhere in Europe. And at the same time it helped the exponents of

democracy to begin closing their ranks for defense. The people of Europe were compelled to choose sides in the conflict which was impending. In Austria, Hungary, Rumania, and Jugoslavia the Nazi party organized the local German minorities for co-operation with Germany and helped finance native Fascist movements which were springing up. Under this pressure, even the thin disguises of democracy which remained had to be abandoned in considerable measure, if only for reasons of self-defense. Conflicts between authoritarian and democratic forces developed in the Baltic Republics and in Finland, precipitated a bloody civil war in Spain, as we shall see in the next section of this chapter, and disturbed the tranquillity of the greater and longer-established democracies of Europe. Far-away Japan felt these influences and drifted rapidly away from the democratic tendencies which had characterized its early post-war history.

The Fascist dictatorship in Italy, the example from which Hitler had drawn much of his inspiration, was further consolidated, and as the impact of Nazism was more keenly felt, it was more and more patterned after the German model. Like the German leaders, the Fascist authorities in Italy built the economic life of the nation largely around the requirements of its military establishments. This was certainly a more compelling consideration than the professed desire to ensure greater social justice among the producing classes.

After 1933 the regimented controls over the economic life of the Italian people were continuously multiplied and strengthened. In large measure this was due directly to the enormous costs of the Ethiopian campaign (1935-1936)¹ which Italy could ill afford, to the economic consequences of sanctions which were then applied, and in general to the unfavorable economic position which Italy occupied in relation to the rest of the world. Imports and exports were strictly regulated, complete governmental control was established over foreign exchange and foreign securities, domestic prices were fixed, and key enterprises like shipbuilding and the merchant marine were taken over directly by the government. All the while taxes steadily mounted, and on occasions the authorities were compelled to make capital levies upon property holders so that they might hold to their course.

Perhaps the most interesting accompaniment of this accelerated state control by the Fascists was the formulation and establishment of the so-called corporative state. It must be observed that early in the history of the regime, workers, and employers, as well as profes-

¹ See pp. 880-881, 996-998.

sional classes, were encouraged to form Syndicates whose objective ostensibly was to co-ordinate the productive agencies of the country, lay the basis for co-operation rather than conflict among the producing classes, and provide the means for the settlement of capital-labor disputes. Fascists were satisfied that this Syndical system functioned efficiently so far as it went, but they were not convinced that it realized that intimate co-operation between employer and employee which was held to be the desired objective. Moreover, the system did not lend itself easily to national planning for production. To meet these latter needs, therefore, a system of Corporations was built upon the foundations of the system of Syndicates (1934). According to this novel arrangement, production was divided into 22 different categories, each representing production from the basic raw materials to the finished product. For each of these categories a national Corporation was established, including representatives from employers and employees within the fields of production as well as representatives of the Fascist Party and economic experts. The linking together of employees *and* employers in an organization in which the Fascist Party was represented, the co-ordinating agency of Italian national life, was expected to bring to realization the desired co-operation of all the producing classes in the national interest. Each of the 22 Corporations was to plan and regulate production in its field and to that end was to co-operate with the government's Ministry of Corporations and with the National Council of Corporations, the unitary body of this elaborate structure. It took some time to put these plans into operation, and there was a good deal of skepticism relative to their practical application before the outbreak of the war in 1939.

The Corporative structure was, however, used as the basis for a change in the political structure of the State. Mussolini had long since maintained that the Chamber of Deputies, the remnant of old democracy, was outdated, and had already altered its powers and composition before 1933, as we have seen. But he still remained dissatisfied with it and promised its complete extinction when the Corporative State took form. In 1938 this promise was fulfilled when the Chamber voted itself out of existence and was replaced by a new Chamber of Fasces and Corporations, comprising the membership of the National Council of Corporations and with the National Council of the Fascist Party. This change was actually only one of form for it did not alter in any way the absolute power which Mussolini already exercised.

Throughout these years, as necessity and expediency dictated, Fascist Italy took over bodily some of the policies of the Nazi regime. The best-known of these was the policy of *racism*, leading to anti-Semitism. Beginning in the summer of 1938 the propaganda machinery of the government was extensively employed to generate public hostility toward the Jews, and before the end of that year legislative measures were adopted to realize the "public will." These were no more generous than their German counterparts, but in Italy the misfortunes of the Jews were not so great in extent for the simple reason that there were fewer Jews in proportion to the remainder of the population.

While Fascism spread and gathered strength under the impact of the Nazi Revolution, the other great European dictatorship, Soviet Russia, seemingly strengthened itself both at home and abroad for resistance. Indeed, one of the factors which helped to popularize the Fascist and Nazi movements derived from their vigorously asserted opposition to the Soviet Regime. Such opposition was calculated to win considerable approval among many democratic peoples, but, of necessity, it also put the Soviets on their guard. The superficial character of all the mutual recrimination which followed was not to be revealed until the autumn of 1939.

In the period after 1933 the Soviet government completed its Second Five-Year Plan and embarked upon a Third. In general, the objectives of all these plans were to bring the process of industrialization in Russia to maturity and to eliminate all remaining traces of class conflict. While these objectives were in line with the ideology of the Communist movement, they also were of a more immediately practical nature, since industrialization was vitally important to the defense of the state. How much this consideration was kept in mind is clear from the Third Five-Year Plan which laid great emphasis upon the development of important manufacturing establishments in areas further removed from the frontiers of troubled western Europe.

Significant progress was made under these last two Plans in the direction of industrialization and in the collectivization of agriculture. As a matter of fact, by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan the collectivization of agriculture had been made complete, thus ensuring the socialization of all the agencies of production. Both industry and agriculture were now removed from private control and placed under the direct or indirect control of the State. The consequences of these acts are very much in dispute. In general,

however, it is agreed that they may have brought some partial improvement in the general standards of living.

The controls of the state were steadily tightened. To speed up production, persuasion, minute regulation, and force were employed both for the peasants and the factory workers. Indeed, on the eve of the present war, the authorities at Moscow were led to increase the hours of labor, reduce the social insurance benefits of the employed, and hold the workers to their factories by rigid regulations. It could hardly be said that their economic freedom was increased. Moreover, the heavy costs of the ambitious arms program in which the government indulged with expansive and suggestive displays to foreign powers, increased the taxes which were borne through increased costs of prime necessities.

Supposedly, however, as a result of the successes of the Second Five-Year Plan, a new constitution for Soviet Russia was devised by dictator Stalin in 1936 and, with the acquiescence of the Party, was put into operation. According to the Russian propagandists, this constitution was the model of what democracy should be. It lifted all restrictions upon voting and assured universal suffrage; it placed no formal prohibitions upon the formation of opposition movements within the body politic; it presumably placed all sovereign power in the hands of the people's representatives in the elected Councils of Union and Nationalities which were to meet and deliberate at Moscow at regular intervals. It guaranteed freedom of the press, though it cautiously defined the distinctions between "freedom" and "license"; it ensured religious liberty; and it contained an elaborate bill of rights, promising the citizen, among other things, inviolability of person. Last of all it guaranteed to the individual citizen certain personal property rights, such as the right to his own bank account, to his own house, and to certain types of movable property and certain amounts of land. On the face of it the document reads well, but it obviously was not attuned to the political realities of contemporary Russian life. Stalin abandoned none of his control over the Communist Party, which under this constitution still possessed a monopoly of power. The dictatorship had a new mask, but that was all.

That this was the case, was clear from the fact that elections under the new system ran true to form, and the people's representatives still served as Stalin's rubber stamp. It was clearer still from the way in which the authorities openly flouted all of the constitution's guarantees in the Bill of Rights. While the constitution was

being formulated and put into operation, the Communist leadership began one of the greatest purges in its history, making a mockery of the pledged inviolability of person. This greatest of all "purges" in Russian history began in 1936 and lasted through 1939. Neither its causes, the details of its developments, nor its results are yet clear. The Stalinist Communists adopted the official argument that it represented a cleaning out of the Trotskyite influences which were attempting to sabotage the revolution; the Trotskyites explained that it was a frame-up to conceal weaknesses within and to consolidate the personal power of Stalin. Both explanations perhaps have some truth in them. Whatever were the circumstances, literally thousands were imprisoned or executed. The losses of men which resulted, and the fears which the trials and purges generated among the more fortunate, very probably contributed to a decline in efficiency in both the army and the civil administration. In any case, the purges made it clear that as yet there was little "liberty under the Soviets."

The forward march of dictatorships in this era multiplied and aggravated the problems which had to be faced by those nations still clinging to democratic forms. Among these, Great Britain was perhaps the least directly affected so far as its internal politics was concerned. A native Fascist movement was formed under Oswald Moseley, but it attracted only a small following and its activities were easily curbed by the government in 1937. Probably of more significance than the formal organization of a Fascist movement, was the sympathy for dictatorships abroad which was felt among various classes in British society. This sympathy arose partly from fears of socialization and partly from the immediate fear of Soviet-dominated Communism. It was reflected in prominent political circles, such as the so-called "Cliveden set," which formed around some of the conservative parliamentarians. What significance this had was chiefly in the conduct of foreign policy rather than domestic policy, for even the "Cliveden set" was not reputed to favor any change in the existing pattern of British government.

Britain's problems were primarily economic and imperial. It has been observed earlier that the unfortunate consequences of the depression to Britain's trade, finances, and employment led to the fall of the second Labor Government and the establishment of a National Coalition. Following elections in the autumn of 1931 this Coalition was heavily weighted with Conservatives, who, after the retirement of Ramsay MacDonald in 1935, took over the government. Under Stanley Baldwin and then under Neville Chamberlain, the

Conservatives maintained control up to and partly through the new war. These latter years were not free of economic troubles, but on the eve of the war, unemployment showed a considerable decline, trade appeared to be "recovering" and national finances were better stabilized. Whether this was because of the expedients of the National or Conservative governments or in spite of them is not clear.

On the imperial front there were a variety of delicate and difficult problems, all of which were influenced in greater or lesser degree by the political upheaval of the continent. Nearest home was the Irish question. The Free State, which had been set up under the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1922, had not satisfied all of the Irish nationalists. There was opposition to the continuing connection of Ireland with the British Crown and government and there were objections that the six northern counties of Ulster were not yet incorporated into the Irish nation. This opposition centered around a Republican group headed by Eamon de Valera. At first conducted by boycotts and acts of violence, the program of the Republicans was diverted into legal channels and in 1932 they gained control of the Parliament. Henceforth Anglo-Irish relations steadily grew worse. The oath to the king was unilaterally abolished by law, and payments required on old land installments were shut off. To these measures Britain retaliated with prohibitive tariffs on Irish goods, precipitating a serious economic crisis among the Irish agricultural classes. De Valera nevertheless adhered to his course and in 1937 secured the adoption of a new constitution which declared Ireland completely independent and provided it with a republican government. The British were persuaded to believe that further resistance would prove futile and in 1938 accepted the accomplished fact. An agreement was reached with Ireland, scaling down the latter's financial payments, conceding to her the Crown's rights in certain of the Irish coast towns, and restoring the basis for normal trade relations between the two countries. Anglo-Irish relations were for the moment much improved, though the problem of Ulster still remained.

Equally troublesome was India. The several Round Table conferences which had been held in the early 1930's to deal with this issue had at last resulted in a plan for political reform which was eventually embodied in the Government of India Bill, passed by Parliament in 1935 and put into operation two years later. This measure, described as a step toward dominion status for India, allowed for a limited amount of representation both in the central and provincial governments; it reduced the Viceroy's powers, and

enlarged the native electorate to 36,000,000, still a small percentage of the total. Unquestionably, this represented improvement, but it was not deemed adequate by the Indian nationalists who wished for nothing less than complete independence or at least full dominion status. Their opposition under the Mahatma Gandhi therefore continued.

Elsewhere, especially in Egypt and Palestine, the British government faced difficulties. Egypt had never been a formal possession but the British after 1882 had enjoyed a special position there. There was at no time any question of abandoning these privileges, especially since they were necessary for the defense of the Suez canal, but after the World War there was a desire to maintain these in a fashion more acceptable to the Egyptians. It was not easy to strike such a compromise, since the Egyptian nationalists were always insistent upon the recognition of their right to complete independence. Their resistance consequently long delayed the completion of a mutually satisfactory understanding. It was not, in fact, until 1936, and then under the pressure of the Ethiopian campaign, that post-war Anglo-Egyptian relations were actually clarified. A treaty of alliance was signed in that year, recognizing substantially Egypt's independence but at the same time according to Britain special military privileges in the canal area.

The matter of Palestine was much more complicated, not only because of normal difficulties on the spot but also because of the international issues created by the spread of anti-Semitism. We have already observed that before 1933 a nationalist conflict had developed in Palestine between native Arabs and Jews. This was greatly inflamed after 1933 because of anti-Semitic propaganda and because of Britain's anxiety, as the mandatory power, to find refuge in Palestine for the growing number of Jewish refugees. It was impossible to please both parties to the dispute, and almost equally impossible to keep them from flying at each other's throats. Several commissions were appointed to investigate and recommend solutions. One of these recommended in 1937 that Palestine be partitioned, part going to the Jews as a Jewish state, part going to the Arabs, and part remaining as a neutral area under British jurisdiction. This pleased neither the British Parliament nor the League of Nations, and of course it did not please either the Arabs or the Jews, and had to be abandoned. Another commission in 1938 proposed that Britain encourage the Jews and the Arabs to come to a mutual understanding among themselves, and to this end an Arab-Jewish conference

was assembled at London in February, 1939. But this got off to a bad start, since Arabs and Jews would not sit together at the conference table, and no positive solution could be reached. Subsequently the British government advanced a new plan of its own but this had to be held in abeyance because of the intervening European war.

French political life was much less stable in the period following 1933 than was that of her political ally across the channel. Authoritarian doctrines had already made considerable advances among those factions which were traditionally opposed to republican institutions and their influence spread after the Nazi Revolution. In part this was due to disgust with the frequent ministerial changes, to fresh evidences of corruption in republican administration, and in part to continuing economic difficulties. At all events a number of Fascist and semi-Fascist societies took shape such as the *Jeunesses patriotes*, the *Solidarité française*, *Les Francistes*, and the *Croix de Feu*. Their combined membership by 1939 constituted an impressive total. Among their adherents or sympathizers were leading manufacturers, prominent military men, and even high political figures such as André Tardieu and Pierre Laval. These organizations did not profess the same principles—some leaned toward Italian Fascism, and others to German Nazism—but they were all alike in repudiating the republican regime. In this latter respect, at least, they could join hands with the Communist Party, whose influence also grew until the outbreak of war.

The republic was weakly defended against its enemies. Particularly unfortunate was the Stavisky scandal and the political consequences which ensued from it. In December, 1933, an underworld stock manipulator who had managed to buy good political connections in the ministry and the Chamber of Deputies absconded with funds which he had illegitimately collected through a municipally owned pawnshop at Bayonne. The enemies of the republic pounced upon this evidence of corruption and soon turned the affair into a major political crisis. In February, 1934, after futile efforts by several ministries to solve this and other problems, a great demonstration against the government, resulting in bloodshed, was staged in Paris. A "National Union" government was quickly formed under ex-President Doumergue to save the Republic. Doumergue, though old, was believed to be a strong man and held the public confidence. But his relatively brief administration was not happy or successful. Constitutional reforms which he proposed in order to strengthen the executive and to ensure greater ministerial responsibility failed

of passage, and in November, 1934, the "National Union" government retired. The Fascist and Communist elements were encouraged to greater activity.

By 1936 the growth of Fascism at home and abroad finally persuaded the parties of the Left to coalesce to save the nation from totalitarian dangers on the Right. A Popular Front Party, comprising mostly the Socialists, the Radical Socialists,¹ and the Communists, was formed under the leadership of the Socialist Léon Blum and took over the government in 1936 to hold it for a year. The leadership in this coalition was not well endowed and it was faced with disrupting issues both from within and from without its own organization. Its more moderate members resisted radical measures while its radical members urged it on to greater socialization; and outside the coalition the government faced the strong resistance of the conservative classes, still entrenched in the Senate. In consequence, Blum's ministry was reduced to adopting half-measures and compromises which tended to aggravate rather than to allay unrest. Farm relief and public works programs were extended, the government took over the arms factories, a forty-hour working week was established, and the Bank of France was reorganized and democratized. There was much that was good in these measures but they were costly and the Senate balked at giving Blum the broad financial powers he would have needed to carry them through. The ministry was consequently compelled to resign.

Thereafter, for the two years preceding the war, the governments were Radical Socialist or moderately conservative, mostly under the leadership of Edouard Daladier. Gradually, the social legislation of the Blum era was withdrawn, as the work week was increased, pensions allowances reduced, and economies instituted in the public works expenditures. This retrenchment, accompanied by increasing taxes, satisfied neither the radicals nor the conservatives and continued to keep alive much of the opposition to the republican regime.

B. BLUFF AND APPEASEMENT

The Fascist and Nazi dictatorships have been frankly and openly aggressive from the first. Both rose to power partly because of popular dissatisfaction with the peace settlements, and both were com-

¹ This party was not what its name would imply. In fact, it was chiefly the party of peasant proprietors who were opposed to socialization.

mitted to treaty revision. They complained that the treaties had been intentionally vindictive and that the status quo which had been established was filled with the most obvious injustices. England and France, they argued, had established their hegemony over the continent, and along with Russia and the United States, held a virtual monopoly of the world's resources. Needy and "creative" peoples such as the Germans and Italians were left only a few paltry morsels. To make matters worse, the dictators contended, the great democracies at the end of the war had hopelessly divided Europe into a variety of small states, each of which raised barriers to trade and squandered the wealth which others might have used more profitably. They scornfully brushed aside the explanation that the new map of Europe had been drawn in accordance with the principle of national self-determination, and accused the democracies of hypocritically using that as a mask to conceal their own ambitions. They appealed to mankind's sense of justice to rectify these abuses and inequalities.

If the dictators had been content to limit their demands to minor adjustments in the existing order, to be arranged by bargaining and compromise, these might have been met without prejudice to the peace. But their ambitions were unlimited in scope as was to become painfully apparent. Mussolini spoke of the new Roman Empire which was to take form in the Fascist era, referring to it in vague phraseology when it seemed dangerous to arouse Britain and France, but describing it in detail when he could afford to be bold. The Mediterranean, he said, was to become an Italian sea. Suez, Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria were to be wrested from British hands; Nice, Savoy, Corsica, and Tunis were to be taken from France. The imperial patrimonies of these two "decadent" democracies would sometime fall into the virile hands of Fascist Italy. The little states of the Balkans would feel the sweep of Rome's civilizing genius, and the backward peoples of Africa would be given the blessings of European society by the Blackshirt legions. Rome would once more take its proper place of leadership in the world.

The Nazis felt the same strong urge to expansion. Indeed, this is the central theme permeating the whole of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the elaborate, almost fantastic, ideology which the Nazis have formulated in recent years. It was absurd to believe, they said, that sixty million Germans, the most creative peoples in human society, should be limited to an area of 183,000 square miles, while forty million inhabitants of "decadent" Britain hold sway over a quarter

of the earth's surface. It was equally absurd to imagine that twenty million Germans outside the Fatherland should suffer under the jurisdictions of alien governments. They claimed the right to a "fair" share of the world's material resources and the right to complete national unity. For these reasons the Nazis never limited their demands for a change in the existing order simply to the restoration of territories lost at the end of the last war. These would have been quite inadequate. What they aimed to accomplish was to include all German-speaking peoples of the continent in the Fatherland, and at the same time to supply them with a sufficiently sizable territorial area, endowed with all the necessary resources, so that they could maintain an independent living and leave an adequate heritage to the 250,000,000 Germans whom Hitler was sure would exist at the end of the next millennium. This vague and indefinable area the Nazis called their *Lebensraum* (living space). Final definition of this was left to chance and opportunity. Hitler implied in *Mein Kampf* that it lay to the east and included the region of the Ukraine, but expediency modified this concept. Indeed, as the Nazi regime developed, and as opportunities presented themselves, expansionists within the ranks drew attention at times to the *Lebensraum* in the west and in the colonial world. The most visionary of the prophets even began to see that Germany needed most of the world for *Lebensraum*.

The almost unlimited scope of their respective ambitions appeared to make impossible any future Fascist-Nazi co-operation. Their programs and policies seemed mutually exclusive and contradictory. Yet these barriers were hurdled, largely because both had the same interest for the moment in destroying the status quo, and both were faced with the same forces of opposition.

In support of their claims to expansion, Fascists and Nazis appealed to the specious arguments of imperialism as well as to the revelations of their own party doctrines. Both complained of "excess" populations and demanded additional space. As Mussolini baldly phrased the case for Italy, it was either "expand or explode." The dictators left no other alternative, for both encouraged a higher birth rate and refused to consider the idea that some of their peoples move elsewhere. If this "necessary" expansion had to be accomplished at the expense of other peoples, they felt that there was nothing inherently wrong with that. What Britain and France had taken, they pointed out, had once belonged to others, and if it was right that the British and French should hold what they possessed and even seize more as occasion arose, it was also right that Germany

and Italy should take what they needed. Especially did they feel justified in making these claims because they were both convinced that they possessed "superior" qualities which gave them the natural right to dominate "inferior" or "decadent" peoples.

The doctrines of "racial" and "national" superiority to which both Fascists and Nazis subscribed in varying degrees were new only in the forms of their expression and the breadth of their application. They had been developed and used by others before. Fascists claimed that the Italian nation possessed unique creative genius and they attempted to substantiate this by reference to the achievements of imperial Rome, to Italy's leadership in the organization and spread of Christianity, and to the fact that Italy mothered the Renaissance. The past was held sufficient proof of present Italian greatness. It was only because of feeble democratic governments and because of the stifling limitations imposed by the status quo that the rest of the world had been deprived lately of what Italy could contribute. The Italians were a young and virile people who had the right to carve a place under the sun fitting to their genius. If they profited from it, so too would the rest of mankind.

The Nazis were even less modest. Their ideology was based on the premise that among all the "races" of mankind, the Nordic clearly predominated through its creative capacities. History, as they rewrote it, offered abundant proofs, from the great empires of the ancient world to the civilizations of the contemporary era. All that was really great, all that was creative, they shouted, could be traced to the influence of this people, whose native stock had flourished on German soil. What little of the "race" remained in its primitive purity was concentrated in the German Reich. It was the duty of the Nazis, as they conceived it, to preserve this blessed heritage, to find for it fields of adventure commensurate with its genius, and to bestow its blessings upon the rest of inferior mankind. Nothing was to be allowed to stultify its growth and development. Nothing was to curb its freedom of action—certainly not the irrational political boundaries which selfish and "decadent" peoples had established. The Nordics were the "strong" among men, and the "laws of nature" dictated that the strong should subordinate the weak, should give guidance and direction. Little sovereign states which stood in the path of Nordic expansion could therefore claim no moral right to existence. Indeed, as "inferior peoples," if they were incorporated within the Reich system and were made to enjoy its blessings, they

would sometime thank the Reich for ending their supposed independence. Germany could create a "new order" ruled by supermen.

Doctrines such as these were advanced not only in defense of expansion but also in defense of war as a means of achieving it. Hitler and Mussolini both abhorred perpetual peace, though when it appeared expedient they claimed to be its champions. Mussolini, for example, stated on more than one occasion that Italy co-operated with the League of Nations not because of the principle of collective security for which the League stood, but because Italy wished to destroy the League. "Not only do I not believe in everlasting peace," he said, "but I would also hold it as depressing and destructive of the basic virtues of man, which only in a bloody effort can shine in the full light of the sun." Hitler echoed these sentiments, contending that only in violence are the creative forces of human society liberated. War they believed to be not only a means to an end but, to a certain extent, an end in itself.

Neither of the dictators concealed his intention of resorting to aggression at the first opportunity nor his willingness to engulf the rest of the world in war. Yet few in the democracies were ready to take these "boastings" and "rantings" at their face value, even when unmistakable evidence showed that they might have been made in dead earnest. Some complacently brushed aside all fear with the facile assumption that what the dictators said was meant only for "home consumption," in order to keep the public in a state of perpetual alarm, or possibly to divert its attention from some unhappy domestic situation. These men were "rationalists" who could prove from statistics that neither the Nazis nor the Fascists had the material means with which to wage war. If they did embark upon some foolhardy adventure, it must be clear even to the dictators, so it was argued, that they would suffer swift defeat.

Not all people in the democracies were "rationalists" of this type. The great majority probably thought little of the complicated problems of war. Most of them were either pacifists or anti-militarists who wanted no war and wished to avoid it at almost any cost. If peace could be kept by making concessions to the dictators, they were ready to go a long way toward that end. This was perhaps the most tragic weakness in the defense of post-war democracy, for it helped to prevent the necessary military preparations and deprived potentially strong leaders of the popular support necessary to dam the tide in time.

It is likewise probably true that many in the democracies were

inclined to view the Nazi and Fascist dictators as the lesser of two evils; the greater being Communism, personified and led by Soviet Russia. The economic and social upheavals of the post-war years aroused fear of a proletarian revolution, and since both the Nazis and the Fascists claimed to be anti-Communist and acted accordingly, some believed it unwise to do anything to challenge their stability. So long as they stood, the Soviet Government might be held in leash. This attitude was one factor leading toward a policy of appeasement.

Apathy, misapprehension, a false sense of security, the widespread spirit of pacifism, and conflicting political loyalties which helped to produce these reactions, created the first serious breach in the peace structure of the democracies. The second sprang from their mutual jealousies and conflicting ambitions, both of which prevented that pooling of resources necessary to the attainment of a common objective. Not until the eleventh hour were these rivalries put aside.

When the dictatorial offensive really began with the rise of National Socialism in Germany in 1933 there was still a great deal of confidence in the power of the League of Nations to preserve the peace. But the League was already nearly broken as the result of a serious reversal which it suffered during the Manchurian crisis in the Far East. During the autumn of 1931 Japanese forces began the systematic occupation of the Chinese province of Manchuria.¹ China appealed to the League and to the United States who responded with efforts directed toward mediation and peaceful settlement. But it soon became clear that Japan neither intended to withdraw her armies nor to negotiate, except upon her own terms. The American Secretary of State, Henry Stimson, in view of this situation was ready to propose strong measures against Japan and so urged the League, but the unwillingness of members of the Council to commit themselves to heavy responsibilities in the Far East frustrated Mr. Stimson's plans. The Council of the League created the Lytton Commission to investigate the dispute. This had its merits, for the Lytton report revealed the full extent of Japan's responsibilities as an aggressor. But while the Commission deliberated and reported, the Japanese military extended and consolidated its conquests. Japanese troops occupied Shanghai, partly in retaliation for a Chinese boycott of Japanese goods, and China was persuaded to rush another appeal to the League for help. This time the League machinery worked, less because of its inherent strength than because the enterprise was a costly one from which Japan was anxious to escape. In

¹ See p. 872.

May, 1932, the Japanese troops withdrew from Shanghai under supervision of an agency of the League Assembly. The Manchurian enterprise continued, however, with Japan setting up a puppet state, Manchukuo (March, 1932) and still resisting the Council's efforts for peace. The Chinese Government, therefore, decided to turn the matter over to the Assembly which had been successful in Shanghai. During February the Assembly passed a resolution denouncing Japan as the aggressor, whereupon Japan immediately withdrew from the League and continued its efforts to establish a "new order" in Asia by force. Except for adopting the policy already formulated by Secretary Stimson of non-recognition with reference to Japanese conquests, the League did nothing more to chastise the aggressor. Moral sanctions were allowed to produce what result they could which, in this case, was practically nothing at all.

This clear-cut demonstration of the League's inability to resist aggression strengthened the determination of the western dictators to open their offensive against the status quo. In October, 1933, the Nazi Government, after having embarrassed the Geneva Disarmament Conference with fresh demands, withdrew from that body and simultaneously resigned from the League. This was the first phase of a German attack upon the League which was to develop with increasing boldness and ferocity. Fears for the future of the League naturally increased, but these were allayed somewhat by the easy assumption that Germany might be induced to come back if the powers would grant her military equality, and by the fact that Russia was admitted to the League in 1934. The Soviets too were beginning to fear Germany and were ready to abandon their scruples regarding the "League of Robber Nations," as they had once referred to it. But their admission added little to the League's strength.

Meanwhile, the nations most desirous of maintaining the status quo sought to buttress the crumbling structure by political understandings, mutual assistance pacts, and non-aggression treaties. Thus, for example, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, the grouping of the Little Entente, agreed to closer economic co-operation (1933) and even worked out a plan (1934) by which their Foreign Ministers would regularly meet together to discuss their common problems. Under Turkey's leadership, Greece was also encouraged (1934) to join with Yugoslavia and Rumania in a Balkan Entente, to "keep the Balkans for the Balkan people" and to preserve the peace by maintaining the existing order. Both of these combinations in south-

eastern Europe came in response to the rise of aggressive Nazidom and were designed in part for the purpose of closing this region to German expansion. But they were also directed at Hungary and Bulgaria, former allies of Germany, who showed signs of being sympathetic with the Nazi program of treaty revision.

The little republics of northern Europe were likewise influenced to consolidate in the interest of common defense. Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia agreed (1934) to hold diplomatic conferences regularly, to aid each other in common problems of foreign policy, and to settle peaceably among themselves any disputes which might arise. Unquestionably they had in mind both the danger from Soviet Russia and from Nazi Germany. The Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and the Netherlands, together with Belgium and Luxemburg, combined to form the so-called Oslo Group. By regular meetings and consultations on problems mutually affecting their interests they too hoped to stem the tide of international anarchy. The little Republic of Finland, forever fearful of the designs of Soviet Russia, participated with this Oslo Group more or less as a silent partner.

France also endeavored to fortify and extend its own system of political alliances. The most notable undertaking in this direction was the cultivation of close relations with Soviet Russia. After the gradual abandonment of strong post-war prejudices against the Communist regime, republican France finally sought Russia as a political ally. Trade relations were fostered, France sponsored Russia for admission into the League of Nations, and in 1935, the two powers negotiated a mutual assistance pact which allowed for consultation on matters of common interest and actual military co-operation in case either party were the victim of unprovoked attack. During that same year France courted the friendship of Italy by signing the Laval-Mussolini Pact with the Fascists. This engagement allowed Italy to buy shares of stock in the Ethiopian railway, extended territorial concessions on the desert frontiers of Libya, and arranged a mutual settlement of most outstanding difficulties between the two Powers in Tunis. In return France expected to secure Italian co-operation against Germany on the continent. At the same time France endeavored to tighten the bonds between herself and Great Britain. Throughout all of the post-war period Britain had constantly refused to subscribe to any binding commitments which would involve her in continental troubles. This opposition continued, although the government in London did show its willingness to come

to the support of France in case the latter were the victim of direct attack, and in fulfillment of this intention inaugurated military and naval conversations with the French staffs in 1936. These understandings were supplemented by additional agreements with France's lesser allies, except Belgium who, because of the mounting pressure on her German frontier, asked and secured release in 1936 from her long-standing treaty obligations to the French.

Meanwhile, Soviet Russia, in search of protection against the Nazis, accelerated her negotiations for non-aggression pacts with immediate neighbors and potential enemies. Ten such pacts were concluded in 1934, by the so-called London agreements, in which the signatories pledged that they would not harbor enemies of each other nor tolerate any action upon their territories which would disturb the general peace. It was hoped that pacts such as these might serve as a deterrent to aggressive ambition.

Like the League of Nations, these political security pacts were impressive only on the exterior. Behind them mutual jealousies, national ambitions, and selfish interests still held sway. Britain would not be responsible for the whole of the continent and so, in substance, virtually repudiated France's continental security structure. Unsure of British support, France, in consequence, did not feel that it could afford to support its other allies with the necessary vigor. This was certainly one of the weakest links in the chain of defensive pacts which the status quo powers had developed. But other nations, too, were equally short-sighted. Poland, for example, fearful of Soviet Russia and not unsympathetic to Nazi Germany, signed a non-aggression pact with Germany in 1934. With a foot in each camp, the Polish government hoped to profit no matter what the future might bring. Yugoslavia and Rumania also leaned more and more upon Germany economically and eventually drew closer politically.

Internal stresses such as these within the peace structure were a godsend to the aggressive dictators who exploited them to the full. It was not difficult to divide friends who were suspicious of each other, and, under the circumstances, the dictators were able to march easily from one victory to another. Hitler began the attack, and scored the first notable success. After withdrawing from the Geneva Disarmament Conference and from the League of Nations in 1933, the Nazi government boldly began the creation of a new German military machine, despite the legal limitations of the Treaty of Versailles which still applied. These preparations did not pass unnoticed

but nothing was done. Instead, it was hoped that some formula might be found which would satisfy the Nazi desire for remilitarization without endangering the peace of the rest of the world. A plan was presented to Germany early in 1935 with this objective in mind. Briefly, it proposed that in return for the concession of military equality Germany should promise: (1) to respect the independence of Austria; (2) to respect the integrity of the little states on her eastern frontier; (3) to join in security agreements which would supplement the Locarno Pacts; and (4) to agree to return to the League of Nations. If Germany had really wanted peace as well as equality, there was nothing in this proposal to which she could object. Yet it was ignored and the Nazi dictator set out to attain the desired equality without any restrictions upon Germany's future freedom of action. On March 16, 1935, Hitler startled the world by announcing that Germany henceforth would not respect any of the clauses in the Versailles document which set limitations upon her military establishment. This was a clear-cut case of treaty-breaking. France was ready to sponsor joint action by the League, but Britain was unsympathetic and Italy objected, with the result that nothing of a positive nature was done. To be sure, each of the offended powers registered protests at Berlin, and eventually the League formally criticized Germany's procedure, but these were simply gestures which the Nazis could afford to ignore.

The deed accomplished, Hitler, in one of his famous addresses to the German nation and the world, gave assurance that he was a man of peace. He said he abhorred war and intended to devote his energies to its prevention. It was to be understood by other nations, therefore, that German remilitarization was not meant for belligerent purposes. And to lend strength to his argument, Hitler asserted that Germany had no designs upon other people's territory. So far as he was concerned, the French and Belgian frontiers were permanently fixed; France had nothing to fear. As for Austria, Germany had no intention of interfering in its domestic life and certainly no designs upon its territory. Other neighbors could rest at ease, for the Nazis did not plan to incorporate alien peoples into the Fatherland. This forthright denial of everything for which the Nazis stood put many who were fearful at their ease. It was taken as a sign that perhaps the Nazis were really becoming legal and "respectable" now that their authority had been established. At all events, the British government seemed inclined to this view and agreed to negotiate for the elimination from the Versailles treaty of those clauses

which placed limitations upon the German navy. In July, 1935, a British-German naval agreement was signed, giving the Nazis the right to build up a navy 35 percent the size of Great Britain's, and another hindrance to German rearmament had been removed.

Less than a year later Germany again struck successfully. The Nazis were not satisfied simply with the freedom to rearm; they aimed at achieving complete military independence. This was impossible so long as the demilitarization of the Rhineland was enforced under existing treaties. It will be recalled that the Treaty of Versailles had stipulated that Germany must not fortify or maintain military establishments in the Rhineland within fifty kilometers of the right bank of the Rhine. Subsequently, this clause had been reaffirmed in the Locarno treaties which the German Republic had freely helped to negotiate. To tear up both of these documents seemed like a dangerous undertaking, but Hitler was equal to the task. Choosing his time well, when the League and the status quo powers were divided over the Ethiopian dispute, he suddenly declared in March, 1936, that the German army was marching into the Rhineland and that henceforth Germany would respect no restrictions upon her freedom of action there. Once more the opposition was paralyzed. The League deliberated, but, as Hitler had calculated, all that resulted were formal protests which could be cynically ignored. This startling success in the Rhineland was of momentous significance. It enabled Germany to fortify¹ its western frontier and immobilize the French armies on the Maginot Line while its own attention was turned toward conquest in the east; it encouraged weak and faltering states, especially those sympathetic with revisionism, to line up with the strong aggressor; and, finally, it was at least partly instrumental in bringing Fascist Italy into an alliance with the Reich.

The Fascists, in the meantime, had not been idle. Encouraged by the increasing signs of weakness among the defenders of the status quo, Mussolini brought to completion plans which he boasted he had long since formulated for the conquest of Ethiopia.¹ Late in 1934, the Fascist-controlled press began a concerted campaign of recrimination against the Ethiopian emperor and his people; military preparations in Italian Somaliland and Eritrea in East Africa were accelerated; and finally in December, 1934, Italy made an issue of a clash at a frontier watering place. The Ethiopian Government was ready to be conciliatory and recommended that the issue be solved by an arbitration commission. Mussolini stalled for time, while he sped

¹ See pp. 880-881.

the shipment of men and munitions to East Africa. Throughout the spring and summer of 1935 various efforts, including those of the League of Nations to which the Emperor Haile Selassie had appealed, were made to reach a peaceful solution. All were repudiated or ignored by Mussolini, and on October 1, 1935, without a declaration of war, the mechanized Italian armies marched into Ethiopian territory. There is no better example of a deliberate act of aggression in modern history.

Led by Great Britain, now deeply concerned for the future of its own empire and apparently genuinely anxious to make the principles of collective security operative, the League of

Nations was spurred on to action. Less than two weeks after the Italian armies had begun their march, Italy was condemned as the aggressor, and steps were taken to implement this condemnation by the application of economic sanctions. Exports and imports to and from Italy, except for such really vital things as oil and coal, were to terminate in the middle of November, unless the Italians ceased their operations. In accordance with these plans, the British Government reinforced its Mediterranean navy to be ready for eventualities. But there were few in a commanding position in League affairs who had enthusiasm for this adventure in sanctions. France, especially, hesitated. As has been noted, France had just signed with Italy some few months before the Laval-Mussolini Pact, adjusting outstanding problems between the two states as a preliminary to securing Italian co-operation against Germany on the continent, and Premier Laval was not anxious to do anything to alienate his new friend. France's position, indeed, was not an enviable one: it seemed neither wise to abandon Italy in view of the German threat nor yet to estrange Britain whose support was also so vitally necessary. And in this Ethiopian affair these two friends were at sword's points. Laval,



HAILE SELASSIE AND MUSSOLINI

Pierre Laval of France and Sir Samuel Hoare of England, as policemen, watch Mussolini, the thug with the club, while Haile Selassie explains his case in front of the League Police Station.

partly because of his own sympathies with Fascist Italy, sought to find a solution. With the British foreign secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, who was also anxious for a peaceful solution, Laval reached an agreement by which Ethiopia was to be partitioned in such fashion as to give Italy a very substantial portion of territory. The Hoare-Laval agreement was made public in December, 1935, and aroused such a storm of protest in Great Britain that Sir Samuel Hoare was compelled to retire from office. His successor, Anthony Eden, pledged a vigorous League campaign against Italy, and France reluctantly agreed to co-operate.

Limited League sanctions were applied for the duration of the Ethiopian campaign. But inasmuch as these did not apply to oil and since other Great Powers like Germany did not co-operate in their application, they did no great damage to Italy's war efforts although they caused considerable hardship for the Italian people. As a matter of fact, their results were quite the contrary of what had been anticipated. Instead of discouraging the Fascist aggressors, they awakened keen popular resentment in Italy, and this, in turn, encouraged Mussolini to pool his resources with Nazi Germany.

One of the immediate products of the Ethiopian controversy was the Rome-Berlin Axis. Prior to 1935 Mussolini had been inclined to range himself on the side of France and Great Britain against Nazi Germany, largely, no doubt, because of his personal fears of German expansion into Austria. These fears had not passed but they were felt with less intensity since Britain had emerged as a dangerous enemy in the Mediterranean and since Germany had been willing to co-operate with Italy against the application of sanctions. Official and unofficial exchanges of visits between Rome and Berlin during 1936 foreshadowed the development of outwardly cordial relations between the two dictators. In July, 1936, these were at last published to the world with the announcement of a specific understanding, defined by Mussolini himself as the Rome-Berlin Axis, between Germany and Italy. What precise agreements had been reached by the two dictators was kept a secret, but it soon became apparent that they implied mutual co-operation on a grand scale. Unquestionably this Rome-Berlin Axis represented a diplomatic revolution of the greatest significance. Its importance was enhanced the following year, when Italy and Japan signed an "Anti-Comintern Pact," ostensibly directed against Soviet Russia, but really broadening the scope of aggressive co-operation against the status quo.

The first fruits of the German-Italian co-operation were reaped

on the battlefields of Spain. It will be recalled that the Spanish Republic, established after a bloodless revolution in 1931, had been gravely weakened by factional strife from the beginning. The inhabitants of Catalonia and the Basque Provinces demanded and received virtual independence. Moreover, within the numerous parties which supported the Republic there was little willingness to compromise ideological differences. The Communists, Syndicalists, and Socialists insisted that the revolution had only just begun, while the moderates and conservatives agreed that the revolution was over. Disagreements among these factions cleared the path for reaction.

The conservative enemies of the Republic—landowners who were threatened with the confiscation of their properties, most of the old army officers, those who were fearful of communism, and a sizable portion of the clergy—pooled their strength. An attempt to incite revolution in 1932 failed, but during the next few years they managed to improve their position in Parliament. The elections of 1934 were definitely a conservative victory. This swing to the Right was reflected in substantial modifications of the religious, agrarian, and educational reforms of the preceding years; it was also reflected in the increasing boldness with which the enemies of the Republic plotted its destruction.

In February, 1936, however, the conservatives lost their control of Parliament when the republican parties at last set aside their differences and in the national elections united as a Popular Front Bloc. The balloting was close, but the Popular Front, through the accidents of the election, managed to gain a decisive majority in Parliament. In consequence, the next few months were characterized by the swing of the political pendulum to the Left. Agrarian and educational reforms were once more pushed and there was a marked revival of anti-clericalism. Energetic measures were also adopted to rid the army of reactionary officers and to republicanize it.

Fearful that these plans might succeed, the threatened military men decided to rebel. They were reasonably sure of support from the clerical party, the monarchists, and the most conservative republicans, and, what is more, they had apparently received assurances of sympathy and support from Italy and Germany. On July 17, 1936, the revolt began among regiments in Morocco, under the leadership of General Francisco Franco, and soon spread to the mainland.

From the beginning this revolution was an issue of international importance. Three Great Powers in particular revealed a very spe-

cial interest in it: Russia, Germany, and Italy. The Soviet Government apparently hoped that the revolution might be diverted into channels of communism, and to that end gave aid and advice to the legal, Popular Front government. For Germany, the establishment of a friendly dictatorship in Spain held out the prospect of weakening France. This was worth substantial material assistance which the Nazis showed no hesitation in giving. But the Power most keenly interested in the outcome of the revolution was Fascist Italy, chiefly for reasons of power politics. The Ethiopian campaign had just ended successfully but it had revealed more than ever the fatal weak spots in Italy's Mediterranean position. Hostile England held both Suez and Gibraltar and therefore, with the co-operation of France, was in a position to strangle Italy. Mussolini believed it worth the risk to break this control, and Spain afforded the opportunity. With a government in Spain which would be obligated to him, he might expect to control the Balearic Islands, standing athwart the British and French sea routes to Africa. Besides, there was the chance of establishing a position in Spanish Morocco which might possibly immobilize the British at Gibraltar. In the hope of gaining these objectives, the Fascist government lavishly endowed General Franco with munitions, airplanes, and "volunteers" to the extent of approximately 100,000 men.

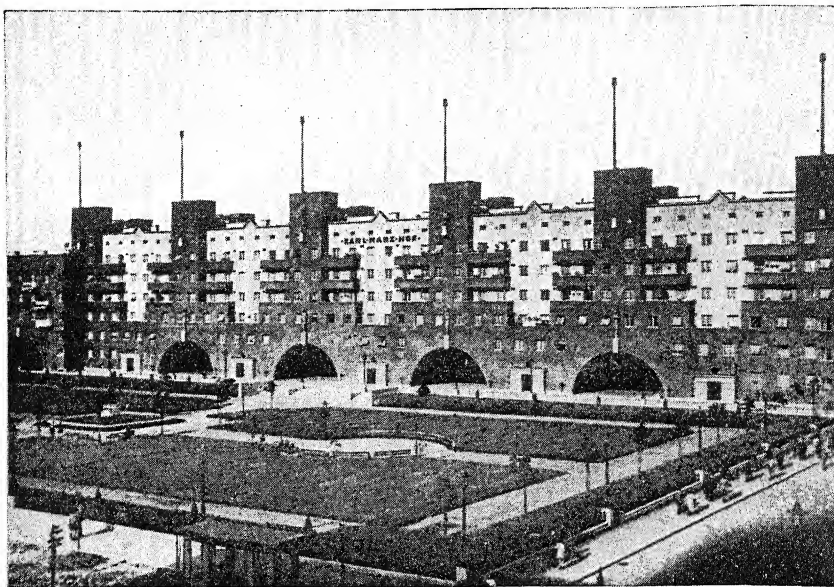
Great Britain and France too had important interests at stake, but neither power was ready to assume the risks necessary to protect them, partly because public opinion was divided over the revolution and partly because of fear of becoming involved in war. They had the legal right under international law to permit the passage of munitions to the recognized Loyalist government, but they refrained from using it since Italy and Germany let it be known that this would be regarded as an unfriendly act. Instead, France and Britain took the lead in organizing a movement to prevent intervention by any of the powers on behalf of either side. If this had proved truly effective, in all probability the Loyalists would have won, but it was a complete farce from the beginning. The London Non-Intervention Committee, as it was called, contained representatives from twenty-seven different nations, including Germany and Italy. The latter two Powers were able to sabotage all of the Committee's efforts. While professing attachment to the non-intervention principle, they openly and publicly flouted it. And they were able to pursue this policy of unconcealed deception for more than two years.

Nothing more clearly reflects the poverty of Franco-British diplomacy in the Spanish crisis.

While the Non-Intervention Committee pursued its futile debates, supplies and men continued to flow into Franco's Nationalist Spain but supplies to the Loyalists were practically stopped. The results were to be expected. Loyalist defenses were slowly worn down, and early in the spring of 1939 General Franco emerged victorious. It is significant that this success was hailed in Italy as a national victory. Such indeed it was, and it was a German victory as well. Britain was now challenged at Gibraltar, and France was literally surrounded with totalitarian enemies.

In the meantime, the Nazis had already overrun and extinguished both Austria and Czechoslovakia. The Austrian Republic had lived a troubled existence from the beginning, and had been sustained only by a combination of compulsion and generosity on the part of the victorious nations. Its lack of resources and the more or less unfriendly attitude of most of its neighbors gave rise to serious social and economic disturbances, and long encouraged many of its inhabitants to hope that sometime union might be effected with Germany. These hopes had been successfully blasted by the powers who persistently refused to tolerate any form of union. This issue of *Anschluss*, as it was called, took a serious turn with the rise of the Nazis to power in Germany.

It appears that many of the Austrian people lost their enthusiasm for *Anschluss* with Germany after Hitler's assumption of power, partly because of his anti-religious policies which offended the Catholics, and partly because of his labor policies which alienated the working classes. But the dwindling enthusiasm of the Austrians did not serve to deter the Nazis who were determined to incorporate Austria into the Reich. An Austrian Nazi party was created and, aided and abetted by the authorities at Berlin, it attempted to precipitate an internal political revolution which would serve as a prelude to German occupation. The Austrian Chancellor, Engelbert Dollfuss, launched a vigorous counterattack. The Nazi party was outlawed. Dollfuss, partly at least to strengthen his nation, established a personal dictatorship (1933) and attempted to form a native totalitarian party, the Fatherland Front, dedicated to the preservation of Austrian independence. Germany retaliated, but Dollfuss proceeded on his course apparently with the consent of Great Britain and France, and certainly with the active encouragement of Mus-



Courtesy of the Syracuse University Library

THE KARL MARX HOF, VIENNA

Built by the socialist government of Vienna, the Karl Marx Hof was one of the first and most famous of municipal housing projects. During the civil war of 1934, it served as a socialist stronghold and was virtually destroyed by the Austrian army.

solini. Fascist Italy at this time was still very anxious to preserve Austria as a buffer against Germany.

The sympathy of foreign governments was valuable to Dollfuss in resisting Nazi pressure, but what he needed most of all was popular backing at home, and this he failed to get largely because of his own blundering policies and lack of foresight. There seems to be little doubt that the majority of the nation at first was with him and that had he shown a modicum of statesmanlike vision he could have retained this support. But personal ambition, misunderstanding, and possibly bad advice from Fascist Italy, led him to alienate the well-organized working classes. As a conservative and a provincial he was suspicious of Social Democracy which controlled Vienna and he aimed to destroy it. In February, 1934, therefore, he decreed the abolition of all political parties and organizations except the Fatherland Front, and when the Social Democrats showed intentions of resisting, he brutally crushed them with force. He attained his objective of destroying the Socialists but at the same time he created a cleavage in Austrian society which damaged irreparably his chances and those of his successor to preserve Austrian inde-

pendence. During the next few years Austria gave the appearance of unity but underneath it was a mass of seething intrigue.

The Nazis quite naturally sought to profit from this state of affairs. Their agitation against Austria both within and from the outside intensified, and in July, 1934, an attempt was finally made to seize the Austrian Government. It was premature, but as the result of the attempt Chancellor Dollfuss was assassinated. All Europe, and Italy especially, was shocked at this exhibition of violence and was fearful that the immediate occupation of Austria by German troops might be impending. The Fascist government at once took a strong stand, concentrating troops on the Brenner Pass to march to Austria's defense at the first sign of a German threat. This prompt action no doubt persuaded the Nazis to be more circumspect. They denied that they had had any intentions upon Austria, and pledged that the activities of overly enthusiastic members of the party, whom they said had irresponsibly precipitated the crisis, would be curbed.

During the next two years Austria, with Italian support and encouragement, virtually isolated herself from Germany, and the successor of Dollfuss, Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg went on developing a pro-Austrian, anti-German policy along much the same lines as his predecessor. Like Dollfuss, Schuschnigg lacked the essential qualities of statesmanship. Honest, sincere, patriotic, a man of honor, he was out of touch with the masses and isolated from his companions in government. He failed to appreciate the necessity of recapturing the support of the working classes. Perhaps his greatest deficiency was his inability to judge character. A devout churchman, he constantly deluded himself into believing that his fellow churchmen at least would not deceive or betray him. The enemies of the state, some of them men whom he counted as his close friends, were able in time to exploit this naive credulity.

Schuschnigg's dictatorship like that of Dollfuss lacked adequate popular support and was sustained principally by the moral and material backing which it received from Fascist Italy. When this support was withdrawn, the dictatorship was unable to defend itself or the nation. In 1936 as the result of the Ethiopian crisis and as a means of buying German co-operation for the future, Mussolini abandoned Schuschnigg and Austria to their fate. The first sign of what was happening came in July, 1936, when the Austrian Chancellor was persuaded by Mussolini to come to terms with Hitler in an agreement which required Austria to include Nazi sympathizers in its

cabinet. Later on that autumn, the negotiations which brought the Rome-Berlin Axis into being, implicitly if not explicitly, recognized that Austria was now a free field for German adventure.

Thereafter Schuschnigg was forced to concede steadily increasing German demands upon him. In particular, he was induced to grant amnesty to a number of the Nazis who had helped with the murder of Dollfuss, and to extend to German Nazis in Austria the right to wear their party insignia openly without fear of punishment. This allowed the German Nazi organization virtually a free hand in organizing agitation for union with Germany. By January, 1938, Schuschnigg had become genuinely alarmed at the course which affairs were taking, and ordered reliable police to descend upon Nazi headquarters in Vienna for the purpose of confiscating whatever incriminating documents might be found. The startling discovery of an elaborate plan, bearing the initials of a high German Nazi, aiming at the destruction of the Austrian Government, heightened the Chancellor's concern. It might well have had this effect for indeed the German Nazis were just then bringing their plot to destroy Austria to maturity.

While in this troubled state of mind, Chancellor Schuschnigg was persuaded by his friends in the Cabinet, chiefly by the Nazi sympathizers who meant to betray him, to accept an invitation to visit Hitler at Berchtesgaden early in February. This visit was to seal the fate of Austria. After crossing the Austrian frontier, Schuschnigg had a foretaste of what was to come. German soldiers were everywhere in preparation for what might be the occupation of Austria, and at Berchtesgaden he was received and treated most uncivilly. Hitler stormed and ranted, made excessive demands, and when the Austrian appeared to stand firm revealed to him what preparations were already made for the occupation of Austria in case he did not submit. Hard pressed, and realizing he could not count on foreign aid, Schuschnigg agreed to some dangerous concessions, especially to the inclusion of more Nazis in his Cabinet and to the extension of legal recognition to the Nazi movement in Austria.

The next few weeks were hectic. The Austrian Nazis, convinced of German support, set no bounds to their violence and agitation. Schuschnigg, hoping against hope that an escape might be found, labored to outwit Berlin. He hit upon what appeared to be a clever scheme, when he announced that on March 12 a popular plebiscite would be held to determine whether the Austrians wished to maintain their independence. Even the Nazis were convinced that if this

took place Austria would be lost to them. Hitler, therefore, decided to act at once. Four ultimatums to Austria followed each other in quick succession, demanding the abandonment of the plebiscite and Schuschnigg's resignation. The government capitulated to avoid bloodshed and Seyss-Inquart, an avowed Nazi, illegally took the chancellorship. He immediately invited Hitler to send in his troops to restore order. On March 12 Austria's independence was lost, and two days later Hitler himself entered Vienna in triumph.

The German absorption of Austria placed the republic of Czechoslovakia in a precarious position, as a glance at the map will show, even though Hitler was generous in his promises that the Czechs had nothing to fear. That these promises were valueless was well appreciated by the statesmen at Prague, for ever since the rise of the Nazi regime across the frontier Czechoslovakia had been the victim of Nazi intimidation emanating both from the Reich and from its own numerous German citizenry (about three million) in the region of the Sudetenland. With financial aid and counsel from Berlin a local Nazi Party had been formed among these Germans as early as 1933. Because of premature violence it was dissolved by the government and its leaders were driven into exile. But it was not long before the Nazis renewed their activities under thin disguise. A Sudeten German Party was created under the leadership of an obscure gymnast and bank clerk, Konrad Henlein, which before long became purely Nazi in character. With the aid of party organizers from the Reich, Henlein was soon able to develop a formidable political organization which by 1938 controlled from 85 per cent to 90 per cent of the total German vote. The co-ordination of this party with the Nazi Party in Germany, in everything but name, gave Hitler a powerful instrument of attack.

The open Nazi offensive against Czechoslovakia began in 1936. A heavy barrage of radio and newspaper propaganda was laid down from Berlin. Czechoslovakia was accused of conniving with the Bolsheviks and tales of brutal treatment of Germans by the Czech police were circulated. Czechoslovakia adopted measures of conciliation and self-defense. Political, cultural, and economic concessions were made to the various minority elements in the republic, and more were promised for the future. At the same time the police were reorganized and threatened frontier districts were placed under military control to protect the state against extremists and the danger of attack from Germany.

During the spring of 1938 German propaganda against Czecho-

slovakia was intensified and the demands of the Sudeten German Party grew more uncompromising. Henlein, no doubt at Hitler's advice, spurned Prague's every effort at conciliation. During the early summer the situation grew critical when rumors of German troop movements toward the frontiers spread throughout Europe. Simultaneously more Czech soldiers were mobilized and concentrated at the danger points. War seemed to threaten, and France and Russia, though cautioning Czechoslovakia to be conciliatory, showed a disposition to fulfill their alliance pledges. Great Britain, however, was especially anxious to save the peace and undertook positive measures to that end. The Czechs were asked to accept the services of a British mediator, Lord Runciman, who would attempt to arrange a solution. Prague agreed reluctantly and in August, 1938, Runciman took up his duties. His negotiations aroused suspicions, and there were substantial grounds for concluding that officially or unofficially he was trying to ease the way for the cession of the Sudetenland to Germany. At all events, during his visit the Sudeten German Party adopted a more intransigent attitude, despite the fact that the Czech government showed itself ready to make generous concessions. The crisis came September 13. That day Henlein fled Czechoslovakia and announced that it was no longer possible for the Germans to live in the same state with the Czechs. This followed by one day a speech in which Hitler demanded national self-determination for the Germans in Czechoslovakia. There was now real danger of war.

In a dramatic effort to keep the peace, Prime Minister Chamberlain of Britain flew to Germany, first to Berchtesgaden on September 15, and then to Godesberg on September 22 to consult personally with Hitler. As the result of the first of these visits Chamberlain promised to bring pressure upon the Czechs by way of having them abandon to Germany that territory in which more than fifty percent of the population was German. On the second visit, Chamberlain was told that these concessions, which the Czechs had accepted with great reluctance, would have to be made by October 1, else the German armies would march. Chamberlain could not bring himself to accept this ultimatum and during the following week frantic preparations for war were made on all sides. The intervention of Mussolini and President Roosevelt at the last moment, however, seemed to save the peace. It was decided to regulate the cessions of territory in conference, and at Munich on September 29 representatives of France, England, Germany, and Italy met for this purpose. The German demands were all satisfied. Hitler now asserted he was con-

rent, declared he wanted no Czechs, and promised to consult frankly with Britain on problems affecting their interests in the future. Chamberlain returned to London "bringing peace for our time."

At the very moment when Hitler was solemnly promising that he was satisfied with the Sudetenland and wanted no Czechs the official acts of the Nazi Government belied his words. The campaign to dismember Czechoslovakia completely was already under way. It was not difficult to prosecute this plan since the moral and physical strength of the nation had been sapped and the discontented elements among the remaining minorities were encouraged to hope for their redemption.

In October, 1938, while Reich troops occupied the Sudetenland, the government at Berlin winked at and acquiesced in the Polish seizure of the district of Teschen with 77,000 Poles and 130,000 Czechs. During the next month Germany, with Italy's co-operation, arranged to dispose of the Magyar minority, ostensibly to satisfy the wishes of Hungary. Hungary was given a generous slice of Slovakia with its Magyars and 200,000 Slovaks besides. Later, with Germany's consent, Hungary took another 100,000 Slovaks.

Meanwhile, German propagandists manufactured a new crisis to facilitate the complete dismemberment of what remained of the Czech republic. The Vienna radio was especially energetic in pursuing this enterprise, having begun its campaign during the week of the Munich conference. The attack was centered chiefly upon Slovakia which was encouraged to demand its autonomy. In response to this agitation and in the hope of avoiding another grave crisis, the government at Prague set up a federal state early in October. This arrangement did not satisfy certain Slovak extremists and it did not satisfy the Nazis who now encouraged the Slovaks to demand complete independence. A crisis was reached on March 14 when as the result of an ultimatum from Berlin, the government at Prague was forced to recognize the independence of Slovakia which had been declared on that day. The Czech regions of Bohemia and Moravia in the west, and the Carpatho-Ukraine in the east were now isolated from each other. There was no choice left for the Carpatho-Ukraine but to follow Slovakia into independence. This it did on March 15. But the independent Carpatho-Ukraine lasted scarcely twenty-four hours, for the next day Hungarian troops marched in to occupy the country.

Meanwhile, the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia, now in a hopeless position, were being subjected to German occupation. On the

day Slovakia had declared its independence the president of Czechoslovakia, Emil Hacha, was summoned to Berlin. The details of his night-long meeting with Hitler have not been told, but it is obvious that Hacha was confronted with an ultimatum: either peacefully to turn over Bohemia and Moravia to Germany, or submit to German invasion. The Czech president capitulated and was permitted to return to Prague the morning of March 15. When he arrived he was greeted by the new German military governor and by German troops. Even while Hacha negotiated in Berlin, the German army had moved in and occupied the country. Czechoslovakia had vanished completely.

As a kind of anti-climax to this bold and unscrupulous act the long arm of the Nazis reached out to seize the city and territory of Memel. This city formerly belonging to East Prussia had been severed from Germany at the end of the World War and had been set up as a free city under Allied control. Neighboring Lithuania, however, coveted it, and in 1923 incorporated the city into its own sovereign territory. Thenceforth, and especially after the rise of the Nazis, conflict between the native German population and the Lithuanian government developed into serious proportions. Finally, on March 20, 1939, Hitler summoned the Lithuanian foreign minister to Berlin, with the inevitable result that Memel was ceded to the Reich.

Up to this point Germany had reaped most of the profits from the Rome-Berlin Axis. Mussolini was obviously anxious to share in them too. He found a field for adventure in Albania. This little state on the eastern shores of the Adriatic had fallen under Fascist protection during the post-war years and by 1939 was little more than an Italian dependency. But with the example of Germany before him Mussolini apparently wished to transform this state of dependency into one of complete subjection. As a justification, the Fascist government pointed out that King Zog of Albania was suspected of trafficking with the democracies, that he was squandering on himself all the money Italy had been lending to Albania, and that he was trying to disturb Italo-Yugoslav relations. These explanations were probably as good as any which might have been supplied. At all events, in April, 1939, Italian troops suddenly descended upon Albania and in a few days the capital was occupied and its sovereign was driven into exile.

While Fascists and Nazis marched from one victory to another in Western Europe, Japanese imperialists in Asia occupied themselves

with the fashioning of a "new order" for the Far East. Though widely separated geographically, the activities of these Eastern and Western enemies of the status quo bore a striking resemblance to each other and in many ways were closely integrated. Japan, like Germany and Italy, professed a profound dislike for an order which concentrated the world's wealth in the hands of a few great Empires such as the Russian, the British, and the French. Like the Fascists and the Nazis, Japanese expansionists conceived an intense hatred for the Communist experiment and claimed the right to help free the world of this evil phenomenon. And to these sentiments of opposition to common enemies, the Japanese added a peculiar racial nationalism of their own, which differed in detail but not in spirit from that of their Fascist and Nazi friends. They complained at the interferences of the West in the Far East and, taking a leaf from the Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed Asia to be for the Asiatics alone. As the greatest power in the eastern world, it was argued that it was Japan's duty to assume the leadership in attaining this objective, and in thus establishing peace, order, and happiness in the Far East. The imperialists innocently contended that this was not imperialism but the fulfillment of a heavy and holy responsibility for eastern society.

The comparison between eastern and western aggressors does not stop with similarities in ideology. As a matter of fact, the Japanese with their traditional skill at adopting the apparently successful methods of the West, soon developed a pattern of government modeled after that of the western dictators. Given the established traditions of Japanese life, this transition was not difficult to effect. Gradually during the 1930's extremist elements from the military organizations of the state pressed upon the governing authorities their determination to have an authoritarian government and a policy of expansion. The extent of their success was already apparent in the early stages of the expedition into Manchukuo, but their boldness steadily increased as the evidences of victories for the European dictators multiplied. In February, 1936, these elements staged a bloody attack upon the liberal forces in the Imperial Ministry and forced the acceptance of an extremist military regime. From that time on progress in the direction of a totalitarian regime continued rapidly until it culminated in 1940 in the establishment of a nearly European type of dictatorship under Prince Konoye, supported by a single political party and exercising its domination over all of the political, economic, and cultural life of the nation.

This period of internal political transformation was likewise a

period of intense military activity on the Asiatic mainland, for it was not only in changing forms of government that the Japanese reacted to developments in the West. As Great Britain and France retreated before the blows of Hitler and Mussolini and became deeply concerned with their own defense at home, it seemed logical that Japan could enforce its will upon China without encountering serious danger. Indeed, the weaker France and Britain seemed to grow with each new Fascist and Nazi advance, the bolder grew the Japanese imperialists. Whether deliberately intended or not, the attack upon the status quo both in the East and the West was closely synchronized.

Following the abortive attempt of the League of Nations to intervene in the Manchurian crisis, Japan pressed forward with the consolidation of its control in the puppet state of Manchukuo as well as in the neighboring province of Jehol. Soviet Russia was induced (1935) to abandon its rights in the Manchurian railway in return for financial compensation, and the foreign oil interests of Manchukuo were displaced by a Japanese controlled monopoly. Britain, France, and the United States protested against this interference with foreign economic interests, claiming it to be contrary to the policy of the Open Door as well as to the Nine Power Pact, but these protests were rejected. Nothing was done by way of following up protests with positive action.

Faced with all of these retreats by the Western Powers before the aggressor, China, the principal victim, was forced to accommodate itself to hard reality. In May, 1933, the Nanking government accepted a truce with Japan, establishing a demilitarized zone on the frontiers of Japan's controlled area. Subsequently (1935) a number of Kuomintang offices which had become offensive to the Japanese were closed and in some cities municipal officials more acceptable to the Japanese were appointed. But these concessions in turn alarmed many Chinese nationals. Leaders from Canton warned the government that civil war threatened if it continued to give way, and the Communist war lords, with whom Chiang Kai-shek, president of China, had been fighting for some years, backed up the threat. These latter seized Chiang prisoner in a mysterious kidnaping late in 1936 and an important compromise was arranged by which Chiang apparently agreed to abandon his fight with the Communists while the latter pledged their co-operation if he resisted the Japanese. Subsequently the Chinese attitude toward Japan stiffened.

The extremists who had by this time gained control in Japan re-

taliated by proceeding to an undeclared war against China in July, 1937, doubtless hoping to settle the issue quickly and to their own advantage. The principal Chinese ports were blockaded, Japanese air forces carried devastation into the interior, and the soldiery marched on to occupy Nanking. But still China did not collapse. The national armies were no match for the well-equipped Japanese but they resisted heroically, destroying everything in the areas which they were forced to yield, and then retired deeper into the interior. The government itself withdrew eventually to Chungking in the distant interior province of Szechwan, to continue the war from there as best it could. Bands of Chinese guerillas were formed to harass the enemy in the territories he occupied. So devastating were their effects that increasingly with each passing month Japan was forced to despatch more men and munitions, until this China "affair" became a major military adventure.

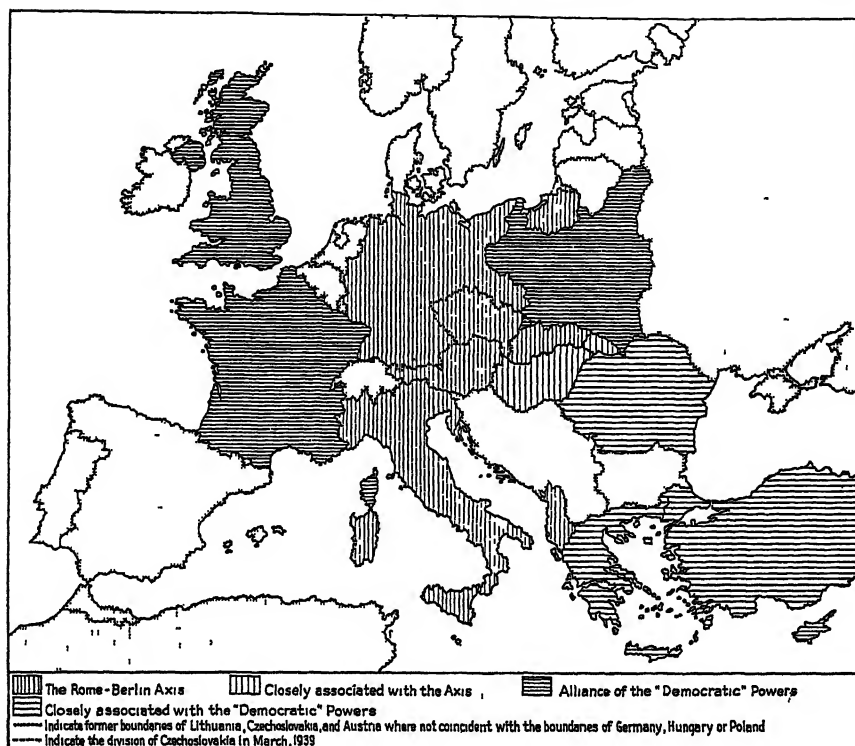
The supplies upon which the Chinese relied in the continued struggle, insofar as they came from the outside world, were derived chiefly from Russia over a long land route, by railroad from French Indo-China, and over the recently opened Burma Road. The Japanese military hoped to close these remaining doors, and between 1937 and 1939 attempted to attain this objective by a dual policy of force and intimidation. The turmoil of Europe encouraged them in taking the risk. It was as part of this program of increased belligerency toward the West that the American *Panay* was "unintentionally" bombed, that the Chinese island of Hainan, off the coast of Indo-China was seized (1939), that the Spartley Islands just west of the Philippines, claimed by France, were annexed (1939), and that embarrassing pressure was brought to bear in areas of traditional British influence. Where this campaign affected Britain and France it enjoyed some success, but it aroused the United States. American sympathy for China and mounting opposition toward Japanese aggression led to an increasing tenseness in relations with Japan. The United States officially lent financial aid to embattled China, applied a moral embargo on airplane parts to Japan, and finally, in July, 1939, announced that it was terminating its established commercial treaty relations with Japan. Russia also seemed to have adopted a more hostile attitude. At all events Soviet-Japanese controversy over fishing rights, and over frontier incidents on the borders of Mongolia and Manchukuo during 1937 and 1938, seemed to threaten a Russo-Japanese conflict. None of this opposition, however, brought an end to Japanese aggression in China.

It was not possible for Britain and France to avoid retreat in the Far East, especially in 1939 when they had at last determined to halt "appeasement" of the dictators in the West. The problem created by advancing Nazism and Fascism was at once more serious and more immediate.

The dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in March, 1939, had at last shattered all hope of keeping the peace with Germany by a policy of continual sacrifice. Until this time it was possible to argue that the Nazis would be satisfied with the incorporation of strictly German peoples into the Reich and that Nazi expansion would have its logical end. But the annexation of Bohemia-Moravia and the virtual annexation of Slovakia revealed that the German expansionists were completely unscrupulous, that they had not the slightest hesitation in breaking their plighted word, and even more, that their ambitions knew no bounds. Both small and great had reason to fear, and especially Poland and Rumania who now lay directly in the path of the Nazi steam roller.

The British government took the most serious view of this turn of events, especially since less than six months had passed since Hitler had faithfully promised Prime Minister Chamberlain that Germany would have enough with the Sudetenland. If Europe was to be preserved against the Nazi menace, Mr. Chamberlain believed that urgent measures were necessary. In co-operation with France, he endeavored at once to organize an eleventh-hour resistance. Poland, which seemed most directly menaced, was given a joint pledge (March 31, 1939) by both Britain and France that the two powers would immediately come to Poland's assistance if its independence were threatened. Several weeks later this unilateral pledge was reinforced by a joint Anglo-Polish declaration which took the form of a reciprocal guarantee, and thus paralleled the long-standing treaty of mutual guarantee between France and Poland. After the Fascist occupation of Albania, Britain and France similarly guaranteed the integrity and independence of both Greece and Rumania. In May, Britain and Turkey signed a treaty of alliance, promising mutual co-operation in case of an act of aggression leading to war in the Mediterranean. France followed suit in June, after ceding to Turkey the Sanjak of Alexandretta (Republic of Hatay), formerly part of Syria. All the while both Britain and France feverishly endeavored to speed up their delayed military and naval preparations.

Inasmuch as Poland, Rumania, and Turkey were all rather distant from France and Britain, it seemed impossible that the latter could



MAP 38. EUROPEAN ALLIANCES IN AUGUST, 1939

bring them the full material assistance which their pledges anticipated unless the aid or co-operation of Russia were enlisted. This proved the fatal stumbling block. During the spring and summer of 1939 Russia was still smarting under the rebuff administered her at the Munich conference and apparently was still suspicious of British and French intentions. More important, probably, was the fact that Russia hoped to secure British and French consent to Russian control in the Baltic Republics and over strategic islands possessed by Finland. Neither of the two western powers was willing to confer such support except with the consent of the republics concerned, and this was never provided. But possibly a decisive factor in preventing the conclusion of an agreement with Russia was the fact that the Soviet authorities may have seen in the rising complications of Europe an opportunity to precipitate an exhausting "bourgeois" war. This possibility had never ceased to form a part of the Soviet government's calculations. In any case, there was more certainty of a European war if Germany were given a free hand in Poland than if Russia used her influence to frustrate the Nazis.

Meanwhile, as the great western democracies were being blocked at the most crucial stage of their defensive negotiations, the dictators were girding themselves for the offensive. In May, 1939, the Rome-Berlin Axis was transformed into a formal ten-year military alliance. Both powers promised to consult with each other on mutual interests, to co-ordinate their economies for wartime purposes, and to assist each other in case either one of them became involved in war. At the same time Germany pursued her own negotiations with Russia and to the astonishment of Britain and France and the entire western world succeeded in arranging a non-aggression pact with the Soviets on August 23. This was a decisive diplomatic stroke. At one blow the Nazi dictator had freed Germany's eastern front of the danger of Russian opposition, had made British and French aid to Poland a virtual impossibility, and had opened the way to an easy invasion of Poland at the moment he chose.

C. THE WAR OF THE DICTATORS

Relations between Poland and Germany had become strained immediately after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. Prior to that time Hitler had professed friendship for the Polish peoples, had signed with them a ten-year non-aggression pact (1934), and following the Munich Conference had given his personal pledge that so far as Germany was concerned all that was desired was to live in harmonious relations with the Polish Republic. After March, 1939, it was no longer necessary to be circumspect. Poland's flank had been turned and pressure could now be made for territorial concessions. There followed therefore the application of the now familiar Nazi tactics. German newspapers resorted to a concerted campaign of heaping abuse upon the Poles, accusing them of hostile designs upon Germany, and of basely maltreating German citizenry. Incidents were manufactured to supply the needed evidence for these accusations. Finally, in April, 1939, Hitler showed his hand and demanded of Poland that she cede to Germany the city of Danzig and a narrow strip across the Corridor which would provide connections for a motor road between Germany proper and East Prussia. In return, Hitler generously consented to guarantee the integrity of the Poland which was left. The government at Warsaw refused to consider this proposal, pointing out that Germans already had free passage across the Corridor, and suggesting that both powers jointly guarantee their respective rights in the Free City of Danzig. The German reply was

GERMAN RATION CARD

Wide World

the repudiation of the Non-Aggression Pact. Subsequently throughout the succeeding months both contestants made military preparations. Britain and France, as guarantors of Poland, kept a close watch while trying futilely to find the basis of a common agreement, mutually acceptable to both Poland and Germany.

Following the Russo-German non-aggression pact the controversy rapidly developed into a serious crisis. As it became increasingly clear that Germany intended to employ force both Britain and France took the precaution of warning Berlin that any hostile act would bring an immediate Anglo-French declaration of war. At the same time they offered their good services by way of bringing about a direct settlement between Poland and Germany. The Nazi government seemingly accepted this proposal on August 29 but insisted that a Polish emissary would have to appear by midnight the following day to conduct the discussions. This was obviously impossible, and in the very nature of things must have been so intended. Two days later Hitler announced that since Poland had not despatched an emissary he considered that his offer to reach a peaceful settlement had been rejected. The German army therefore began its march into Poland early on the morning of September 1. Britain and France im-

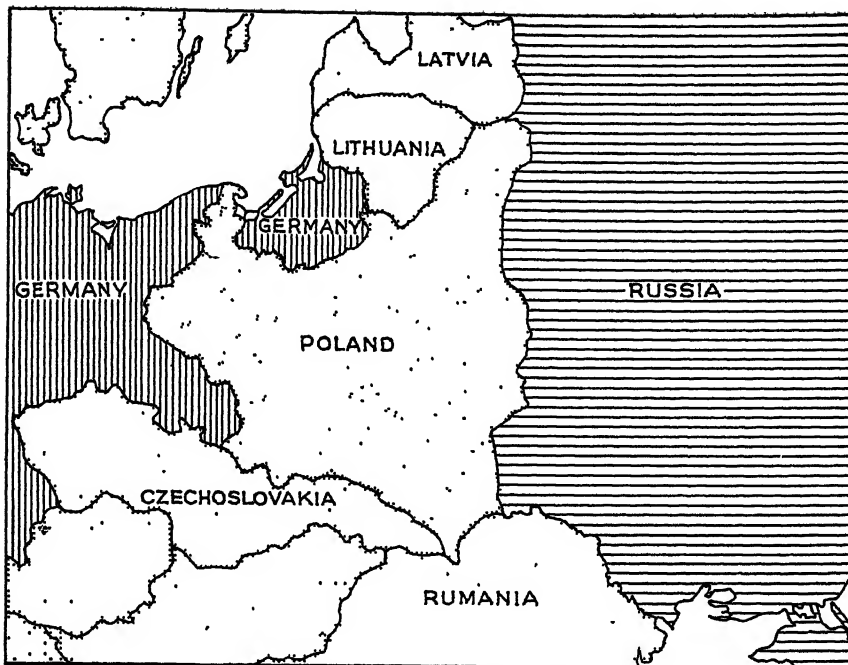
mediately submitted ultimatums, demanding the withdrawal of German troops from Polish territory within forty-eight hours. Two days later they were officially at war with Germany.

German strategy apparently called for the delivery of a lightning blow to Poland, forcing its surrender before Britain and France could marshal their forces for an attack in the west. At all events, the German command threw the great bulk of its infantry and *Panzer* mechanized divisions, as well as a sizable portion of its air force, against the Poles. Only relatively light contingents, protected by the recently constructed fortifications comprising the Siegfried Line, were left to spar with the western enemies.

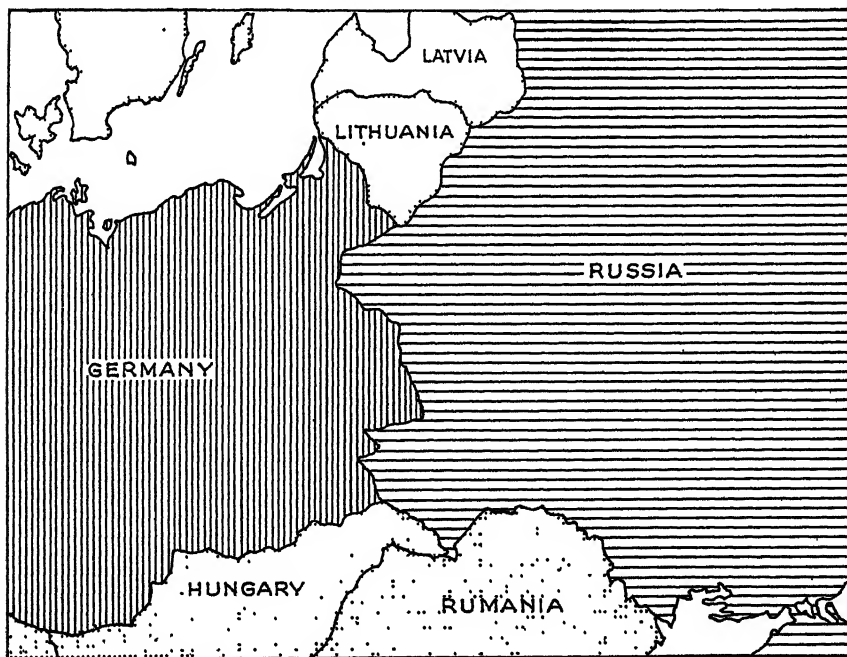
The great concentration of heavily mechanized troops upon the Polish front, and the heavy battering administered the weak Polish air force in the early days of the fighting, proved more than Poland could take. Its large and well-trained army, poorly equipped so far as modern machinery of war was concerned, was no match for the fast-moving German columns. In a little less than three weeks all of the western provinces had been lost to the invader. Yet the Polish retreat was not disorderly, and it was still hoped that it might put up a good stand on the reduced line of the San-Bug-Narew Rivers, where it would be supported by heavy artillery. Unfortunately, it was never able to exploit this opportunity, for on September 17 by way of complete surprise Russian troops moved up from the rear to "protect" the White Russians and the Ukrainians in Poland. Faced with two enemies and with its line of retreat cut off, the Polish army rapidly disintegrated. The capital city of Warsaw continued to resist heroically until September 27, but at last was forced to accept an armistice.

Two days after Poland's collapse, Russia and Germany divided the spoils between them. A boundary running roughly along the San-Bug-Narew Rivers was established to mark the line of division between the Russian and German spheres of influence. This was subsequently subjected to minor revisions. Of the part which went to Germany a considerable portion was immediately annexed to the Reich, and in this area the Polish inhabitants were deported to make way for German colonists imported from the Tyrol in Italy as well as from the little Baltic Republics. The remainder of the German-dominated portion was provided with a special settlement and was given the name of the "Government General." On August 25, 1940, this, too, was formally joined with the Reich.

Having conquered Poland so quickly, Hitler apparently felt that



MAP 39. POLAND, 1925



MAP 40. DISMEMBERMENT OF POLAND, OCTOBER, 1939

he could afford to be generous. At all events, early in October he held out the prospects of peace to his western enemies. The Treaty of Versailles he affirmed was now dead and Poland, an unnatural creation of the post-war years, would not rise again. So far as the Reich was concerned it was now satisfied except for its colonial possessions to which it felt it still held a legitimate claim. He suggested that a rational solution of Europe's problems was possible and promised that if it could be made he would be ready to sanction the new status quo and reduce armaments in so far as that was economically possible. This sounded very much as of old and the British and French governments promptly refused to have anything to do with the proposal.

Meanwhile, all was nearly quiet on the western front. During the Polish campaign General Gamelin, commander-in-chief of the allied forces, had cautiously marched his troops toward the Siegfried Line to ease the pressure on the east, but the swift collapse of Poland influenced him to withdraw these again behind the Maginot Line. Both the British and French commands apparently believed that the best strategy now called for a holding of that line, without needless sacrifices of men, while the noose was tightened by the fleets around Germany's neck. This was to be from the beginning a war of attrition. Under the circumstances, the bulk of the fighting in the west developed on the high seas during the early months, with the British attempting to cut off all German trade, and the Germans, in turn, by means of submarines, surface raiders, and magnetic mines, attempting to cut off the supplies of goods to the British Isles. At times the conflict in this theater developed dramatically, but it did not produce any immediately noticeable results for either side. In conjunction with a parallel war in northern Europe, between Finland and Russia, however, it was to become a precipitating cause of important land operations in the early spring.

After the partition of Poland, Soviet Russia, ostensibly with the purpose of strengthening its own defense, made demands upon the little Baltic Republics and Finland. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia felt incapable of resisting the pressure placed upon them and in October, 1939, conceded special privileges to Russia in their territory for naval, military, and air defense. In return for these concessions, Russia faithfully pledged to respect their sovereignty. This pledge was forgotten less than a year later when on June 14, 1940, in response to Russian ultimatums, all of these republics joined the Soviet Union.

Similar demands for concessions of territory, the better to protect

Leningrad, and islands to improve Russia's naval defenses in the Baltic, which were made upon Finland, were not fully accepted. By the middle of November, 1939, negotiations between these two countries were broken off and Russia, following the Nazi pattern, manufactured a crisis against its little neighbor. On the ground that Finland had designs upon Russia, the Soviet authorities moved their troops to the frontier and invaded the republic on November 30. Finland's resistance was heroic, and it was not apparently until the Russian military men were convinced that only a major operation would dislodge the enemy that the tide of battle turned in their favor. With the use of an abundance of heavy artillery and an indiscriminate use of the air force, Finland was finally forced to sue for peace on March 12, 1940. The Russian demands were higher than before the war began, but this time Finland had to submit. Substantial concessions of territory had to be made; ten percent of Finland's population was lost, and its second largest seaport, Viborg, had to be turned over to the Soviets. Besides, Finland had to make other concessions, the most important of which was perhaps the promise to construct a railway which would enable Russia to establish direct commercial contact with Sweden. Russia apparently had an eye on the other Scandinavian countries.

Norway, Denmark, and Sweden had been deeply moved by Finland's misfortune and citizens of all of those countries had volunteered in considerable numbers to fight on Finland's side. Yet officially none of these governments was willing to co-operate actively in the war, partly because to have done so might have deprived the Finns of needed supplies and partly out of fear that they might become involved in the other war in the west. This latter fear kept Norway and Sweden from permitting the use of their facilities by Britain and France for active extension of aid to the embattled Finns. It was generally understood that Germany would not tolerate such concessions inasmuch as they would have the effect of cutting off the supplies of Swedish ore which at this time she consumed in large quantities.

The complications of the Finnish war merely pointed up the importance to Germany of the Swedish ore supply. Britain and France had already contemplated the possibility of cutting this off. Since most of the ore was sent across Norway from the Swedish mines to Narvik for shipment during the winter months, the British blockade authorities hoped to find a way of shutting off these shipments along the Norwegian coast. German coastwise vessels were in the habit of

hugging the shore line, within the three-mile limit, thus evading the sea patrol. To stop this practice Britain had requested Norwegian co-operation but the Norwegian government apparently felt powerless to stop the infringement of her neutral rights. At all events, British patrol boats themselves began to penetrate the coastal waters in search of their prey and finally, April 8, 1940, it was announced that the Allies had mined those waters at key points.

By accident, it seems that this British announcement paralleled in time the completion of a German plan to occupy Denmark and Norway as a means of helping break the blockade and as a defense for Germany if she were sometime to attack on the western front. In any case, on the following day ultimatums were submitted early in the morning to both Denmark and Norway, and before breakfast the whole of Denmark had been occupied. Almost simultaneously German troops landed near Oslo and as far north on the Atlantic coast as Narvik. Obviously, the attack had been long planned and the preliminaries of its execution had been made days in advance of the British mining operation. Norway put up resistance, but it appears that to a considerable extent it was betrayed by "fifth columnists" and its resistance was soon broken. Britain and France promised immediate aid, but it was difficult to fulfill this promise because the Germans dominated the air and had managed to capture all of the key landing ports in the first operation. Some French and British troops did engage the Germans and a considerable battle for the control of Narvik developed, but eventually by the end of April the Allies were forced to withdraw. These reversals had important political consequences in both France and Britain, but chiefly in Britain where Prime Minister Chamberlain was forced to resign. Next day he was succeeded by Winston Churchill who was expected to prosecute the war with vigor.

Churchill's assumption of power was greeted by startling events. Before dawn on May 10 the Nazis launched an attack simultaneously upon Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg, offering the excuse that they were moving in anticipation of the British and French. Hitler declared that the battle which was now beginning would determine the destiny of Europe for the next thousand years. The heavily mechanized German forces struck with great speed and ferocity, aided by the air force and by parachute troops dropped behind the lines. During the first hours of fighting the attacking forces gained a number of decisive advantages and the Dutch and Belgian troops, though fighting bravely, were compelled to give ground rapidly. Within five

days the kingdom of the Netherlands had been reduced and its government put to flight. This success was decisive in the war with the Belgians for their left flank was now completely exposed. Nevertheless Belgium held out for two weeks more because of the mechanized British and French troops who were rushed in to give them support. But the momentum of the German attack continued with such terrific force that the British and the French were not able to form a stable line and were compelled to resort to strong rearguard actions. Brussels was soon occupied, and King Leopold concluded that further resistance would be futile. On May 28 he surrendered unconditionally. The British and French armies were left in what seemed a hopeless situation.

Meanwhile, in the course of its general advance the German army had already inflicted a disaster upon the Allies further south. When the British and French forces had moved to Belgium's support, German troops struck savagely at the weakly defended lines about Sedan and opened a gap of sixty miles into this front, capturing strategic bridgeheads and threatening the Allies both on the left and on the right flanks. Oddly enough in this region the French had not taken the precaution to build an extension of the Maginot Line either in strength or in depth. When the news of this reverse reached Paris, Premier Paul Reynaud immediately made a number of changes in the command, replacing General Gamelin with General Weygand. The latter was known to favor offensive rather than defensive war and it was hoped that he might be able to re-form the front and take the offensive. But this was impossible. The German armies, with heavier equipment and heavier firing power, continued their relentless advance, while the French were hindered by breakdowns in the communication systems and by the clogging of the roads with fleeing refugees. The British and French troops caught in the Belgian pocket



Wide World

WINSTON CHURCHILL

were now literally threatened with complete annihilation, for the speedy German advances upon French soil promised to cut them off from all retreat except by sea, and even this seemed quite impossible. Nevertheless, the British by close co-ordination of the air and sea arms managed in an epic retreat to save some 350,000 of the 400,000 doomed troops and returned them safely to England from the port of Dunkirk. Most of their equipment, however, had to be left behind. It could not now be replaced nor could the man power withdrawn across the Channel be sent back in time to save France. The German troops moved on with undiminished speed. On June 14 Paris fell and by that time German mechanized divisions were already speeding southward along the Channel coast. To make matters worse, Italy, a few days before (June 10), no doubt counting on French collapse and the imminent end of the war, declared war upon Britain and France. This tied about a million French troops to their posts on the Italian front and prevented their being brought up for a last stand. Amidst all these reverses, a crisis developed in the Cabinet over policy and Premier Paul Reynaud resigned June 16. Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain, the eighty-four-year-old veteran of Verdun, an Anglophobe and sympathetic with totalitarian movements, took over the government. An appeal for an armistice followed almost immediately.

Hitler did not appear anxious to hasten armistice negotiations and it was not until June 22 at Compiègne forest, in the same railway car in which the armistice of 1918 was signed, that an armistice was agreed upon, to take effect three days later. By virtue of this document Germany was allowed to occupy more than half of France, including all of the northern industrial region and a strip along the coast to the Spanish frontier. France promised to pay the costs of occupation. Most of the military and air forces, except what were needed to maintain internal order, were to be demobilized and placed under German and Italian control. All undamaged military equipment was to be turned over to the victors on demand, and there was to be no manufacturing of war materials in the future. All German prisoners in French possession were to be returned without reciprocity. French radio stations were to be silenced. A separate armistice signed with Italy allowed the latter to occupy a narrow strip of Alpine territory, arranged for a thirty-mile demilitarized zone between France and Italy, and a somewhat similar demilitarized zone on the borders of French and Italian African colonies, and finally called for a demilitarization of fortified French coastal zones in the Mediterranean.

The Third French Republic died as it had been born, in a humiliating defeat. Bad military planning, unjustified confidence in the invulnerability of the Maginot Line, internal political weaknesses, and treason in high places all contributed to the unexpected collapse. Early in July, 1940, the two Houses of Parliament paid the Republic their last respects, and at Vichy, the new seat of Government in unoccupied France, bestowed upon Marshal Pétain the power to devise an authoritarian constitution. The marshal thereupon took for himself the title "Chief of the French State," incorporating the duties of premier and president, and appointed a cabinet of totalitarian sympathizers to support him. One of the first acts of this new Government was to arrest, imprison, and hold for trial all officials of former Governments accused of involving France in a war for which it was unprepared. These distinguished prisoners were held at Riom to await final judgment sometime later. In the meantime, various measures were taken to co-ordinate the new French totalitarianism with that of its conquerors. The multi-party system was to be abolished, the productive life of the nation was to be regimented, and a rigid censorship was generally applied. There is little doubt that especially in the economic reorganization the Vichy government was carefully following the bidding of Berlin.

Most Frenchmen accepted this revolutionary change because there seemed no other choice, but a few refused to co-operate. These latter, under the leadership of General Charles de Gaulle, escaped to the empire and to Britain where they hoped to continue the struggle. In London, de Gaulle established a Provisional French National Committee to collaborate with Great Britain, and rallied around him what "Free French" sympathizers he could. The British Government recognized this committee on June 28th, 1940. Throughout the autumn months, de Gaulle enjoyed a substantial success in bringing various parts of the French empire under his control, though much of the empire continued to support Vichy.

The effects of the French collapse were widely felt. Russia, profiting from it for her own protection against victorious Germany, seized the Baltic Republics and on June 26 demanded and secured Bessarabia from Rumania. The little Balkan states in general also felt the full impact of this disaster. Rumania, which had been flirting with the Allies, now attempted to make its peace with the Axis. King Carol reorganized his administration with this object in view and showed a willingness to come to terms, but he was soon victimized. Both Bulgaria and Hungary had long-standing grievances against Rumania and

they believed that the time had come to rectify them. Bulgaria, assisted by Germany, opened negotiations with her neighbor and an agreement was reached by which the South Dobrudja was restored to Bulgaria. The transfer was completed on September 15. Meanwhile, Hungary had demanded Transylvania. Both Axis partners intervened on this occasion and handed down a decision on August 30 granting Hungary the greater part of the territory. The losses which Rumania sustained gave rise to serious internal disturbances, engineered by the pro-Nazi, anti-Carol Iron Guard. Carol's position became untenable and he was forced to flee for his life. A dictatorship was then established by General Antonescu, under King Michael, and Rumania was given over to Iron Guard terror. In October, 1940, German troops descended upon the country ostensibly to keep order but actually to ensure the rich oil wells to Germany and possibly also to open the road to invasion of the Near East.

Meanwhile, Great Britain was forced to bear the full weight of the Axis attack. France had been beaten and the British hold upon the continent was completely gone. But if there were no chance of striking at the enemy on land, neither was there a good chance of a direct German invasion of the British Isles so long as the British fleet controlled the seas. Unfortunately for Britain, however, it could not feel sure of its mastery of the sea until it knew what disposition was to be made of the French fleet. It was felt that no confidence could be placed in the Italo-German pledge to keep it idle. British efforts were therefore made, both before and after the armistice, to clarify this matter peacefully, but when it finally became apparent that the Pétain regime did not intend to respect Britain's wishes, the British admiralty felt compelled to destroy those French warships which were not already in its hands. Consequently, on July 3, the bulk of the French navy, concentrated in the African port of Oran, was given the choice of surrendering or being destroyed. The French commander refused to capitulate so the British attacked and destroyed or badly damaged all but one of the French ships. This shifted the balance of sea power once more in British favor.

Great danger still remained on land and in the air. While France was collapsing the Germans had begun to concentrate heavier air attacks on the British Isles and on convoyed shipping and these attacks steadily mounted in intensity. The Nazis said they were employing the "softening up" process preliminary to the final blow. At the beginning of September it was announced by Berlin that this phase had ended and that the final, destructive stage had now arrived. On Sep-

tember 6, furious attacks upon London began, continuing night after night and day after day almost without any intermissions for ten days. By that time it had become clear that the British anti-aircraft and fighter squadrons had been taking a terrific toll of the attackers and the fury of the onslaught momentarily abated. During this time it was generally believed that the Nazis planned an invasion. If such plans had been made, they were doubtless called off because complete mastery of the air was unattainable. But the attacks did not cease. The Germans concentrated more and more upon the industrial centers of the Midlands, presumably hoping to cripple British production. At the same time, by sea and air, they stepped up their efforts against British shipping and brought the monthly totals of British and neutral losses to the high figure of approximately 300,000 tons.

The British were also faced with what appeared to be serious dangers in Africa. During August and September the Italian armies there directed attacks against the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Kenya, and British Somaliland which they managed to overrun completely. The establishment of this Italian post on the Red Sea held out some hope of a pincers attack upon the British-dominated Suez Canal. The other arm of the pincers was to close in from Italian Libya across northern Egypt. To effect this operation, Marshal Rodolfo Graziani, a seasoned desert fighter and one of the conquerors of Ethiopia, was placed in charge. By September 12, he had advanced some seventy-five miles into Egypt to Sidi Barrani where he halted to consolidate his position. These advances were taken rather seriously by the British in view of the limited defenses then at their command in northern Africa.

Likewise, there were constant threats to Gibraltar, at the other end of the Mediterranean. Spain, which had fallen under Axis influence during the civil war, seemed to lean toward Italy and Germany. But shortages of food and Britain's ability to cut them still shorter probably influenced General Franco to move cautiously. The danger to Gibraltar was constant, but no attack materialized. Occasional heavy bombings by the Vichy regime in retaliation for British acts or the acts of "Free French" forces caused some damage but did not diminish the rock's defensive power.

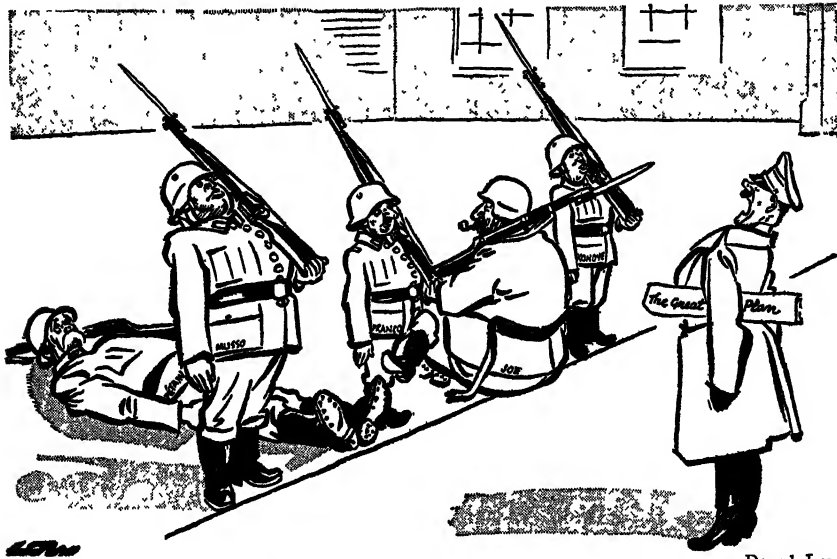
After October, 1940, some of these dangers to the British in the Mediterranean seemed to disappear, at least for a time. The Spanish government, after a number of secret negotiations with the Axis, finally signed a financial and trade agreement with Great Britain, thus temporarily allaying British fears of action in that quarter. But the

most significant events occurred in the Italian theater of action. Following the German military occupation of Rumania and Hungary's formal association with the Axis in October, Mussolini determined to settle old scores with Greece. Whether his plans were formulated with German consent or against German wishes is not yet known. In any case, after condemning Greece for its acceptance of British protection and accusing it of giving aid to Britain's war efforts against Italy, the Italian armies which had been accumulated in Albania were ordered into Greece on October 28. The Italian attack pointed in two directions: toward the great stronghold in Salonika in the east and along the Ionian sea in the south. As the Italians complained, neither of these thrusts developed in blitzkrieg fashion because of the bad weather and the difficulties of the terrain. This was certainly a factor, but so also was the inefficient co-ordination of the attacking forces and the sturdy resistance of the Greek defenders. Within two weeks the latter took the offensive and drove the Italians back across the Greek frontier and into Albania. In their counter-offensive the Greeks by mid-December, 1940, had managed to seize the most important Italian strongholds in southern Albania and even threatened the Italian forces there with complete disaster. Some of this unexpected success was certainly due to British assistance in the air and on the sea, for just as soon as the Italian attack began Britain occupied a number of strategic Greek islands, including Crete. From these favorable positions the Royal Air Force was able to co-operate in the attack against Italian advanced lines in Greece and Albania, and, even more important, the British navy was able to conduct important operations against Italy. In a brilliant operation at the naval base of Taranto a number of heavy units of the Italian navy were crippled (November, 1940). The British government proudly claimed that this success alone greatly changed the naval balance in the Mediterranean in Britain's favor. At the same time, units of the British navy challenged Italian transport in the Adriatic Sea and created difficulties for the Italian command in bringing up reinforcements to the hard-pressed armies in Albania. These unexpected reverses appeared to weaken the Italian morale and Mussolini was either persuaded to "change the guard" in the command or was forced to accept such a change. In December, Marshal Badoglio, Italy's most famous soldier and one of the conquerors of Ethiopia, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, "resigned" along with other conspicuous leaders.

The British command in northern Africa soon exploited the weaknesses which these events indicated. Counting on the inability of the

Italian navy to get the necessary supplies to Marshal Graziani's forces in northern Egypt, the British commander in the east, General Sir Archibald Wavell, planned and executed a surprise attack upon Italian units there on December 7. Within a week the British blitzkrieg drove the Italian forces from Egypt and then began to move on to the attack in Italian Libya. The fact that units of the British navy were able to co-operate closely with the land forces in this operation was sufficient indication that the British had complete control of the Mediterranean.

The turn of the tide in the Italian theater of war awoke renewed optimism in Britain and also in the United States where Great Britain's struggle had been followed with increasing anxiety throughout the summer and autumn of 1940. American opinion at the outbreak of hostilities in 1939 was one of great sympathy for the Allies, but most people felt at first that their sympathy need not be expressed by actual co-operation on the allied side. Material aid to the democracies but non-involvement for the United States expressed both the official and public reaction. In conformity with this view the Neutrality Act of 1937, which restricted shipment of goods to belligerent countries, was repealed in November, 1939. This repeal was accompanied by the adoption of a "cash and carry" plan which required that goods purchased here be carried away on foreign vessels and be paid for at the time of purchase. American ships were prohibited from trafficking in belligerent waters. In this way it was hoped that the United States could place its great industrial machine behind the democracies of Europe and yet not expose itself to incidents on the high seas, such as occurred during the World War, which might involve the American people in military operations. This policy seemed adequate until the collapse of France threw the whole burden of fighting the dictators on the shoulders of Britain. Public opinion and official Washington both became alarmed at the prospects of a British defeat and especially at the effect which such a defeat might have upon the United States and the Western Hemisphere in general. More direct aid and co-operation with Britain seemed expedient. In consequence, the American government agreed to give fifty over-age destroyers to Great Britain in return for naval bases, some of which were on the strategic British islands in the Caribbean area where the United States was interested in rounding out its defenses of the Panama Canal. More vigorous efforts were also made to supply the materials which Britain needed. Following the presidential elections of November, 1940, in which the European crisis played a very important part,

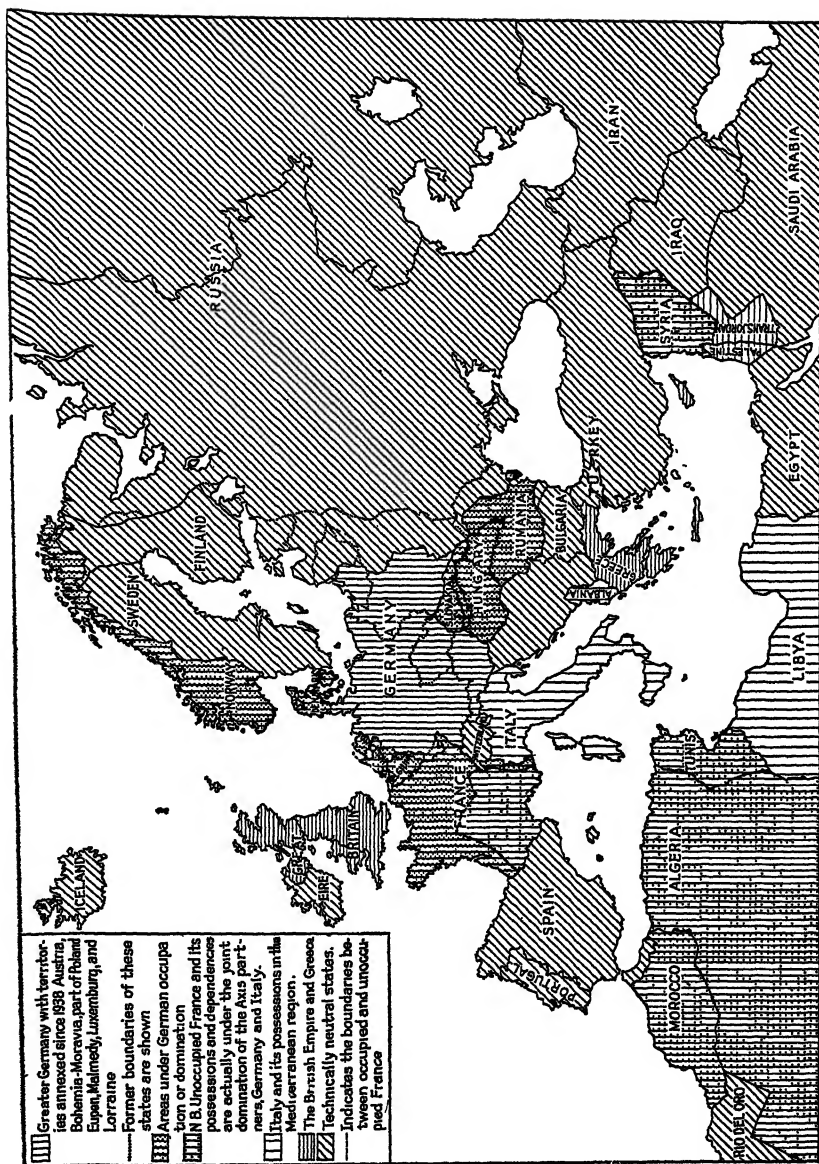


HITLER'S ARMY TOES THE LINE

David Low

President Roosevelt, the first American President to be elected for a third term, announced that henceforth Britain would in general be allowed 50 percent of American production for defense. Meanwhile, the United States had begun intensive preparations for national defense, including the conscription for one-year military training of men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-six.

One problem which complicated the American position with reference to the European war grew out of the continuing bad relations between the United States and Japan. It has already been observed that these had grown steadily worse after 1931, and shortly before the outbreak of war in Europe had resulted in the abrogation by the United States of commercial treaty relations with Japan. The German victories in Europe encouraged the Japanese to broaden the area of their conquests, especially at the expense of the embattled British and French, and to show greater boldness in ignoring American opposition. The Government at Washington, however, stiffened its diplomatic resistance, and countered each move which the Japanese Government made. The seizure of parts of French Indo-China by the Japanese (September, 1940) was thus countered by additional financial advances to China and by a partial embargo upon shipments of scrap iron and steel to Japan. The conclusion of a ten-year military alliance among Japan, Germany, and Italy on September 27, obviously intended to immobilize the United States both in the Pacific



MAP 41. EUROPE, JANUARY 1, 1941

and the Atlantic, was followed by the State Department's order that American nationals in the Far East return home, and by closer collaboration between the British and American governments in the Far East. Probably with American encouragement the British government in October, 1940, opened the Burma Road, which they had previously closed at Japanese demand, as a supply line to China. When, in December, Japan formally stated that in certain contingencies Japan would be expected to make war upon the United States in accordance with its alliance with the European Axis, President Roosevelt retaliated by further tightening the embargo. The growing tenseness thus indicated in the relations between Japan and the United States considerably influenced the American attitude toward aid for Britain, especially since the United States was not yet equipped with a two-ocean navy with which to enforce its views in both spheres simultaneously. It was becoming increasingly apparent that the War of the Dictators threatened to engulf the United States both from the east and from the west.



HITLER AND MUSSOLINI ROASTING THE DOVE OF PEACE

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